# Visualizing the Stanley-Livingstone Meeting: The Birth and Lives of an Iconic Scene in Print Media and Beyond since 1872

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The meeting between David Livingstone and Henry M. Stanley in the autumn of 1871 in the village of Ujiji, on the shore of Lake Tanganyika in present-day Tanzania, was an incident in history that has enjoyed spectacular and long-standing popularity. Livingstone, a Scot who had already undertaken explorations of Africa for two decades, but whose whereabouts had been unknown for some years, was sought for and "found" by Stanley, an enterprising young Welsh-American journalist in the service of *The New York Herald*. Numerous generations have learned to know the words uttered by Stanley and to recognise the manner in which the two explorers greeted each other by raising their hats. The scene, which seemed to crystallize the heroism—and solitude—of European explorers in Africa, was not only familiar to the British and Americans, but also became the cultural property of the wider Western public.

The long-lasting popularity of the event has attracted the attention of scholars, who have sought to investigate the physical setting and concrete aspects of the meeting. The exact date of the meeting, for example, has been the subject of debate and, consequently, scholars situate it either in late October or early November 1871.[1] The authenticity of the famous words of Stanley—"Dr. Livingstone, I presume?"—has also been questioned. Tim Jeal argues that the greeting was almost certainly never uttered in the actual meeting but invented by Stanley on his way back to Europe in order to present himself in a gentlemanly and dignified manner.[2] According to Jeal, the greeting soon began to be cited in too many newspapers, advertisements, music-hall comedies, and other contexts to be denied.[3]

Scholars have also sought to explain why the encounter became such an important moment in the history of African exploration. It has been described as being essential in establishing the fame of both Stanley and Livingstone.[4] Clare Pettitt has suggested that we would probably not remember Livingstone without it.[5] In addition to underlining the importance of the event to its two main participants, scholars have also interpreted it as a symbolic marker of a broader shift in the culture of African exploration. Thus, Felix Driver has seen it as a moment of transition whereby old methods of exploration and approaches to Africa, represented by Livingstone, met with new, increasingly aggressive ones embodied by Stanley.[6] Edward Berenson, for his

part, has explained that the meeting provided a spectacular occasion for a new, reportorial style of journalism that had been developing in the United States.[7] Andrew Ross has described the quest to find Livingstone in relation to the public fascination with heroic explorers in Africa, which was encouraged and fed by individuals such as Sir Roderick Murchison, the President of the Royal Geographical Society.[8] The Stanley-Livingstone meeting has also been described as a symbol of the re-establishment of an Anglo-American alliance and as a moment which crystallized Western formality and self-censorship.[9]

The general public learned the story of the meeting by reading newspapers, travel accounts by Stanley and Livingstone, popular biographies written about the explorers, histories of exploration, and other printed matter. These written descriptions—augmented by field diaries, journals, and correspondence by Stanley and Livingstone—have also formed the basis for later reconstructions and evaluations of the meeting. Although the nineteenth-century audience was also frequently provided with visual images of the meeting, surprisingly little has been said about the origin of these printed images and their role in creating and mediating the famous story within the history of African exploration. Rather than scrutinizing the visual imagery as critically as the date of the meeting, a number of studies have simply reproduced the image to illustrate the event. In some instances, questioning remarks have been made on the discrepancies observed in the accompanying picture. Clare Pettitt, for example, has wondered why the depicted flags seem to be blowing in the wind in an otherwise windless scene.[10] Observations such as these have not, however, led to further examination of the illustration or to questioning its value as a documentary source. This is rather surprising: Berny Sèbe, for instance, has shown how visual representations played a significant role in creating and promoting heroes in Victorian Britain.[11]

This article scrutinizes the visualization of the famed encounter in print media and argues for the importance of visual aspects in creating the long-lasting popularity of the scene. It was not only the phrase "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?" that became immortalized; an illustration was also needed to accompany these printed words. When combined, the written and visual depictions of the scene formed a powerful entity that has impressed itself on the Western imagination as an apparently significant moment in the history of exploration.

This article aims to show how an iconic and "authentic" image came to be constructed, established, and circulated in print media and subsequently in various other forms of media. No one was on hand at the

time of the meeting to photograph or sketch the interaction between Livingstone and Stanley. Nevertheless, as soon as Stanley arrived in Europe, in the summer of 1872, illustrations of the meeting could be found in numerous newspapers and other publications. The drama of the encounter was reproduced by combining scarce visual materials from a variety of sources, written descriptions, and artistic imagination. This article outlines the early publishing history of the image and discusses the ways in which contemporary claims of authenticity, vis-à-vis the image, disguise a composed visualization of the encounter. It also shows that the manner in which the illustration of the meeting was constructed was not exceptional. Rather, it constituted a typical example of the illustration process of African travel—and of late nineteenth-century popular literature more generally.

In order to understand the power of this iconic image, the present article also traces the cumulative process of visualizing the encounter, which began soon after the first illustrations were published and continues to this day. The early depictions became templates upon which countless other versions of the image were based and circulated in different contexts. The latter part of this article is based on an examination of a selection of approximately one hundred travel and adventure titles published in Britain and America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. On the basis of this material, the main variants of the image will be presented and the general features in the development of the imagery pertaining to the meeting will be outlined. The present article shows how the flourishing print culture of the late nineteenth century, together with practically unrestricted means to copy and transfer books and illustrations across the Atlantic, enabled the image to achieve widespread recognition and popularity.

This article builds on the already extensive scholarship on the history of European exploration of Africa and European ideas and representations of Africa. Ranging from Philip D. Curtin's classic *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action* (1965) to increasingly specific analyses of cultures of exploration, the promotion of colonial heroes and topics at home, or the practices of representing and visualizing Africa, this scholarship has demonstrated how a variety of individuals and cultural mechanisms contributed to the emergence and development of European conceptions of Africa.[12] Building on this work, the current article seeks to turn attention to the practices of producing and circulating visual representations of Africa. Thus, in theoretical terms, it leans on research carried out on the culture of copying and adaptation, especially the idea of how images travel that was introduced by the anthropologist Peter Mason. In his research on early

European visual representation of Native Americans, Mason has shown how certain depictions came to achieve an iconic status and travelled between continents and through centuries.[13] Mason's argument connects more generally to discussions on lives and biographies—or mobility and itineraries—of objects, texts, books, and other cultural products and the shifting meanings they receive in different contexts.[14] Questions of intermediality are also of importance here, as after first maturing on the pages of newspapers and printed books,[15] the image of the Stanley-Livingstone meeting was soon utilized in diverse forms of contemporary nineteenth-century media.

**The Emergence of Three Authorized Images**

The first reports of the meeting between Stanley and Livingstone reached London and New York at the beginning of May 1872—approximately seven months after the actual event. However, the news was only confirmed in July 1872, when Stanley arrived in Marseilles and began to publish his reports as a correspondent for *The New York Herald*.[16] In his study of the publishing history of the meeting, Edward Berenson shows how both Stanley and the editor *of The New York Herald*, James Gordon Bennett Jr., were actively involved in creating the event.[17] Stanley had decided to no longer keep waiting for Livingstone to appear on the eastern coast of Africa and travelled to the interior himself. For his part, Bennett concocted and disseminated the idea of Livingstone being lost. *The New York Herald* was eager to emphasize its privileged position in being able to tell the authorized story of the meeting. Other newspapers in the United States and Britain could only refer to the despatches Stanley had delivered to be published in *The New York Herald.* Given the monopoly enjoyed by *The Herald* on reporting the encounter between Stanley and Livingstone, it might seem surprising that the newspaper did not seek to visualize the meeting. The explanation is simple: *The New York Herald* did not include illustrations, unlike many other contemporary newspapers. Occasionally, also when reporting about the Stanley-Livingstone meeting, it reproduced maps and facsimile copies of letters or other documents.[18] Otherwise the story of the meeting was told in words.

The editors of *The New York Herald* may not have been interested in producing a picture of the meeting, but many other newspapers were eager to do so. It is known that the London office of *The Herald* was frequently visited by journalists of other newspapers in a quest for information. Similarly, the office was said to be crowded with artists recruited by other newspapers, as they wished to bid for any visual material

Stanley had produced during his journey.[19] Thus, British newspapers competed with each other for source materials and the right to reproduce the first illustration.

It is known that at least one London-based newspaper, *The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times,* published an illustration of the meeting in mid-July when Stanley was still en route from eastern Africa to Marseilles and no original visual material was available (Fig. 1). This illustration, depicting Stanley raising his hat to greet Livingstone, who is standing in the middle of a group of Africans and Arabs, was based merely on written descriptions of the meeting that were already in wide circulation. As previous studies have shown, an increasing number of English newspapers and learned societies expressed scepticism over the veracity of Stanley's accounts of his journey and even his meeting with Livingstone.[20] This—together with the indisputable fact that *The New York Herald* held exclusive rights to all material connected to the journey—may have fostered a general sense of wariness regarding the production of such images.

The creation of an "authentic" illustration depended entirely on Stanley and the material he provided. Thus, the competition for the first authorized illustration began as soon as Stanley arrived in southern France in late July. A number of British journalists were sent to interview him and to undertake negotiations in order to publish images he had brought with him. On August 1, Stanley arrived in Britain and a deal was reached soon after. *The Whitstable Times and Herne Bay Herald* reported that the proprietors of *The Graphic* had secured the rights for Stanley's illustrative material after a short contest. The sketches obtained by the newspaper were said to represent "the scenes traversed by Dr. Livingstone and Mr. Stanley, and of the leading incidents in which the famous explorer and his gallant discoverer took part."[21] No reference was made to the existence of any visual material related to the meeting. Yet, two days later, on August 3, *The Graphic* published a full-page wood engraving of the celebrated encounter, entitled "The meeting of Livingstone and Stanley in Central Africa" (Fig. 2). A caption also assured readers that the illustration had been made "from sketches and materials specially supplied by Mr. Stanley."

*The Graphic* was not, however, the only newspaper that had secured the right to publish visual material of the meeting. On the same day as the illustration in *The Graphic* was published, *The Illustrated London News* printed a notice informing its readers that a two-page engraving of the meeting would be published within a week. It was mentioned that the prospective illustration was to be based on sketches and photographs supplied by Stanley.[22] A week later, on August 10, the promised illustration was published (Fig.

3). The accompanying caption confirmed the veracity of the image—reinforced by the presence of Stanley's signature. It was stated that "[t]his engraving, for which I supplied the materials, represents my meeting with Dr. Livingstone at Ujiji, Lake Tanganyika; and is as correct as if the scene had been photographed."

Before introducing the third authorized version of the image, which was published in Stanley's *How I Found Livingstone* in November 1872, it seems relevant to ask why the first images were made and published in Britain rather than in the United States. The most obvious reason for this was a lack of interest on the part of *The New York Herald.* When the newspaper withdrew from the competition to publish images of the meeting, the path was left open for other publications. As Stanley arrived in England, British journalists and artists were in a prime position to approach him with proposals concerning the reproduction of the materials in his possession.

The urgency of publishing an illustration of the meeting in daily newspapers highlights the special importance of the occasion. As already seen, the illustration in *The Graphic* was published only two days after Stanley's arrival in Britain and the one in *The Illustrated London News* a week later. This was quite exceptional: images of explorations could usually be seen only with the publication of the authorized travel account. As a rule, publishers of travel accounts tried to prevent the publication of explorers' visual documentation before the account was released, since the allure of unseen images helped to arouse and maintain interest in a forthcoming book. For instance, when Stanley's subsequent African account *Through the Dark Continent* (1878) was being prepared some five years later, the publisher, Edward Marston, explicitly advised Stanley to set aside interesting subjects for his book and to provide newspapers with only limited access to his picture collections.[23]

The London-based Marston also published Stanley's first book, *How I Found Livingstone*. It appeared in print at the beginning of November 1872,[24] approximately three months after the publication of the two previous illustrations of the meeting. Marston had to cope with the fact that the most important image in the book had already been published in newspapers and seen by thousands of people in Britain and thereafter in Europe and the United States. Since the authenticity of the previous images had been so strongly emphasized, Marston's hands were tied and hence the illustration that was produced for the book (Fig. 4) closely resembled the earlier images, especially the one published in *The London Illustrated News*. The caption was based on Stanley's first words to Livingstone. To further stress the importance of this image and the event depicted, it

was also embossed on the cover of the book.[25] Unlike many contemporary illustrated travel accounts, Stanley's book did not include many explicit statements regarding the veracity of the illustration.[26] Yet, the book as a whole was strongly associated with Stanley who, as the author and explorer, seemed to confirm that he had approved the contents.

Thus, one year after Stanley and Livingstone met in Ujiji there were three authorized illustrations of the meeting in circulation. Each claimed to be reproduced on the basis of authentic materials and in close consultation with Stanley. The composition, perspective, and general atmosphere of these images is very similar, but when directly compared it is obvious that they are far from identical. Several differences can be noted, especially between *The Graphic* illustration and the two later images. The American flag, held by an African man, for instance, is positioned in a different manner every time. First, it is placed to the left of the two men who are greeting each other, then in between them in the foreground, and finally behind them near to the hut. The two latter illustrations also include the flag of the Zanzibar Sultanate and include more figures with baskets and other items than in *The Graphic* illustration. There are also little differences between *The Graphic* image and the latter two illustrations in the manner in which the protagonists and the onlookers are grouped and positioned in relation to each other. Stanley is seen carrying a rifle only in *The Graphic* illustration.

Yet, the overall appearance of all three images is strikingly similar in terms of grouping the visual elements. This, together with the frequent references made to the materials supplied by Stanley, seems to hint at a common source behind these images. This brings us to the question of the genesis of this imagery.

**The Origin of the Imagery**

The three illustrations of the meeting were surrounded with claims and evidence of their truthfulness and relationship to the actual event. Yet, the images are perfect examples of the contemporary practice of constructing illustrations from scant materials. This section focuses on the origin of this imagery and the manner in which different raw materials were obtained and combined in order to create authorized images.

In his autobiography, Stanley looked back to the time when he was making preparations in Zanzibar for the journey to search for Livingstone. He wrote that he was "equipped with every needful article for a long journey."[27] From the perspective of the forthcoming meeting and its visualization, however, one thing was

missing: camera apparatus. As James R. Ryan has demonstrated, photography became closely associated with exploration soon after its invention. This new technique provided explorers with a powerful means of capturing and transferring data of the most significant moments and phenomena that they had witnessed during their journeys.[28] Photographic experiments had already been made in the interior of Africa as early as the late 1850s, but due to the challenges posed by the tropical climate and the chemicals required for the wet-collodion process, the results remained modest. One of the early photographers in the interior was John Kirk, who had accompanied Livingstone on his Zambezi expedition (1858–64).[29] At the time Stanley made the preparations for his journey in Zanzibar, Kirk was the British acting consul in the town.[30] Although the two met, it seems that their conversation did not touch on photography.

T. Jack Thompson has written of his regret that a camera was not at hand on Stanley's expedition. He explains this absence by referring to the fact that Stanley was recruited by a newspaper and no technique existed at the time to directly print photographs in newspapers or books.[31] Yet, despite this technical constraint, photographs were widely used as models to produce illustrations for newspapers well before the 1870s. It seems that the reason for Stanley not carrying camera apparatus had more to do with *The New York Herald*'s policy of not including illustrations on its pages. Thus, it is quite likely that the editors of the newspaper did not expect Stanley to deliver anything other than written reports.

Although Stanley did not comment on his lack of a camera, he must have thought about the conceivable benefits of such a device. Thus, during his following African journey (1874–77) he carried a brand new camera and a set of dry plates and stated that he never lost the opportunity to obtain a good view with this "most excellent photographic apparatus."[32] Stanley subsequently actively followed the latest developments within the photography industry. Prior to embarking on his next African expedition in 1879, he wanted to know whether there was anything more practical than dry plates for "tourist" photographers.[33]

It is evident that the material provided by Stanley for artists and illustrators in London in August 1872 did not include a photograph of the meeting. This can be also seen in the manner in which he commented on the picture printed in the *Illustrated London News* as being "as correct as if the scene had been photographed." Neither could such a photo be taken by Livingstone. Although Livingstone is known to have taken photography lessons in the 1850s prior to his Zambezi expedition,[34] he did not possess camera apparatus of his own. Livingstone had two photographers and one artist attached to the Zambezi expedition,[35] but during his

subsequent—and last—travels in eastern Africa (1866–73), there was no one to visually document his solitary journey.

In a diary entry from August 1871, Stanley described himself as "a poor artist,"[36] but he made small drawings in his notebooks throughout the journey.[37] At the time of the meeting, however, Stanley was far too busy and excited to think about visual documentation. Neither was there anyone else on hand to make a sketch of the scene since Stanley's two European companions, William L. Farquhar and John W. Shaw, had died on the way to the interior.[38] Generally, it was typical for explorers to make retrospective drawings of important moments,[39] but no traces can be found in any of Stanley's journals of later attempts to visualize the meeting. Instead, Stanley made little sketches of landscapes, African men and women, and village scenes during his journey. The figure of Livingstone can also be recognized in a couple of drawings,[40] but none depicts the first encounter.

In the absence of photographs or sketches directly connected to the encounter, any relevant visual material proved useful for its visualization. A photograph of Stanley and his two African servants, Selim and Kalulu, taken after the successful expedition proved invaluable in helping to illustrate the meeting (Fig. 5). In this photograph Selim, the interpreter, Kalulu, a servant boy, and Stanley are standing in front of the camera as if they were in a photographic studio instead of a modest wooden shack. They are all carrying rifles and are wearing their usual expedition outfits.

Scholars have presented different estimations regarding where and by whom this photograph was taken. Frank McLynn has suggested that it was taken in early May 1872 in the village of Bagamoyo on the coast opposite the island of Zanzibar.[41] According to Thompson, the photo was taken by Lieutenant William Henn,[42] a member of the Royal Geographical Society Search and Relief Expedition, which had just arrived in Bagamoyo in order to continue towards the interior to search for Livingstone. Other scholars have suggested that the photograph was taken a couple of days later when Stanley's expedition arrived in Zanzibar.[43] A copy of the photo stored in the Stanley Archives at the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren includes a pencil notation stating that the photo was taken in July 1872 in the Seychelles.[44]

Yet, knowing the exact date and place of the photograph does not seem of vital importance. It can be said with certitude that it was taken somewhere between Bagamoyo and Port Said at the northern end of the Suez Canal, where Selim departed from the group.[45] More important than the exact place in which the

photograph was taken is the manner in which an image entirely unconnected to the Stanley-Livingstone meeting was accorded an essential role in visualizing the encounter. When *The Graphic* and *The Illustrated London News* referred to the visual material supplied by Stanley, they primarily—or solely—had in mind this photograph. No evidence can be found that any of the little sketches drawn by Stanley during his journey were used to help in the process of composing the illustration of the meeting.

The photograph proved especially valuable for the depiction of the figures of Stanley's two African companions. When compared to the first authorized illustration in *The Graphic*, it is evident that their figures were copied in almost every detail, although they were reversed to face right, positioned more closely to each other, and transferred as pictorial elements of the illustration. Furthermore, the figure of the little boy Kalulu was duplicated and enlarged to create a third person: the flag-bearer named Asmani. Although the posture of Stanley was more radically altered for the illustration, the photograph also assisted in capturing his appearance and outfit. The figure of Selim in the photograph was also used to create a portrait of him alone in an imagined African landscape for *How I Found Livingstone* (Fig. 6).[46]

As already mentioned, the three authorized illustrations looked very similar but were not identical. This was partly due to the fact that each was produced by a different group of artists. Wood engravings were the predominant method of producing printable images and their production necessitated a multi-stage process in which images were handled by various artists, specialist draughtsmen, and engravers. In most cases, only the name or initials of the primary artist was printed in the final image. In the corner of *The Graphic* illustration, one can find the name of the artist: "G. Durand." The other two illustrations do not include any information about their makers but other sources have suggested that a certain Mr. Hall, a commercial artist from *The Graphic*, was first employed in order to illustrate Stanley's book.[47] However, as Stanley hesitated in approving him, an artist with previous experience of illustrating books on Africa, Johann Baptist Zwecker, was chosen to make most of the illustrations for *How I Found Livingstone*.[48] Zwecker was also almost certainly in charge of producing an illustration of the Stanley-Livingstone meeting.

Even when supplied with the names of the artists little can be said about the various people involved in the process and the ways in which they cooperated. Hence, the name of G[odefroy] Durand in *The Graphic* illustration, for instance, does not necessarily indicate that he was primarily responsible for the composition. Besides, it remains unclear which of the three separate groups of commercial illustrators actually saw the

photograph of Stanley and his African servants. The illustrators of *The Graphic* definitely saw it, as they made the first image. But what about the others? Even if *The Illustrated London News* emphasized the materials provided by Stanley, it is possible, at least in theory, that its illustrators only saw the wood engraving that had been published in *The Graphic*. The same applies for the illustration in Stanley's travel account. In any case, illustrators were aware of previous depictions of the meeting. This can be seen in the manner in which they followed the main features of composition. Hence, the artist or artists responsible for the first published version of the image in *The Graphic* played a decisive role in establishing the imagery. Yet, as can be seen in the two later illustrations, subsequent illustrators did not merely copy an already existing image, but also altered it and supplemented it with new pictorial elements.

The repetition of imagery was of major importance for developing a sense of credibility around an illustration. With very limited sources at their disposal, separate artists could have ended up with totally different and conflicting results. Instead of providing constantly changing interpretations of the scene and thus denying the validity of previous illustrations, artists tended to emphasize consistency. This consensus on the imagery greatly strengthened the argumentation concerning its authenticity. The veracity of the three images could have been easily challenged and denied by anyone who could examine them next to each other. Yet, as they were published at different times and in different forums, it seems obvious that they were almost always examined without comparison to previous images. Even if someone had seen an earlier version, they all seemed similar enough not to raise further questions among contemporary newspaper and book readers.

In addition to the photograph that had been taken during the last moments of the expedition and brought to Europe by Stanley, illustrators could resort to other types of sources. Most importantly, written descriptions of the meeting abounded. It was a common practice among nineteenth-century illustrators to produce pictures solely on the basis of literary material. Artists were expected to be sensitive to the texts they were supposed to illustrate.[49] Without doubt the persons who had been entrusted to illustrate the important meeting scene had read written descriptions of the encounter. From the texts published on the pages of *The New York Herald*, *The Graphic*, *The Illustrated London News*, *How I Found Livingstone*, and other print media they could find numerous details about the persons present at the moment of the meeting, the flags that were being carried, the surrounding village, and, perhaps most importantly, the outward appearance and behaviour of the two Europeans.

The description in Stanley's travel account, for example, tells how he had prepared for the meeting by dressing in a new flannel suit, oiled boots, and a chalked helmet with a new *puggaree* scarf wrapped around it.[50] Furthermore, it describes how Stanley struggled to control his emotions as he arrived in front of the semicircle of Arabs in the middle of which he saw a pale and wary white man with a grey beard. According to Stanley's description, Livingstone wore a bluish cap, red-sleeved waistcoat, and a pair of grey tweed trousers.[51]

Read with an attentive eye by a visually skilled person, these descriptions included numerous hints that could be utilized to illustrate the scene. This does not mean, however, that the visual image of the scene was embedded in the text and the artists merely had to extract it. On the contrary, they were active makers of an imagery that did not exist prior to their involvement. Their work consisted of combining bits and pieces of information and giving visual form to their impressions. Although the Stanley-Livingstone meeting and its visualization were unique, illustrators could also resort to a long artistic tradition of rendering formal encounters between sovereigns and other important individuals.[52]

The constructed nature of the imagery and the liberties taken by illustrators can also be seen in the manner in which not all the details in written descriptions were followed and implemented. Some elements were quite impossible to convey in visual terms. Thus, one observes far fewer native Africans present in the picture than the "more than a thousand" mentioned by Stanley.[53] Other aspects of the meeting, which we know today from various sources, were not mentioned in early reports and despatches and hence artists could not take these into account. It is known, for instance, that Livingstone had been very ill and, according to a later description by Stanley, he had described himself as "a mere ruckle of bones."[54] As Thompson notes, Livingstone was not depicted as being underweight.[55] This inaccuracy may be a result of poor knowledge, artistic flattery, or a combination of both.

Earlier portraits of Livingstone, such as those published in his travel accounts, were widely available and could be used as models for the illustration. Besides, Stanley had made small sketches of Livingstone in his notebooks and a larger drawing where he was sitting on the floor of the veranda of his house, engaged in copying letters.[56] Stanley also mentioned in his travel account that during their last day together he "took long looks at Livingstone, to impress his features thoroughly on my memory."[57] Even if there is no direct evidence, Stanley may have shared his recollections and sketches of Livingstone with illustrators.

In the event that Stanley was involved in the illustration process, which was a relatively common practice at the time,[58] the artists would have seen the outfit he wore at the time of the meeting. His flannel suit and safari helmet soon became significant markers of authenticity and objects of fame. For example when describing the new diorama of the meeting, which had already been unveiled at Madame Tussaud's in London in the autumn 1872,[59] journalists often paid attention to Stanley's attire. It was described as being a faithful copy of what he had worn on the day of the meeting.[60] The authenticity of the outfit was also emphasized in the context of a series of studio portraits taken of Stanley and Kalulu at the London Stereoscopic Company in Regent Street in 1872. The printed caption under these *carte-de-visite*-sized pictures reads: "Mr. Stanley in the dress he wore when he met Livingstone in Africa" (Fig. 7). The pieces of clothing thus become important elements of the story. Thompson assumes, however, that the clothes and boots used by Stanley in Africa were worn out and hence the explorer had bought a new set especially for the photographs.[61] When the *carte-de-visite* photographs are compared with the group portrait taken in Africa after the expedition (see Fig. 5), it seems obvious that at least the leather boots were brand new. Later, the hats worn by Stanley and Livingstone also became celebrated symbols—or even fetishes or relics as suggested by Felix Driver[62]—of the explorers and their meeting. The two hats have been on display every now and then since 1890, when they were first seen in *The Stanley and African Exhibition* in London.[63]

As seen, authorized illustrations of the meeting were constructed from a variety of raw materials and by a number of participants. Most likely, the three illustrations that were created only bore a faint resemblance to the actual event but they quickly assumed iconic status as correct representations of the meeting. The role given to Stanley as a supplier of authentic material and as an authority who could verify the illustrations as truthful was crucial in establishing the imagery in the Western imagination.

It must be emphasized that this kind of production of illustrations was far from exceptional. Due to the limited and poor quality of visual material brought from journeys of exploration, numerous other contemporary illustrations of African travel were constructed in a similar manner.[64] Yet, very few illustrations—if any—have experienced anything similar to what happened to the Stanley-Livingstone meeting image during the years and decades that followed.

**Repetition and Appropriation: The Subsequent Lives of the Imagery**

Copies and imitations of images of the Stanley-Livingstone meeting began to appear in other printed matter in Britain, the US, and elsewhere in the West as soon as the three authorized illustrations were released. Images spread in authorized translations of Stanley's travel account *How I Found Livingstone*, but they also found their way into a variety of new titles, especially inexpensive popular biographies, histories of exploration, and adventure stories. The news of Livingstone's death in Africa in May 1873 and his funeral in Westminster Abbey a year later garnered huge media attention.[65] In addition to numerous newspaper articles, the events brought about a significant rise in the number of other printed material related to his life and travels. John M. MacKenzie has estimated that well over a hundred biographies of Livingstone were published in the late nineteenth century alone. Livingstone also featured prominently in Victorian books of heroes as well as in a variety of material used by Sunday schools and youth organizations.[66] Popular biographies of Stanley also abounded.[67] The centennials of the births and deaths of both men have resulted in a new wave of attention on the activities of these explorers.

For the purpose of this article, I have selected approximately one hundred books for analysis, which all include a written description—and typically an illustration—of the Stanley-Livingstone meeting. Most of the titles are biographies of Stanley or Livingstone, but the material also includes more general histories of exploration, descriptions of Christian missionary work abroad, and anthologies of Victorian heroes. Thus, the material encapsulates the wide variety of publications that circulated the meeting theme in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and were produced for the two main target audiences: British and American readers. Since the illustrations printed in authorized translations of Stanley's travel account were typically identical to the original illustration, they have not been included in the examined material. In other words, all analysed titles were new and not authored by Stanley or Livingstone.

Several general remarks can be made on the basis of this corpus. Most importantly, many books were lavishly illustrated or included at least some illustrations, which typically also featured a depiction of the meeting. Yet, it is significant that there were also plenty of books on the market on the life and explorations of Stanley and Livingstone that lacked this particular picture. This was most likely because of the extra production costs incurred by the inclusion of illustrations.[68] One such work was entitled *David Livingstone* by Thomas Hughes, which was a bestseller in the Macmillan "English Men of Action" series that went through several print runs between 1899 and 1912. In his analysis of the promotion of Empire in print culture Berny

Sèbe has shown how imperial heroes, such as David Livingstone and General Charles Gordon, were able to attract a large readership and therefore publishers were keen to retain them on their publication lists—even without any illustrative material.[69] However, a majority of contemporary books on African exploration included the image and most of them had a clear connection to one of the above-mentioned authorized illustrations. Without exception, the original source was not mentioned in the context of the new works. Thus, it remains unclear whether the image was used with or without the permission of *The Graphic*, *The Illustrated London News*, and Edward Marston's publishing firm.

This was typical for nineteenth-century illustrations of African travel and exploration,[70] but also characterized the Western publishing industry more generally. Questions relating to the copyright of illustrations arose relatively late. In Britain, the Engraving Act was passed in 1735.[71] According to Edward Hodnett, plagiarism had become more selective and covert in character by the end of the eighteenth century,[72] but unauthorized copying and reproduction of images blossomed throughout the nineteenth century. Original illustrations were commonly copied, imitated, and further developed—with or without notice and permission. Catherine Seville has described how books published in Britain were commonly pirated and reprinted within the British colonial sphere and in other English-speaking countries. American publishers were especially eager to reprint British works and this often took place without any permission or payment.[73] Thus, the global exchange of texts and illustrations typically occurred at the expense of original publications. An internationally negotiated and approved Imperial Copyright Act of 1911 changed the situation within the British Empire by further restricting unauthorized copying.[74] This also seemed to affect interest in the reproduction of the three authorized images of the Stanley-Livingstone meeting in new works: the number of illustrations that were made by copying the three examples diminished significantly in the 1910s. Free copying had been prevalent before this period in Britain and the United States, as will be demonstrated below with the examples of the Stanley-Livingstone meeting.

Significant differences can be discerned in the extent and the manner in which the three authorized illustrations were utilized in other printed matter. The first illustration, originally published in *The Graphic*, reappeared most frequently and for the longest period of time in new publications. Near exact copies of it can be found in a dozen publications between 1872 and 1890.[75] In most cases, the overall impression is very similar to *The Graphic* image. Yet, as the illustration had to be re-engraved, slight modifications are evident in

the details and in the manner of framing. Subsequent illustrations were often slightly simpler in outward appearance: some of the tiniest details were omitted or engraved in a more cursory manner. The original illustration was also frequently cropped so that pictorial elements in the borders were omitted from the new image. (Fig. 8)

The second image, originally published in *The London Illustrated News*, was much less frequently used. The corpus of works examined in the present study only includes four subsequent publications that incorporated it between 1873 and 1890. The illustration was carefully re-engraved each time by faithfully imitating the original.[76] Reproductions of the third authorized image, which was published in Stanley's travel account, can be found in seven new works.[77] However, these were published between the 1880s and 1920s at a time when the popularity of *The Graphic* image had already declined.

Thus, there were clear differences in the ways in which reproductions of the three authorized images were disseminated in other books during the following decades. The popularity of *The Graphic* illustration most likely had to do with the fact that it was the first authorized image in circulation. One can also notice that this image circulated particularly extensively in the American market. It is quite likely that the American artists who copied the image did not have the opportunity to see *The Graphic* illustration themselves—not to mention a choice between the three original images. Rather, they imitated other versions of the picture that were already widely available in the American marketplace. Thus, although the origin of the image was forgotten, copies of it continued to be produced. Careful copying of the pictorial elements did not entail exactness in the repetition of captions. They could consist of the words uttered by Stanley, for example, or could refer to the search for and discovery of Livingstone or simply to the meeting between the two men.

Thus, fifty years after their initial publication, the three authorized illustrations of the Stanley-Livingstone meeting were still being reissued in a variety of new publications on both sides of the Atlantic. This rigid repetition of the visual theme significantly differed from the manner in which textual descriptions of exploration were treated. Studies on the posthumous reputation and memorialization of David Livingstone, for example, have shown how his public image was constantly rewritten and reframed to meet the needs and requirements of changing times and colonial circumstances. John M. MacKenzie has described Livingstone as a person whose qualities, achievements, and objectives chimed with the prime concerns of the age, thereby facilitating the development and maturation of ideas attached to him.[78] Similarly, Justin D. Livingstone and

Joanna Lewis have emphasized the adjustability and usefulness of his figure in various socio-political contexts. During the partition of Africa, for instance, it formed part of the justification for the establishment of the British colonial system. In the Edwardian era, it was used to articulate vigorous masculinity at a time of imperial anxiety and, during the First World War, the position of Livingstone as a humanitarian architect of the colonial system was emphasized.[79]

Compared to textual descriptions, the components of which could be modified relatively freely to create changing emphases, the key illustration of the meeting tended to be more rapidly fixed and canonized. However, as this imagery moved from one textual environment to another, it also adopted new meanings: it became associated with an increasing variety of themes, stretching from the history of exploration and imperial conquest to questions relating to humanitarianism and the global spread of Christianity. These new literary contexts increased the visibility of the image and exposed it to novel audiences and readings.

Most images released before the 1920s closely followed the authorized illustrations, but examples can also be found of images that had a much looser connection to them. These kind of images had already reached the market in 1872 and coexisted with other, more frequent and exact copies. It is noteworthy that most of these more freely fabricated variants were clearly made on the basis of the images that were first published in *The Illustrated London News* and Stanley's travel account. This can be seen in the manner in which they positioned the figures and incorporated elements, such as baskets and the flag of Zanzibar, which cannot be found depicted in *The Graphic* image.

Early examples include a cover illustration of *The Finding of Dr. Livingstone by H. M. Stanley* and a full-page illustration in George L. Barclay's *All Honor to Stanley!*, both from 1873. The former, published by John Camden Hotten in London, was a little booklet based on a selection of letters by Stanley, whereas the latter was published by Barcley and Co. in Philadelphia and combined the narratives of African explorers with jokes and humorous allusions. The pictures inserted in these books consist of familiar elements that are treated with artistic freedom. As with other illustrations in the latter book, the image of the meeting was turned into a coarse caricature by exaggerating the bodily features of the central figures (Fig. 9). New visual interpretations of the meeting also emerged as illustrators introduced new angles to look at the scene, modified the composition and framed the picture differently. The coloured cover illustration of *The Finding of Dr.*

*Livingstone by H.M. Stanley*, for instance, represents the two men standing face to face without any gestures to signify that they are greeting each other.[80]

In addition to being coloured, the image was also adapted for techniques other than the predominant wood engraving. *The Life and Explorations of Dr. Livingstone* (ca. 1880), for example, included a colour lithography of the meeting in which the figures of Stanley and Livingstone are depicted in reversed positions. In addition to raising their hats, they can also be seen holding out their hands in anticipation of a handshake (Fig. 10). This title had been on the market since the early 1870s, that is, before Livingstone had met Stanley, and the image of the meeting was added in later editions. Numerous different versions of the book were available in Britain and the US in the 1870s and 1880s with slight differences in the colouring and composition of the image.[81] This example shows how existing titles could be updated for new editions with descriptions of latest developments and corresponding images. Once an image was included as part of the illustration, it usually appeared in every later edition irrespective of the current political or cultural changes in the colonial situation.

A new variant of the image emerged in the 1880s and soon became widespread on both sides of the Atlantic. This image represented the figures around Stanley and Livingstone as an increasingly lively group of interacting individuals (Fig. 11). Again, the image was faithful to previous representations and included no hint that it was reprinted at a time when Africa was already being divided between European colonial powers. Yet, the changing political situation could be detected by the manner in which this variant found its way into a revised edition of *Cassell's Illustrated History of England* (ca. 1890), which was a popular school textbook at the time.[82] Thus, with the strengthening of the colonial setting, the image of the meeting gained wider visibility and Livingstone and Stanley were presented as key figures in the history of the British Empire.

Another widespread variant was a watercolour by the English illustrator Ernest Prater for Basil Mathews's book *Livingstone, the Pathfinder* (1912). Justin D. Livingstone refers to this book as an example of an early twentieth-century biography in which Livingstone was used to articulate vigorous and physical masculinity to counterbalance a mood of increasing imperial anxiety caused by the Boer Wars and imperial competition.[83] This new emphasis did not apply to the visualization of the meeting by Prater, who had himself witnessed the Boer Wars as a reportage artist. Prater's watercolour only contained a handful of people and depicted Livingstone without his classic cap, but otherwise the image followed the example of earlier

representations (Fig. 12). However, this new framing served to highlight the encounter as an activity between two European explorers, thus decreasing the role of Africans in enabling it. Prater's painting and its new narrow framing was copied and further developed in other books, such as Harry Hamilton Johnston's *Pioneers in South Africa* (1914). Livingstone's cap is back again in this picture, but instead of raising the hats for greeting, the two men are now seen shaking hands.[84]

In addition to the variants that appeared in more or less identical form in several books, one can also find examples of images that did not recur in other publications. Most had no clear connection to prevailing imagery and their interpretations of the scene were also unique. James P. Boyd's *Stanley in Africa* (1889), for instance, includes a rare depiction of the meeting. Stanley and Livingstone are to be found in the middle of a crowded scene and the head of the former is covered by a large scarf.[85] The illustration in Evelyn Harriet Walker's *Leaders of the 19th Century* (1900) also stands out from the conventional imagery by replacing, for instance, the usual village scenery with a palm-tree forest.[86]

**Further Developments beyond Print Media**

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the image of the Stanley-Livingstone meeting was disseminated via the printing press, as well as being adapted for use in other forms of media. For instance, it formed part of a set of forty magic lantern slides representing "The Life and Work of Livingstone" that were manufactured around 1900 by the London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company for the London Missionary Society. In fact, this example shows how images reproduced in books could have been first released in other media. Slide number 33, which depicts the meeting (Fig. 13), was identical with the above-mentioned illustration by Ernest Prater (see Fig. 12). Thus, it is possible that this particular variant was first published in slide format and only later in print. Mission organizations regarded lantern slides as a useful and attractive technology for informing their supporters at home of the latest achievements abroad. The image of the meeting was an obvious part of the set of slides that described the life of Livingstone as a missionary worker, but it also found its way into more commercial contexts. It was included, for instance, in a set of slides produced in the 1940s by Beavis Photographic Studio in Sydney.[87]

By this time, when a new post-war balance had to be found between traditional empires in an atmosphere of increasing imperial decline, the famous meeting could also be seen at the cinema. Intermedial

aspects are also apparent in the case of moving images. When the silent film *Livingstone* was released in Britain in 1925, *The New York Times* wrote that "[l]ooking at this film is like turning the pages of an old picture book."[88] The meeting scene, shot in Africa, included all conventional elements familiar from still images. A Hollywood interpretation of the story, entitled *Stanley and Livingstone*, which starred Spencer Tracy and Cedric Hardwicke, was released by 20th Century Fox in 1939. Contrary to the previous version, which has been described as a patriotic response to the increasing influx of American films into the British market, the latter movie, released just before the outbreak of the Second World War, emphasized the joint work of Britain and America in upholding Christian civilization.[89] The 1939 movie also included the famed meeting scene. The poster of the movie depicts the meeting under a big tree, whereas in the film itself the meeting takes place in the conventional village setting.

As already mentioned, the number of exact copies of the three authorized illustrations decreased from the 1910s onwards. Instead, an increasing number of looser adaptations of the classic scene were produced. This can be seen in illustrated magazines, popular histories of exploration, children's books, and school books, which, from the 1940s onwards, included increasingly lively and colourful versions of the meeting. *Alphabetical Adventures of Livingstone in Africa for Boys and Girls* (1941), for instance, reproduced a colour adaptation of the image on the "U for Ujiji" page (Fig. 14). The new generation of visual interpretations coincided with increasingly turbulent times in the history of colonialism and can be seen as an attempt to revitalize positive imperial themes. For instance, *Look and Learn*, a brightly illustrated weekly magazine for British children, frequently returned to the story of Stanley and Livingstone in the two decades after its initial issue was released in 1962.[90] In addition to reprinting a number of earlier variants of the image of the meeting, the magazine's artists produced many new versions of the scene (Fig. 15). Although the classic visual components of the meeting can still be easily found, new elements were also introduced. The scene was often depicted from novel angles. What is more, the atmosphere predominant in the pictures is often characterized by a new sense of relaxation and even joy.

From the 1970s we can also find a rare African postcolonial interpretation of the iconic scene. During 1973 and 1974 a Congolese artist Tshibumba Kanda Matulu produced a series of over one hundred paintings in which he presented his own version of the Congolese past by utilizing the contemporary style of urban popular art. He was commissioned by the German anthropologist Johannes Fabian to visualize key moments

of Congolese history as they appeared in folk memory. The Stanley-Livingstone meeting took place on the other side of the continent, but Stanley's strong involvement in Congolese history might explain why the subject became part of the series. The painting also stands in strong contrast to most other images in the series, which depict violence, exploitation, and political turmoil, with its clear postcolonial critique. The image of the meeting, however, combines elements of canonized imagery with Kanda Matulu's own vision, thereby creating a joyful scene.[91] Stanley and Livingstone, both depicted in bright white costumes, can be seen approaching each other with arms opened in anticipation of an embrace.

In 1971 and 1973, stamps and first-day covers were released in many countries, including Scotland, Tanzania, Zambia, Burundi, and the Union of the Comoros in order to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the meeting and in order to honour the centenary of the death of Livingstone. Again, the canonized imagery showed significant malleability in order to adapt to different circumstances. It could be used to promote Livingstone in the context of the Scottish national movement, for example, or to reminisce about the history of the European presence in Africa in former colonies and other newly independent countries. When the International Geographical Union issued a series of coins representing great explorers in 1978 the Stanley-Livingstone meeting was regarded as an obvious choice for an event to be commemorated. The encounter also ended up being depicted in more unexpected places, such as on a fifty-dollar coin minted in 1988 in the Cook Islands.

The meeting has also been represented in the form of statues. As already mentioned, wax models of Stanley and Livingstone—possibly arranged as if encountering each other—could be seen at Madame Tussaud's Museum in London soon after Stanley's arrival in Britain. In addition, the Livingstone Museum in Ujiji, in present-day Tanzania, houses life-size *papier mâché* models of Stanley and Livingstone, who are depicted raising their hats when greeting each other. Tourists from all over the world have shared their travel snapshots on the Internet in which they too raise their caps with Stanley and Livingstone or introduce new ways to encounter the classic figures (Fig. 16). The life-size bronze statue of Stanley by Nick Elphick, which was unveiled in 2011 in Stanley's home town of Denbigh in Wales, is also inspired by the original visualization of the meeting.

As soon as the phrase "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?" was heard by a Western audience, it became the object of ridicule.[92] Similarly, the visual elements of the famous meeting were also soon modified and twisted

for comedic value. Countless caricatures, comic strips, and comedies can be found of the event. Generations of children have assisted Stanley in his search for Livingstone by playing board games[93] or, more recently, a Nintendo video game (1992). The historical meeting has also been depicted with Lego figures and commercialized in numerous ways. Today, it is easy to order on the Internet a baby dummy, a tie, a dog t-shirt, luggage tags, a mobile phone cover, or a number of other personal objects that all bear an image of the meeting printed on it.

**Conclusion**

Nineteenth-century travel illustrations of distant regions were commonly copied and altered in order to be used in subsequent, unauthorized works. However, as far as the majority of travel illustrations were concerned, this did not last very long. New explorers, journeys, "discoveries," and visual materials soon took the place of previous ones. The image of the Stanley-Livingstone meeting has shown exceptional resilience over time: it can be argued that it is one of the very few visual images of nineteenth-century African exploration—or perhaps the only one—which is still recognizable to a wide Western audience. Besides, the vitality of the scene can be seen in the manner in which it still generates new interpretations among contemporary artists and illustrators.[94]

As has been described, none of the three illustrations published in 1872 was a straight document of the meeting. They cannot tell us much about the famed meeting itself, the persons who were present, the manner in which they behaved, or the way things looked. However, an examination of the genesis and the subsequent copying and lives of the images of the meeting offers fascinating insights into late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century practices of producing and recycling illustrations. The repetition of the three authorized images was of crucial importance in creating an initial agreement regarding the authenticity of the scene. This also served to establish and canonize the visual impression of this particular meeting in Western iconography. Before the 1920s, the image was usually reproduced without any significant alterations. Yet, as the surrounding literary contexts of the image changed over time, it became associated with a variety of themes from humanitarianism and Christianity to imperial conquest and everyday colonial life. With these

different framings, the image received varied meanings in relation to the history of the European presence in Africa.

As the cumulative process of copying and circulating went on, the importance attached to authenticity gradually started to fade. The connection of new images to the classic imagery thus loosened and spontaneous interpretations of the theme became more frequent. At the same time, depictions of the meeting crossed oceans and national borders and found their way into diverse media. Despite the constant maturing and changing of the image, elements such as the figures of Stanley and Livingstone and their hats were present and ensured instant recognition of the dominant themes associated with the encounter.

Initially, visual representations of the meeting were tightly connected to the written descriptions, most importantly to the famous words of Stanley: "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?" When combined with visualizations of the meeting, this peculiar phrase seemed to gain strength and, vice versa, the words stressed the importance of an illustration. Thus, the visual image of the Stanley-Livingstone meeting became an inseparable part of the popular understanding and imagination of the event. This powerful combination of words and visual elements also guaranteed the long-lasting and widespread fame of illustrations depicting the celebrated event. By the turn of the century, however, the image of the meeting had become so widely recognizable that it no longer needed the accompanying written descriptions. As the image become increasingly self-sufficient, it could be reproduced, simultaneously with the traditional print format, in a variety of other parallel formats that were less textual in character. An iconic image developed and established itself through repetition in the flourishing print media and beyond it. This process also made it possible for new generations to became familiar with the story of an encounter of two European men in Africa.

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[1] On the date of the meeting, see Tim Jeal, *Livingstone* (London: Book Club Associates, 1973), 335, 387–88; François Bontick, "La Date de la Rencontre Stanley-Livingstone," *Africa: Rivista Trimestrale di Studi e Documentazione dell'Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente* 34, no. 3 (1979): 225–41; Ian C. Cunningham, *David Livingstone: A Catalogue of Documents: A Supplement* (Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 1985), Appendix 6; Tim Jeal, *Stanley: The Impossible Life of Africa's Greatest Explorer* (London: Faber & Faber, 2007), 120n10; Tim Jeal, *Explorers of the Nile: The Triumph and Tragedy of a Great Victorian Adventure* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 268. For an overview of this debate, see Justin Livingstone & Adrian S. Wisnicki, "The Date of the Livingstone-Stanley Meeting," in

*Livingstone's 1871 Field Diary. A Multispectral Critical Edition,* The David Livingstone Spectral Imaging Project, http://livingstone.library.ucla.edu/1871diary/meeting1.htm (UCLA Library, [2011]) [accessed 30 March 2020].

[2] Jeal, *Livingstone,* 389–90; Jeal, *Stanley*, 116–19.

[3] Jeal, *Stanley*, 117–19; Jeal, *Explorers of the Nile*, 270. Stanley is known to have removed pages of his diary relating to the day of the meeting and Livingstone's journal does not include any reference to the first words uttered when they met.

[4] Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 121; Clare Pettitt, *Dr Livingstone, I Presume? Missionaries, Journalists, Explorers and Empire* (London: Profile, 2007), 9–11; Berny Sèbe, "The Making of British and French Legends of Exploration, 1821–1914," in *Reinterpreting Exploration: The West in the World*, edited by Dane Kennedy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 115, 122.

[5] Pettitt, *Dr. Livingstone, I Presume?*, 11.

[6] Driver, *Geography Militant*, 87. See also Andrew Ross, *David Livingstone: Mission and Empire* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002), 224.

[7] Edward Berenson, *Heroes of Empire: Five Charismatic Men and the Conquest of Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 25–26. See also Felix Driver, "David Livingstone and the Culture of Exploration in Mid-Victorian Britain," *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa*, edited by John M. MacKenzie (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1996), 131.

[8] Ross, *David Livingstone*, 109.

[9] Pettitt, *Dr. Livingstone, I Presume?*, 12; Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 29–30.

[10] Pettitt, *Dr. Livingstone, I Presume?*, 18–19.

[11] Berny Sèbe, *Heroic Imperialists in Africa. The Promotion of British and French Colonial Heroes, 1870–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 97–126.

[12] *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa*, edited by John M. MacKenzie (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1996); Driver, *Geography Militant;* Pettitt, *Dr Livingstone, I Presume?; Reinterpreting Exploration. The West in the World*, edited by Dane Keith Kennedy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Tim Barringer: "Fabricating Africa: Livingstone and the Visual Image 1950–1874," in *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa*, edited by John M. MacKenzie (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1996); James R. Ryan: *Picturing Empire. Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997); James R. Ryan, *Photography and Exploration* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013); Sèbe, *Heroic Imperialists in Africa*; Berny Sèbe, "Exhibiting the Empire in Print: The Press, the Publishing World and the Promotion of 'Greater Britain,'" in *Exhibiting the Empire. Cultures of*

*Display and the British Empire,* edited by John McAleer and John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015); John MacKenzie, "The Iconography of the Exemplary Life: the Case of David Livingstone," in *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives*, edited by Geoffrey Cubitt and Allen Warren (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

[13] Peter Mason, *The Lives of Images* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001). See also Mireia Aragay, "Reflection to Refraction: Adaptation Studies Then and Now," in *Books in Motion. Adaptation, Intertextuality, Authorship,* edited by Mireia Aragay (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), 11–31; *Travel, Agency, and the Circulation of Knowledge*, edited by Gesa Mackenthun, Andrea Nicolas, and Stephanie Wodianka (Münster: Waxmann [2017]).

[14] Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction. Commodities and the Politics of Value," and Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge 1986), 3–91; Daniela Bleichmar and Meredith Martin, eds., *Objects in Motion in the Early Modern World* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2016).

[15] Anders Ekström, Solveig Jülich, Frans Lundgren, and Per Wisselgren, *History of Participatory Media. Politics and Publics, 1750–2000* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

[16] [Norman R. Bennett], "Introduction," in *Stanley's Despatches to the New York Herald 1871–1872, 1874–1877*, edited by N.R. Bennett ([Boston]: Boston University Press, 1970), xxii–xxiv; Berenson, *Heroes of Empire,* 40.

[17] Berenson, *Heroes of Empire,* 32–34, 46.

[18] "Livingstone," *The New York Herald*, July 2, 1872; "The Watershed of the Nile," *The New York Herald*, August 15, 1872; "Livingstone's Sign Manual," *The New York Herald*, August 27, 1872; "Livingstone or Stanley," *The New York Herald*, August 29, 1872.

[19] "Livingstone's rescue," *The New York Herald*, July 4, 1872.

[20] James L. Newman, *Imperial Footprints: Henry Morton Stanley's African Journeys* (Washington: Brassey's, 2004), 71–75; Jeal, *Stanley*, 138–39; Berenson, *Heroes of Empire*, 42–45.

[21] "Mr. Stanley's sketches," *The Whitstable Times and Herne Bay Herald*, August 3, 1872.

[22] "The finding of Dr. Livingstone," *The Illustrated London News*, August 3, 1872.

[23] Edward Marston to Stanley, October 16, 1877, Stanley Archives 1523, Royal Museum for Central Africa (RMCA) Tervuren.

[24] An advertisement in *The Illustrated London News* (November 2, 1872) promised that the book would be on the market by November 9.

[25] Several versions can also be found in cover illustrations. See, for example, Henry M. Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone: Travels, Adventures and Discoveries in Central Africa* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1892).

[26] See Henry M. Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone*, 563.

[27] Henry M. Stanley, *Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley. The Making of a 19th-Century Explorer*, edited by Dorothy Stanley, originally published 1909 (Santa Barbara: The Narrative Press, 2001), 263.

[28] Ryan, *Picturing Empire*; Ryan, *Photography and Exploration*.

[29] Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 32–38; Lawrence Dritsas, *Zambesi: David Livingstone and Expeditionary Science in Africa* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 97–98.

[30] Jeal, *Stanley*, 95–96; T. Jack Thompson, *Light on Darkness? Missionary Photography of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Grand Rapids: William. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2012), 101–20.

[31] Thompson, *Light on Darkness?*, 103, 110, 133.

[32] Henry M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent or The Sources of the Nile around the Great Lakes of Equatorial Africa and down the Livingstone River to the Atlantic Ocean*, Vol. I (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1878), viii, 64. See also Stanley's journal, November 12, 1874, Stanley Archives 16, RMCA; Stanley's report to the *New York Herald*, November 12, 1874, *Stanley's Despatches to the New York Herald 1871–1872, 1874–1877*, edited by Norman R. Bennett ([Boston]: Boston University Press, 1970), 166.

[33] Stanley to Robert Bright Marston, March 31, 1879, Stanley Archives, RMCA.

[34] Gary W. Clendennen, *David Livingstone's Shire Journal, 1861–1864* (National Library of Wales, 1992), 148.

[35] Leila Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa in Nineteenth-Century British Travel Accounts* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 35–36, 39; Dritsas, *Zambesi*, 97–104.

[36] Stanley's journal, August 16, [1872], Stanley Archives 12, RMCA.

[37] Stanley's journals and notebooks 1871–1872, Stanley Archives 7–12, RMCA.

[38] Newman, *Imperial Footprints*, 45, 50, 64; Jeal, *Stanley*, 107, 113.

[39] Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa*, 52–56.

[40] See Lett's Diary No 8, 1871 and Journal (from December 27, 1871, to February 18, 1872), Stanley Archives 7, 9, RMCA.

[41] Frank McLynn, *Stanley: The Making of an African Explorer* (Chelsea, MI: Scarborough House, 1990), opposite 208

[42] Thompson, *Light on Darkness?*, 112 note 50, 120.

[43] Richard Seymore Hall, *Stanley: An Adventurer Explored* (London: Collins, 1974), 205; Jeal, *Stanley*, Fig. 15.

[44] Stanley Archives 5236, RMCA. Stanley came to the Seychelles from Zanzibar and had to wait on the island for a connection to Aden for several weeks. On Stanley's route back to Europe and the accompanying persons, see Newman, *Imperial Footprints*, 69–70.

[45] Newman, *Imperial Footprints*, 70.

[46] See also Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa*, 187–89; Thompson, *Light on Darkness?*, 114, 127–28.

[47] Sampson Low & Co to Stanley, August 13, 1872, Stanley Archives 1492, RMCA. See also Sèbe, *Heroic Imperialists in Africa*, 111.

[48] Letter from Edward Marston to Stanley, August 22, 1872, Stanley Archives 1493, RMCA.

[49] Edward Hodnett, *Five Centuries of English Book Illustration* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1988), 3–4; Keri A. Berg, "Contesting the Page: The Author and the Illustrator in France, 1830–1848," *Book History* 10 (2007), 70, 73.

[50] Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone*, 405.

[51] Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone*, 411.

[52] See, for example, Margaret Homans, *Royal Representation:. Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837–1876* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

[53] Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone*, 412.

[54] Stanley, *Autobiography,* 283.

[55] Thompson, *Light on Darkness?*, 114.

[56] This sketch has been reproduced—without reference to its archival location—in *Stanley's Despatches to the New York Herald 1871–1872, 1874–1877*, opposite 89. One copy of the image has been found at the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts. I am grateful to Dr. Gary Clendennen for this information. According to Thompson, the sketch was made on December 21, 1871, but he provides no source for this. Thompson, *Light on Darkness?*, 116.

[57] Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone*, 625.

[58] Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa*, 157–169.

[59] In addition to the wax figures of Livingstone and Stanley, the servant Kalulu was also modelled and put on permanent display. Paul Bayly, *David Livingstone, Africa's Greatest Explorer: The Man, the Missionary and the Myth* (Stroud: Fronthill Media, 2013), chapter 13; Pettitt, *Dr. Livingstone, I Presume?*, 51, 61–63.

[60] See, for example, "Madame Tussaud's," *The Era*, December 1, 1872.

[61] Thompson, *Light on Darkness?*, 121.

[62] Felix Driver, "Old Hat, I Presume? History of a Fetish," *History Workshop Journal* 41 (1996): 230–234. See also Tim Jeal, "David Livingstone: A Brief Biographical Account," *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1996), 67.

[63] In 1996, the hats were part of an installation entitled *The Maybe* at London's Serpentine Gallery. Driver, "Old Hat, I Presume?," 230–234. See also Driver, *Geography Militant*, 121. The hats were also on display in Edinburgh in 2012 in an exhibition entitled *Dr Livingstone, I Presume?* held at the National Museum of Scotland.

[64] Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa;* Leila Koivunen, "Africa on the Spot and from the Distance: David Livingstone's Missionary Travels and Nineteenth-Century Practices of Illustration," *Scottish Geographical Journal* 129 (2013): 3–4.

[65] Joanna Lewis, *Empire of Sentiment: The Death of Livingstone and Myth of Victorian Imperialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), chapters 1–2.

[66] John M. MacKenzie "David Livingstone and the Worldly After-Life: Imperialism and Nationalism in Africa," in *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa*, edited by John M. MacKenzie (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1996), 204. See also Justin D. Livingstone, "A 'Body' of Evidence: The Posthumous Presentation of David Livingstone," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 40, no. 1 (2012), 1; Lewis, *Empire of Sentiment*, 4–6, chapter 1.

[67] For estimations of the number of biographies of Stanley and Livingstone, see James A. Casada, *Dr. David Livingstone and Sir Henry Morton Stanley. An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1976).

[68] See, for example, H.G. Adams, *David Livingstone: The Weaver Boy who became a Missionary* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1872); Cadwalader Rowlands, *Henry M. Stanley. The Story of his Life from his Birth in 1841 to his Discovery of Livingstone, 1871* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1873); William H.G. Kingston, *Great African Travellers from Mungo Park to Livingstone and Stanley* (London, New York: George Routledge, 1874); John S. Roberts, *The Life and Explorations of David Livingstone, LL.D.* (Boston: B.B. Russell, 1875); Robert Cochrane, *Lives and Discoveries of Famous Travellers* (New York: R. Worthington, 1883). Henry William Little, *Henry M. Stanley, His Life, Travels and Explorations* (London: Chapman and Hall; Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1890).

[69] Sèbe, "Exhibiting the Empire in Print," 182–83.

[70] Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa*, 144–52.

[71] Elena Cooper, "How art was different: Researching the history of artistic copyright," in *Research Handbook on the History of Copyright Law*, edited by Isabella Alexander, H. Tomás Gómez-Arostegui (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2016), 158–60.

[72] Edward Hodnett, *Image and Text: Studies in the Illustration of English Literature* (London: Scolar Press, 1982), 25.

[73] Catherine Seville, "British colonial and imperial copyright," in *Research Handbook on the History of Copyright Law,* edited by Isabella Alexander, H. Tomás Gómez-Arostegui (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2016), 268–70.

[74] Seville, "British colonial and imperial copyright," 285–86.

[75] See, for example, *Livingstone's Africa. Perilous Adventures and Extensive Discoveries in the Interior of Africa* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Bros., 1872); L.D. Ingersoll, *Explorations in Africa by Dr. David Livingstone and Other* (Chicago: Union Publishing Company & San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft, 1872); *The Life, Labours and Adventures of David Livingstone* (Toronto: MacLear, 1874); J.E. Chambliss, *Life and Labors of David Livingstone* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Bros., 1875); J.T. Headley, *The Achievements of Stanley and Other African Explorers* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Bros, 1878); J.T. Headley, *Stanley's Wonderful Adventures in Africa* ([Philadelphia:] Edgewood, 1889).

[76] Josiah Tyler, *Livingstone Lost and Found* (Hartford: Mutual, 1873); Charles H. Jones, *Africa: The History of Exploration and Adventure* (New York: Henry Holt, 1875); Charles H. Jones, *Famous Explorers and Adventurers in Africa* (New York: Hurst, 1881); D.M. Kelsey, *Stanley and the White Heroes in Africa* (St. Louis and Philadelphia: Scammel, 1890).

[77] See, for example, Henry Davenport Northrop, Wonders of the Tropics; or, Explorations and Adventures of Henry M. Stanley (Philadelphia and Chicago: National Publishing Company, 1889); Charles H. Jones, *Livingstone's and Stanley's Travels in Africa* (New York: Hurst, 1900); Gustav Plieninger, George P. Upton, *David Livingstone* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1912); John Scott Keltie and S. Carter Gilmour, *Adventures of Exploration: Africa* (London: George Philip, 1929).

[78] MacKenzie, "David Livingstone and the Worldly After-Life," 206–07; MacKenzie, "The Iconography of the Exemplary Life," 84, 102–3.

[79] Livingstone, "A 'Body' of Evidence", 1, 13–16; Justin D. Livingstone, "Livingstone's Posthumous Reputation," *Livingstone Online*, http://www.livingstoneonline.org/life-and-times/livingstone-s-posthumous-reputation, eds. Megan Ward, Adrian S. Wisnicki (University of Maryland Libraries, 2015) [accessed 30 March 2020]; Lewis, *Empire of Sentiment.*

[80] *The Finding of Dr. Livingstone by H.M. Stanley* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1873).

[81] *The Life and Explorations of David Livingstone* (London: Adams & co., 1870, [1874, 1876, 1880]; London: Semple, 1877; London: Murdoch, 1882; Boston: B.B. Russell, 1875).

[82] *Cassell's Illustrated History of England,* vol. X (London, Paris and New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin, ca 1890). See also J.W. Buel, *Heroes of the Dark Continent* (Guelph: J.W. Lyon, 1890).

[83] Livingstone, "Livingstone's Posthumous Reputation," section: Edwardian Empire.

[84] Harry Hamilton Johnston, *Pioneers in South Africa* (London: Gresham, 1914). See also C. Silvester Horne, *David Livingstone* (New York: Macmillan, 1913).

[85] James P. Boyd, *Stanley in Africa: The Wonderful Discoveries and Thrilling Adventures* (Toronto: Rose, 1889).

[86] Evelyn Harriet Walker, *Leaders of the 19th Century with Some Noted Characters of Earlier Times* (Chicago: A.B. Kuhlman Company, 1900).

[87] This lantern slide is part of the collections of Museum Victoria (Melbourne), Reg. No. MM 69526.

[88] Pettitt, *Dr. Livingstone, I Presume?*, 117; see also 118–23.

[89] Livingstone, "Livingstone's Posthumous Reputation," section: Livingstone on Screen. See also Pettitt, *Dr. Livingstone, I Presume?*, 122.

[90] See, for example, *Look and Learn*, 16 June 1962, 1 May 1966, 7 October 1978.

[91] Johannes Fabian, *Remembering the Present: Painting and Popular History in Zaire: Narrative and Paintings by Tshibumba Kanda Matulu* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 29.

[92] Newman, *Imperial Footprints*, 84; Jeal, *Stanley*, 117, 139–140; Tim Jeal, *Explorers of the Nile: The Triumph and Tragedy of a Great Victorian Adventure* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 204, 279–80; Berenson, *Heroes of Empire*, 23.

[93] See, for example, *Across Africa with Livingstone* (1920s–1930s, Chad Valley Company); *"Dr. Livingstone, I Presume?" African Adventure Game* (1980s, Skor-Mor Products)*; Livingstone* (Playroom Entertainment, 2009).

[94] The Swedish graphic designer Robert Toth, for example, designed a new version of the image for a Swedish school history book *PRIO Historia Grundbok 8*, published by Sanoma Education in 2012. See https://toth-illustration.com/stanley-and-livingstone-sanoma-education/ [accessed 30 March 2020].