

The First Edition of Livingstone's *Missionary Travels*

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Background

David Livingstone's first book, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa ...* (London: John Murray, 1857), is not only one of the commonest but also one of the most significant of the 'rare book' first editions describing the penetration of sub-Saharan Africa by outsiders during the mid-nineteenth century. It has attracted the attention of historians and bibliographers ever since its publication, but emphasis has often been on areas extending from adulation (in a twentyfirst-century perspective, not necessarily justified) of its author as missionary, explorer and pioneer of European settlement and colonisation, to the history and ethnography of African inhabitants in regions about which written accounts were not previously available. All of these factors have exerted their influence since the 1850s, and were reflected in the book's initial production, its impact, and the unprecedented demand that greeted its publication. Attention has now shifted towards the interplay of these diverse interests and their effect on changing evaluations of the author's achievements.¹

The prime purpose of this paper is the disentanglement and interpretation of the bewildering array of relatively minor variants in which the first edition of *Missionary Travels* was issued. Livingstone's subsequent African journeys, primary accounts of which were also published by John Murray (*Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries* by David and Charles Livingstone, 1865; and *The Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa*, edited by Horace Waller, 1874) fall outside the subject-range of the present paper, which seeks to focus on *Missionary Travels* only.

David Livingstone was born in Blantyre, Scotland, in 1813. As a youth, he worked at a local cotton mill, but early ambition and application soon distinguished him from most of his contemporaries and he embarked on medical studies in Glasgow and, subsequently, Edinburgh. In his twenties, he established links with the London Missionary Society which, in 1839/40, on the strength of his medical training and expertise, sent him to join Robert Moffat at the latter's Kuruman mission in Tswana country, northwestern Cape Colony.

Personal relationships with missionary colleagues and others soon proved problematic, and Livingstone found himself increasingly attracted to more sparsely populated northerly regions, moving his base from Kuruman to Kolobeng, 240 miles to the northwest. With Cotton Oswell and Mungo Murray, he crossed the Kalahari in 1849, their party becoming perhaps the first outsiders to reach Lake Ngami.² In April/May of the following year Livingstone, this time

¹ For general accounts of Livingstone and his book, compare W. G. Blaikie *The Personal Life of David Livingstone* (London: John Murray, 1880) with R. J. Campbell *Livingstone* (London: Benn, 1929); G. Seaver *David Livingstone: his Life and Letters* (London: Lutterworth, 1957); Tim Jeal *Livingstone* (London: Heinemann, 1973); B. W. Lloyd (ed.) *Livingstone 1873–1973* (Cape Town: Struik, 1973); J. M. MacKenzie (ed.) *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1996) and S. Worden (ed.) *David Livingstone: Man, Myth and Legacy* (Edinburgh: National Museums Scotland, 2012). These varied publications reflect the viewpoints of their times and places, but Jeal's seems the most balanced overall, with generally adequate supporting documentation.

² It seems that a visit by the artist, Alfred Ryder or Rider (see fns 22 and 35, below), may have preceded Lake Ngami's 'discovery' by Oswell, Murray and Livingstone on 1 August 1849. For evidence that Oswell himself

accompanied by his wife, Mary (née Moffat) and their three young children: Robert (aged four), Agnes (three) and Thomas (one), crossed the Kalahari in a failed attempt to reach the lake, being forced to return to Kolobeng. A second attempt, starting a year later with Oswell who contributed generously to the cost, met with more success; Livingstone and Oswell continued northward to the Zambezi, noting the area's potential for a missionary establishment which, in June 1851, they discussed with Chief Sebituane, resident in a town of several thousand inhabitants beside the Linyanti in the area of the modern Namibia often known today as the Caprivi Strip.³ It was around this time that Livingstone heard, via Oswell, about the huge waterfall on the Zambezi, downstream of Sesheke.⁴

His family having returned to Britain, Livingstone paid a second visit to Linyanti in 1853. Obtaining support from Sekeletu, Sebituane's successor, he then set off to the northwest through the Barotse Valley, eventually reaching Loanda (now Luanda) on the Atlantic coast of Angola, travelling through country ravaged by Portuguese-supported slave-trading. The journey of well over 1,200 miles from Linyanti had taken 203 days. Shortly after arrival in Loanda, taking account of the difficulties encountered on the outward journey, he decided to re-trace his steps and then to reconnoitre an eastward route from Linyanti to the Indian Ocean, broadly following the Zambezi. The return journey to Linyanti began in September 1854 and took almost a year. Less than two months later, at the beginning of November 1855, Livingstone set out again from Linyanti, via the Victoria Falls,⁵ to complete what proved to be the first recorded west-to-east crossing of the African continent, eventually reaching Quilimane (now Quelimane), on the Indian Ocean coast north of the Zambezi-mouth, in mid-May 1856. The full transit of almost 2,500 miles thus took 22 months (Jeal 1973: 146–7). News of his plan having reached the Foreign Office in London from their consul in Loanda, a Royal-Navy vessel was anticipating his arrival in Quilimane and provided transport, via Mauritius, to Britain where he arrived on 9 December 1856. It seems that agreement had already been reached that his account of this journey and its precursors would in due course be published in London by John Murray.⁶

may also have been there on an earlier occasion, see Oswell 1900, Clay 1959, and Listowel 1973: chapters 3–7 *passim*.

³ Note that the names Linyanti and Chobe were applied by early travellers to sections of the same river. The country between Lake Ngami and the Linyanti/Chobe was generally known in the early twentieth century as Ngamiland and renowned for its herds of cattle. More recently, it has reverted to fame for its wildlife, and is known to international tourists as Okavango after a large seasonally-flooded internal drainage area. Considerable interest attaches to the region's physical geography, of which a brief but informative recent summary is by Macmillan (2005: 7–8).

⁴ For more detailed discussion, see below, pp. 13-15.

⁵ The visit to the great waterfall, of which he had been told by Oswell some years previously (see pp. 13-14, below) is of particular interest here, because of its representation in the frontispiece to the first edition of *Missionary Travels*.

⁶ John Murray, with support from the President of the Royal Geographical Society, had been in correspondence with Livingstone about publication terms since January 1856 (Blaikie 1880: 174–5; Seaver 1957: 266 citing documentation in Central African Archives, Salisbury – now National Archives of Zimbabwe, Harare). The generous terms offered included two-thirds of profits payable to the author, and a substantial advance.

Preparation for Publication

The first manuscript draft of what was to become *Missionary Travels* seems to have been supplied to Murray some six months after Livingstone's return to England. This has given rise to the oft-repeated statement (e.g. Seaver 1957: 282–5) that, despite its substantial length, the book took only six months to write. In fact, much initial drafting was probably undertaken during Livingstone's voyage home, which lasted almost five months. Writing could thus have occupied eleven months, to which should be added another five months' further copy-editing before the text was considered ready for the press. Thereupon it underwent further extensive revision by author, publisher, the latter's copy-editor Whitwell Elwin (dubbed 'the red-ink man' by Livingstone⁷), and the author's brother, Charles.⁸ It is clear that friction arose at this time between author and publisher, the latter and his staff proposing numerous revisions and changes of emphasis to which Livingstone took exception, strongly and repeatedly expressed.⁹ It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the book's eventual success owed much to Murray's patient perseverance in the face of a barrage of objection which made no allowance either for Murray's expertise or for the generous terms offered.

Production

Preliminary work on the book's production began early in 1857. Separate lithographic versions of illustrations 1, 8 and 16¹⁰ were produced both by William West and by Thomas Picken with captions reading 'Published by John Murray Albemarle St^t May 1857'; two folding printed maps supplied by John Arrowsmith bear printed dates 1857. However, neither the lithographs nor the maps seem to have been made publicly available prior to binding in books, with title pages also dated 1857, that were apparently not issued for public sale until November of that year. In May or shortly thereafter, work was presumably also undertaken on sourcing materials on which the woodcut illustrations were to be based (cf. fn 23, below).

The task of preparing *Missionary Travels* for printing appears finally to have been completed by October 1857, which date was duly appended to the author's dedication and preface. It was evidently shortly afterwards that the first bound books were made available for presentation and for review.

⁷ Letter to Murray, 6 April 1857, in the John Murray Archive, National Library of Scotland, cited at Livingstoneonline.org. It is noteworthy that, as soon as Livingstone had departed on his HMG-supported Zambesi Expedition on 10 March 1858, Elwin was entrusted by Murray with abbreviating the *Missionary Travels* text for the previously authorised *Popular Account ...* version (Livingstone 1861).

⁸ The manuscript is now preserved at the National Library of Scotland, and a detailed record of its numerous versions, correlated with material from the Murray Archive, has been prepared by the <Livingstoneonline> project. This confirms that substantial changes, not all of which were welcomed by the author, were made to the text at this stage. Treatment of the Victoria Falls, for example, was expanded and modified to make it more descriptive and appealing to the reader. It seems that preparatory work on the book's lithographic illustrations and on the maps (see also pp. 6–8, below) was also undertaken at this time. A similar date for the other illustrations (black-and-white woodcuts by J. W. Whymper) is indicated by a manuscript letter (MacKenzie 1996: cat. 2.37, reproduced *ibid.* p. 179) of 22 May 1857 from author to publisher, commenting unfavourably on a proof of one of these woodcuts.

⁹ See Henderson 2015 for examples.

¹⁰ These numbers are those allocated in the book's "List of Illustrations", summarised on p. 6, below.

The initial print-run of 12,000 copies¹¹ was sold out through pre-publication subscriptions, and more printings quickly followed, including 1,000 copies with an index ordered in March 1858 (Henderson 2015). It appears that all these copies had title pages dated 1857 and included at the end an 8-page catalogue, dated 1 November of that year, listing Murray's other publications. All first-edition copies of *Missionary Travels* were issued in embossed brown-cloth bindings with gilt spine lettering by Edmonds & Remnants of London, whose ticket was usually affixed to the rear paste-down.¹² Although the binding of the 1857 books was handsomely designed, for a John Murray publication of this date it was uncharacteristically flimsy.¹³ Some copies, which may have been the first to be issued, had endpapers printed on one side in brown/green¹⁴ with an overall square-and-diamond pattern, although 'brown-coated' or, subsequently, plain white papers were also sometimes used¹⁵ and seemingly continued in use throughout the first edition's issue. At a retail price of one guinea per copy, the book was clearly a financial success both for the author and for the publisher.¹⁶

The First Edition and its Variant Issues

Physical production of the books in the large numbers that are indicated must have been spread over some time, and it is hardly surprising that not all copies of the so-called first edition are identical. On the other hand, it is certainly contrary to present-day practice that no definite publication date appears to have been set for the book's initial release, although printed copies clearly became publicly available by late November 1857.¹⁷ Some copies bear inscriptions

¹¹ It seems that no contemporary records survive to indicate whether all these copies were identical, but recent research, discussed below on pp. 4-12, both by Renard (1969, 1994) and by Bradlow (1973) indicates that this was not the case either for illustrations or for text.

¹² Edmonds and Remnants, based in St Paul's Churchyard, were prolific and well known binders who specialised in long-run work for London publishers.

¹³ This factor may have contributed to so many copies having replacement leather bindings. It is noteworthy that Murray's later Livingstone publications (e.g. Livingstone & Livingstone 1865; Waller 1874) contained fewer illustrations but were more robustly bound using thicker boards and cloth superior to that employed in 1857.

¹⁴ The colour seems to have varied or perhaps has been subject to change under certain conditions.

¹⁵ I have recorded two varieties of these patterned endpapers: one with a bold design on books with West lithographs, and the other finer, more detailed on one with Picken/Day lithographs, although some of the latter have plain endpapers, brown-coated on one side. For the two lithographers, see below (pp. 7-8, fns 27 and 28).

¹⁶ In preliminary correspondence, Murray had offered to divide the profits by paying two-thirds to Livingstone (Seaver 1957: 266; see fn 6, above). Jeal (1996: 37, also *idem* 1973: 163, 197) recorded that the royalties paid to Livingstone on the first 70,000 copies exceeded £12,000. Assuming that a large proportion of these 70,000 copies was sold (with, in most cases, an appropriate trade discount), it is likely that receipts amounted to some £40,000. Allowing £18,000 for the profits shared, as agreed, between publisher and author, it appears that some £22,000 (a little over six shillings per copy) was anticipated, probably realistically, to meet total production costs.

¹⁷ Seaver (1957: 284) indicated a precise publication date of 10 November 1857, but did not cite his evidence. It should be noted here that Seaver employed bibliographic terms in idiosyncratic ways which readers may find confusing and/or misleading: for example, he did not always distinguish between a repeat print-order and a new edition, irrespective of any changes to text, illustration or binding. The date may have related to when copies were sent to retailers, but clearly some presentation and review copies had been distributed a few weeks earlier. Reviews appeared in the *Leeds Mercury* on 7 November 1857 and in the *Glasgow Herald* four days later.

¹⁸ Dates inscribed in books need to be interpreted with care. A copy signed by the author, particularly to a named individual, may be deemed valuable, but may not necessarily have represented a formal presentation on the date specified. Bradlow (1973: 14-16) listed four copies bearing presentation-inscriptions between late October and

indicating presentation, from the author and others, at dates in late October of that year, by which time the first reviews were being prepared.¹⁸ Work on the lithographic illustrations and on the maps seems to have begun several months previously.

A. Text

The 1857 edition shows little change throughout, maintaining its total extent of x + 688/711¹⁹ +8 pages in all recorded copies, with only the following exceptions:

Prelims. The only variation of which I am aware in the 10-page preliminary matter relates to the list of illustrations on the unnumbered p. [x], illustrations 16 and 17 being transposed (while each retaining its correct page reference) in some copies, invariably those with the lithographic illustrations discussed below. The only published mention of this that I have been able to trace is in Bradlow's 1973 paper, pp. 12–13, citing his own copies and those held by Rhodes University in Grahamstown²⁰, also correspondence with Maggs Bros. in London. Bradlow's treatment does not make it entirely clear whether the relevant illustrations themselves were also transposed in copies containing the variant list, but my own examinations indicate that this was not the case.

Replacement leaves at p. 8. In Bradlow's Variant 3 and Renard's fourth and fifth issues (see Tables 1 and 2), the original leaf comprising pp. 7 and 8 was replaced by a bifolium, comprising pp. 7, 8, 8* and 8⁺ with revised and expanded text.²¹ Modification to the text on these pages mainly involved re-ordering and the addition of material relating to Livingstone's wife and children.²² Some previous writers seem to imply that this modification simply

early November 1857, with one in late February of the following year. The earliest, dated 26 October, was listed as being in the Oppenheimer Collection (now Brenthurst Library), Johannesburg; another was presented to Sir James Watt on 29 October. Christie's (2004) catalogue of the Quentin Keynes collection lists additional presentation copies, some bearing comparable dates. Further examples have occasionally been detailed in booksellers' published and on-line catalogues, but I have not attempted a comprehensive listing.

¹⁹ The higher figure relates to copies containing the index, as noted below (p. 6, fns 41 and 56). The 711-page issue corresponds with no. 1b of Lloyd and Lashbrook's 1978 *Bibliography* which, however, includes no mention of the index.

²⁰ The name of Grahamstown has recently been changed to Makhanda. A controversial proposal to change the name of Rhodes University has not been resolved at the time of writing.

²¹ This was bound in as a new signature B3, indicated at the bottom of new p. 8*. For further details, see Bradlow 1973: 7–8 and, for speculation about the significance of this change, his pp. 17–18. It is not easy to evaluate the frequency of its occurrence, since it only becomes apparent when copies are comprehensively collated or a specific search made, neither condition being routinely met.

²² For details, see Bradlow 1973: 10, 17–18, citing catalogue entries by, and correspondence with, bookdealers Renard in Australia, Thorold in Johannesburg and Maggs in London. It appears that all copies containing the modified leaf 7/8 and the new one 8*/8⁺ (Bradlow's Variant 3) are illustrated exclusively with woodcuts by Whympfer (see below), and that one such copy, inscribed 28 February 1858, must have been issued on or before that date. Bradlow (*ibid.*) cited a 1972 letter from Robin Fryde of Thorold booksellers raising interesting questions which merit consideration although initially based on unwarranted and probably incorrect assumptions about the sequence of events. Fryde speculated that the new text may have been inserted at Livingstone's request in response to criticism that he had made inadequate mention of his wife's involvement in the activities described. It would follow from this suggestion that the text-insert (defining Bradlow's Variant 3) and the shift for illustration 8 from West's lithograph (which includes Mary Livingstone and her children, none of whom were present in 1849) but omits David himself (who was present) – to that by Picken (which includes all the Livingstones) may have been broadly contemporaneous. In fact, Variant 3 does not include the Picken version but apparently marks the first appearance of Whympfer's woodcut version of the same image. Whympfer's version of illustration 8 is reproduced by Lloyd (1973: opp. p. 5), with the potentially misleading caption 'Discovery of Lake Ngami, 1 August 1849'. (As noted above (pp. 1–2), David was the only member of the Livingstone family present on that occasion, the first visit to Lake Ngami by his wife and children being in 1850 (see Seaver 1957: 126–8 Clark &

required insertion of a single tipped-in leaf, but my own examinations show that it was usually implemented at the binding stage by the insertion of a bifolium comprising a new signature B3, indicated at the bottom of the new p. 8*. The date by which this alteration took place is indicated by a dated presentation inscription of 28 February 1858 recorded by Bradlow (1973: 15) on a copy attributed to his Variant 3.²³

Index. This, although invaluable to the serious reader, was included in surprisingly few copies, paginated, after an intervening blank, 689–711; and its apparent withdrawal remains difficult to explain (see Bradlow 1973: 17). Printing of 5,000 further copies of *Missionary Travels*, plus 1,000 to include an index, was authorised by Murray in March 1858.²⁴

B. Illustrations

In complete copies, all issues of the first edition have, excluding occasional mis-bound duplicates, a total of 47 illustrations as listed on the un-numbered preliminary p. [x]. Of this total, 27 (including one fold-out map) are tipped-in plates, blank on the verso; 20 (including one full-page) are printed in the text, and one is a large folded map inserted in a pocket attached to the inner face of the rear board. For ease of reference, the numbered illustrations²⁵ may be summarised as follows:

- * Tipped-in folding frontispiece (no. 1)
- * 24 full page tipped-in plates, unpaginated and with no text or image on the verso (nos. 2–11, 13, 16–19, 22, 25–27, 30, 37, 39, 41 and 43).²⁶
- * 20 figures printed in-text (nos. 12, 14, 15, 20, 21, 23, 24, 28, 29, 31–36, 38, 40, 42, 44 and 45).
- * A small folding map (no. 46) usually bound-in between the end of the text and Murray's catalogue.
- * A much larger folding map (no. 47) in a pocket inside the rear cover.

Clay 1963; Jeal 1973: 95). This last point appears to have escaped the attention of B. W. Lloyd, whose 1973 edited book includes, opposite p. 5, a reproduction (neither identified nor explained) of Whympers' version for illustration 8, including images of David, Mary, Robert (aged four), Agnes (three) and one-year-old Thomas (held by Mary who was again pregnant). In fact, David was the only member of the Livingstone family present on the occasion specified, the whole family participating in a second visit to the lake a year later. All three versions (West's, Picken's and Whympers') bear the caption 'From a drawing made on the spot 1850 by the late Alfred Ryder Esq'. In fact, Ryder (sometimes spelled Rider) contributed only a sketch of the Lake scenery, all representations of the Livingstones being added subsequently, after Ryder's death, perhaps at John Murray's instigation. With rare etymological humour, Blaikie (1880: 85) described the members of the Livingstone family present in 1850 as 'Livingstone, ... Mrs Livingstone, and their whole troop of infantry, which now amounted to three'. (The Livingstones' fourth child, Elizabeth who lived for only a few weeks, was born in August 1850.)

²³ Variant 3 was also the first in which all the tipped-in illustrations, including nos. 1, 8 and 16, were Whympers woodcuts (see fns 30 and 31 for further discussion).

²⁴ For the index, see also fn 41, below. Uncertainty surrounds its subsequent retention (fn 56).

²⁵ These numbers correspond with those given in the book's 'List of Illustrations' on p. [x]. The printed illustrations themselves do not bear these numbers.

²⁶ As noted above (p. 5), nos. 16 and 17 were sometimes transposed in the printed list of illustrations. This error appears only in copies with lithographic illustrations, having apparently been corrected at about the time when the lithographs were replaced by woodcuts as noted in fn 8 and further discussed below (see Tables 1–3, pp. 15–19, below). This resulted in the Picken/Day lithograph version of illustration 16 being replaced with a Whympers woodcut of identical composition, listed as illustration 17.

It is only in the case of illustrations 1, 8 and 16/17 (Bechuana Reed-Dance) that variations have been observed in images and/or captions. Nos. 1 and 8 each occurs in two versions as tinted lithographs, respectively by West²⁷ and by Picken,²⁸ and in one as a monochrome woodcut by Whymp²⁹, while two monochrome versions of no. 16/17 have been recognised, respectively a West lithograph and a Whymp woodcut.³⁰ The change from the three lithographs to their woodcut counterparts seems to have been made gradually, presumably as stocks of the former became exhausted. Bradlow's Variant 4, for example, had a Picken/Day lithographic frontispiece, but Whymp woodcuts for illustrations 8 and 16.³¹ The process was subsequently completed with the use of a woodcut frontispiece by Whymp based on Picken's tinted lithograph, as in Bradlow's Variant 3.³²

Lithographs. These, as noted above, were produced by two printers, clearly named on their respective work as 'W. West Lith^r' and 'T. Picken, printed by Day & Son, Lith^{rs} to the Queen'. All bear captions indicating publication by Murray in May 1857³³. The work of the two

²⁷ William West (Leeds, 1828 – London, 1870) was the younger brother of the better-known Tuffen West RA, learned lithography at Bootham School, York, 1841–43, and was recorded living in Middlesex, 1851, before moving to a home and studio in Hatton Garden (see biography by P. B. Paisley at www.microscopy-uk.org.uk, accessed 4 January 2022). After his apparently brief engagement producing lithographic plates for *Missionary Travels* in 1857, he continued to work for Murray, with a diagram in the first (1859) edition of Darwin's *The Origin of Species* being attributed to him (for May/June-1859 correspondence between Darwin and Murray in this connection, see www.darwinproject.ac.uk, also the John Murray archive at the National Library of Scotland). After his relatively brief involvement with illustrations for *Missionary Travels*, I am not aware that he produced further published lithographs.

²⁸ Thomas (Ashburton) Picken, born c.1818 in Govan or Paisley, Scotland, died in poverty at the London Charterhouse, 1891 (see *Wikipedia*). Another source states that he died in Australia in 1870. He was employed (with his brother, Andrew) as engraver of lithographic blocks for Day & Son (previously Day & Haghe) from 1834. His fine and prolific work, notably *The Destruction of both Houses of Parliament* (1834), and *The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington* (1853) is well represented in major collections (Engen 1979). He also undertook commissions from several publishers of books, including works of English and Scottish topography, and others marketed directly by Day & Son.

²⁹ Josiah Wood Whymp (1813–1903) was the son of an Ipswich brewer; he was apprenticed to a stone-mason before moving to London at age 16 to study drawing. His commission from Murray for illustrations to *Missionary Travels* was a relatively early example of his work as a book-illustrator, followed by *Expedition to the Zambesi* and many others. His sons, Edward, Frederick and Charles all adopted similar careers, Edward also gaining fame as a mountaineer.

³⁰ This account is not fully concordant with those published by Renard (1969, 1994) or by Bradlow (1973). The latter recognised versions by West for illustrations 1, 8 and 16 both as tinted lithographs (Variant 1) and four-colour chromolithographs (Variant 6) respectively. The basis for differentiating these techniques was not made fully clear and published reproductions of the chromolithographs are not of sufficient quality to make good this omission. The validity of his Variant 6 (for which only three copies were recorded, none with dated inscriptions, and two of them in Rhodesian/Zimbabwean collections) is thus open to doubt. Renard did not use the presence or absence of chromolithographs to define his sequence of issues. Replacement of tipped-in lithographs with woodcuts was evidently gradual, presumably implemented as supplies of the former were exhausted. Bradlow, for example, recorded four South African institutions holding copies of his Variant 4, in which a Picken/Day tinted lithographic frontispiece was accompanied by woodcut versions of illustrations 8 and 16. One of these copies had a presentation-inscription dated 2 November 1857, indicating that Variant 4 was available by this date.

³¹ The replacement of lithographs with woodcuts resulted in an overall increase in the number of full page tipped-in woodcut illustrations from 20 to 22, plus the folding frontispiece.

³² This Variant, more frequently recorded and also marked by textual changes (see above), is dated in one example by a presentation-inscription of 2 February 1858.

³³ The significance of this date is discussed in fn 8, above.

lithographers may be differentiated, first by the superior detail and clarity of Picken's work, and also by the people and animals that are depicted. West's frontispiece included an antelope³⁴ in the centre foreground, close to the riverbank. This was omitted by Picken, who substituted a group of human figures in the lower right corner, and this was retained by Whymper in his woodcut version.

Woodcuts. The woodcuts were signed on the block by J. W. Whymper, nos. 3–5, 7, 9–11, 17, 18, 37, 39 and 43 being based on artwork by Joseph Wolf whose initials they also bear³⁵.

Maps. Both (nos. 46, 47) are printed from engraved metal plates by John Arrowsmith bearing the date 1857.

The author's portrait (illustration 2) is, as indicated in its caption, from an oval oil-on-canvas painting by Henry Wyndham Phillips that was commissioned by John Murray.³⁶

The folding **Ideal section across South Central Africa** (illustration 41) is a wood engraving with substantial type-set text.

Variant Issues: Overview and Conclusions

Variations between copies of the 1857 edition have been recognised for more than fifty years, but no broad consensus about their sequence has emerged. One of the first to take an interest was the pioneer bibliographer J. R. Abbey who argued (contrary to the view taken by most of his successors) that the copies of *Missionary Travels* illustrated exclusively with woodcuts predated those which also contained two or three coloured lithographs.³⁷ The practice of some antiquarian booksellers to claim (often on unstated or otherwise contra-indicated grounds) that a certain copy on offer belongs to an 'early' or even 'first' issue had begun by the 1960s and has continued since without any consensus as to the implications of these terms.

The first and still the most convincing comprehensive attempt at recognising separate issues was the work of the distinguished Australian bookdealer Gaston Renard,³⁸ whose

³⁴ The species of this animal (see Christie's 2004: upper image on p. 385) is uncertain. It may be *Kobus* sp., perhaps the locally present waterbuck (*K. ellipsiprymnus*). There is, however, no reason to suppose that anyone involved with the production of this image had detailed knowledge of, or familiarity with, the local fauna. (David Livingstone himself is not excluded from this stricture.)

³⁵ For Joseph Wolf, see Palmer 1895; also Bradlow 1973: 11. In addition, illustration no. 6 was described in the caption as 'Drawn by Ford', no. 7 as 'From a sketch at Stafford House in possession of the Duke of Sutherland', no. 8 (as in the corresponding lithographs by both West and Picken/Day) as 'From a drawing made on the spot (1850) by the late Alfred Ryder, Esq.', and no. 17 (based on the corresponding Picken/Day lithograph) as 'Sketched by Ford'. Nos. 22 and 26 (unsigned) are captioned 'From a Sketch by Capt. H. Need, R.N.', and each of nos. 25, 27 and 30 as 'From a Sketch by Captain Henry Need, H.M. Brig. *Linnet*'.

³⁶ Measuring 76 by 61 cm, the portrait was included in the National Portrait Gallery's 1996 exhibition, *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa*, as a loan from 'a private collection'. Although, for publication in *Missionary Travels*, it was reduced to half-tone by W. Hall, MacKenzie (1996: 12 and caption) provides a full-colour reproduction. David Livingstone's own views of this portrait were trenchantly expressed in a letter to his publisher on 12 November 1857, quoting an unspecified friend: 'it will do for anyone between Captain Cook and Guy Fawkes' (MacKenzie *loc. cit.*).

³⁷ Abbey (1956–7: 1, 347) based his view on a copy in the (then) British Museum that was recorded as having been acquired in 1857. Despite this wholly inadequate evidence, his view has been accepted by several subsequent writers, and is still sometimes encountered in booksellers' lists and in sale-catalogues, including that of the Quentin Keynes collection (Christie's 2004). Further criticism of Abbey's hypothesis has been provided by Renard (1994: 36).

³⁸ Renard, originally based in Melbourne, briefly moved his business to the UK in the late 1960s before returning to Australia. Publication of his research-results (Table 1, pp. 15-16) has been restricted to entries in his catalogues,

proposed sequence of six issues is summarised in Table 1. The next attempt at a consolidated overall list of variants was made in 1973 by Frank Bradlow, a Cape-Town businessman, collector, and trustee of the National Library of South Africa.³⁹ His study was based on a small sample of copies mostly held in South African institutions; he did not address the question whether such a sample could justifiably be assumed to be representative of the edition as a whole⁴⁰. Bradlow concentrated on a selection of major criteria such as illustrations and their captions, textual amendments, and the presence or absence of the 23-page index⁴¹. It is useful to present comparative summaries of Bradlow's and Renard's schemata (Tables 1–3).

Uncertainty thus surrounds the sequence of first-edition issues. Abbey's contention (fn 37, above), ignored by Bradlow but criticised by Renard 1994: 36), that issues containing tinted lithographs were preceded by some with the uncoloured woodcut frontispiece, seems to have been uncritically accepted by certain writers, including Christie's (2004: 376, lot 425) cataloguer of the Quentin Keynes collection.⁴² It is appropriate now to attempt to estimate the dates at which the variant issues were made available.

A. Provisional sequence.

My own considerations have included additional matters of context, taking account also of the bindings, with tentative conclusions summarised in Table 3, including cross-references where

notably nos. 94 (1969) and 307 (1994). I am deeply grateful to his son/successor, Mr Julien Renard, for information and encouragement.

³⁹ Bradlow's work shows signs of hasty composition, with contributions from colleagues and correspondents not clearly integrated. Its author was, however, aware of these shortcomings but his intended follow-up seems never to have materialised or was deemed to have been rendered redundant by a subsequent publication (Lloyd & Lashbrook 1978). Bradlow died in 2000; his archives were preserved at the University of Cape Town Libraries, but I have not been able to ascertain the extent to which they may have survived the tragic fire at that institution in April 2021.

⁴⁰ Relevant factors, apparently not taken fully into account by Bradlow (1973), include a likely tendency for institutions in South Africa to acquire copies as soon as possible after publication. He likewise made no attempt to evaluate the significance of duplicate holdings. Bradlow distinguished the illustrations solely on a technological basis, with only occasional and incomplete reference to subject-matter, tints or captions. Bradlow's tabulation provides the basis for a rudimentary quantification of his 'Variants', and also useful records of dated presentation-inscriptions.

⁴¹ The index, although invaluable to the serious reader, was included in a surprisingly small number of copies, paginated (after an intervening blank) on pp. 689–711; its apparent withdrawal remains difficult to explain (see Bradlow 1973: 17; also Table 3). It is likely that copies with the index represent Lloyd & Lashbrook's (1978) no. 1b, as noted above.

⁴² This cataloguer made confusing and contradictory attributions to 'first and second issues' of *Missionary Travels* 1857, with misleading citation of Lloyd & Lashbrook (1978), but no mention of the earlier works by Renard (1969) or Bradlow (1973). For example, Christie's described their lot 425 (the undated presentation copy from author and publisher to the cartographer John Arrowsmith, previously illustrated by MacKenzie (1996: 38-9), as 'first edition, second issue which differs from the first in that tinted lithographs by Picken/Day were substituted for the folding wood-engraved frontispiece' and the wood-engraved plates facing pp. 66 and 225. The same catalogue includes, as lot 428, a copy described as 'first edition, first issue' in text that makes no mention of illustrations but includes a plate (*op. cit.*: 385, upper image) showing West's tinted lithographic frontispiece. [NB Christie's cataloguer incorrectly cited references for his first and second issues as Lloyd & Lashbrook 1978: nos. 1a and 1b respectively]. Christie's lot 428 was the author's signed presentation copy inscribed to Sir Roderick Murchison and dated 2 November 1857. It is striking that his presentation inscription of this same date to a Mrs Murray (Christie's 2004: lot 438 – recipient's identity and address uncertain) was attributed by the same cataloguer to the 'second issue'. Both were, however, apparently identical examples of what is here regarded as the first issue, an interpretation fully in keeping with their inscribed dates.

appropriate both to Renard's (1969, 1994) 'issues' and to Bradlow's (1973) 'Variants'.⁴³ To avoid confusion, I have referred to 'Variant Issues' (abbreviated 'VI') and employed lower case Roman numerals.⁴⁴ My researches confirm that the issues including two or three tinted lithographs preceded those illustrated exclusively by woodcuts. The view that the latter were the earlier (Abbey 1956–7; Christie's 2004) has little support from dated inscriptions. Priority of the lithograph issues was, so far as I am aware, first formally proposed by Renard 1969: 8 (item 95). The lithographs are divisible into two mutually exclusive series, by West and by Picken, with the issues using only woodcut plates being later⁴⁵. West's lithographs are linked with those by Picken in that both series bear captions reading 'Published by John Murray, Albemarle St May 1857' inserted between the image and the principal caption. These lithographs are the only illustrations in any of the book's numerous issues to bear such a statement of date, implying that the plates were not only commissioned but actually printed and then held for five months prior to the book's eventual publication (see p. 3, above). The only other illustrations to bear any indication of date are the two Arrowsmith maps, likewise dated 1857.

B. Internal evidence for sequence.

Next, I evaluate the bases for Renard's issues and for Bradlow's variants, reconsider their implications, and attempt to set them in relative chronological order. The printed books themselves provide little evidence for precisely when they were issued beyond the title pages dated 1857 and the author's dedication and preface dated to October of that year. In addition, an 8-page 'List of Mr Murray's Recent Works' dated 1 November 1857 is bound in at the end of all complete copies. Notwithstanding evidence for issue in October / November 1857 (confirmed by presentation inscriptions and reviews), it seems that, as argued above, first edition copies continued to be distributed by Murray until the end of 1859 and on into 1860.⁴⁶ Copies of the lithographic illustrations were evidently made in May 1857 and held until bound into printed books some five months later, and the same may be true of the folding maps.⁴⁷

Several issues of lithographic illustrations to the first edition of *Missionary Travels* are recognised.⁴⁸ There can be little doubt that those of West have priority, but that their use was short-lived, before replacement by those of Picken and Day: not only are the latter clearer and more attractive, they also served as models for the Whymper woodcuts which replaced them. Although nowhere argued or spelled out, West's precedence was implied by Renard (1969, 1994). There is evidence for dissatisfaction with West's work on the part of author and/or publisher. They survive both as tinted lithographs and as four-colour chromolithographs (Bradlow's Variants 1 and 6 respectively). The latter are extremely rare, being unrecorded by

⁴³ Bindings and end-papers are discussed on p. 4, above.

⁴⁴ Thus, my earliest version is designated VI i, and the last VI viii, as in Table 3.

⁴⁵ For the possibility that West's rare chromolithographs may have pre-dated his tinted versions, see Table 3 and below. As noted above (p. 6), replacement of Picken/Day lithographs with Whymper woodcuts took place by 28 February 1858.

⁴⁶ See fn 54, below.

⁴⁷ See fn 8, above.

⁴⁸ See pp. 7-8, above.

Renard (but see fn 51 below), and represented in Bradlow's research by only three copies, two of which were, in 1973, in 'Rhodesian' (i.e. Zimbabwean) collections.⁴⁹ Of the two lithographers, West (fn 27) was in later years by far the less prolific, although his later short-term and small-scale commissions are recorded, in contrast to Picken (fn 28) whose subsequent works were numerous, varied and successful. It is tempting to suggest that West's lithographs for *Missionary Travels* were deemed unsatisfactory by Murray, perhaps on grounds of quality and, perhaps also, of cost, being replaced with those supplied by Picken and Day.⁵⁰ Could it be that West's rare chromolithographs – not at first fully considered by Renard (1969), but designated Variant 6 by Bradlow (1973) – were the first, promptly replaced on grounds of cost by the tinted versions?⁵¹ That these changes in availability of different lithographs took place rapidly and without clear overall sequence is supported by the survival of variable combinations, recorded by Bradlow as his Variants 4 and 5, which suggest that additional copies of the Picken / Day tinted frontispiece were sometimes available for binding with other West or Whympers illustrations.

Confusion surrounds the sequence of first-edition issues. The pioneer bibliographer J. R. Abbey (1956–7, 1: 347) contended, in a passage ignored by Bradlow but already criticised by Renard, that issues containing tinted lithographs were preceded by some with an uncoloured woodcut frontispiece. This view seems to have been uncritically accepted by some writers, including Christie's (2004: 376, lot 425) cataloguer of the Quentin Keynes collection. This cataloguer made confusing and contradictory attributions to 'first' and 'second issues' of the 1857 edition, with misleading citation of Lloyd & Lashbrook (1978), but no mention of the earlier works by Renard (1969) or of Bradlow (1973). Furthermore, Christie's described their lot 425 (the undated presentation copy from author and publisher to the cartographer John Arrowsmith, previously illustrated by MacKenzie (1996: 38–9) as 'first edition, second issue which differs from the first in that tinted lithographs by Picken were substituted for the folding wood-engraved frontispiece and the wood-engraved plates facing pp. 66 and 225'. The same Christie's catalogue included, as lot 428, a copy described as 'first edition, first issue' in text that made no mention of illustrations but included a plate (*op. cit.*: 385, upper image) showing West's tinted lithographic frontispiece.⁵² Christie's lot 428 had the author's signed presentation inscription dated 2 November 1857 to Sir Roderick Murchison. It is striking that a copy bearing his presentation inscription of this same date to a Mrs Murray (Christie's 2004: lot 438 – recipient's identity and address uncertain) was attributed by the same cataloguer to the "second issue". However, unless the Christie's catalogue contained uncharacteristic misprints in its cross-references, it appears that both books contained West lithographs and should therefore be attributed to the first issues. There could thus be indications that copies of the first

⁴⁹ A poor reproduction of West's chromolithograph version of illustration 8 (Lake Ngami) was published – with a mis-spelled caption – as frontispiece to Lloyd 1973, and again – to a higher standard but retaining the spelling error – by Lloyd & Lashbrook 1978. None of the three Variant-6 copies listed by Bradlow (1973) bears a dated presentation-inscription.

⁵⁰ The only copy with West's tinted lithographs that has been recorded as bearing an (undated) presentation-inscription is that lent by Lionel Munby in 1963 to the *Printing and the Mind of Man* exhibition in London (Francis, et al., 1963: 96 and pl. 32). The exhibition catalogue (*loc. cit.*) included the seemingly unsubstantiated claim that this was 'one of a few copies for presentation with a coloured frontispiece not included in the published edition'. (See, however, note (b) to Table 3).

⁵¹ This possibility was noted, but left 'open to conjecture' by Renard (1994).

⁵² Christie's cataloguer incorrectly cited references for his first and second issues as Lloyd & Lashbrook 1978: nos. 1a and 1b respectively

three issues (with lithographs by West and by Picken/Day) may have been distributed simultaneously.⁵³

The Whymper woodcuts were clearly part of Murray's plans from the beginning. The lithographs for illustrations 1, 8 and 16 appear to have been printed several months before the book's publication, but had no counterparts for illustrations 3–7, 9–15 or 17–45 which were all Whymper woodcuts *ab initio*. The earliest version with no lithographs (Bradlow's Variant 3 / Renard's third issue) included one copy at the University of the Witwatersrand which bears a presentation inscription dated 28 February 1858. It follows that identification of material for the woodcut illustrations was probably begun at about the same time as the first lithographs were printed.⁵⁴

Chronology

Post-publication, the chronology of the variant issues is even more problematic. The rapidity and extent of sales achieved by the first edition seems to have become apparent within three months of its publication. On 19 December 1857, by which date sales of more than 30,000 copies had been recorded, Livingstone signed an indenture⁵⁵ making £5,100 from his accumulating royalties available for the support of his wife and children.⁵⁶

Bradlow's (1973) figures show that, of copies held by southern African institutions, 61% contained some lithographic illustrations, while 39% had none. It is instructive to compare these figures with those from other sources. In November 1972, Bradlow obtained from the London antiquarian bookdealers, Maggs Bros., details of 23 copies which they had recorded, of which 43% had lithographic illustrations. In my experience, this figure still significantly exceeds the proportion of such copies in the surviving population overall. In an attempt to estimate the latter figure, examination of dealers' descriptions listed on the Abebooks website in November/December 2021, revealed that lithographic illustrations were specifically noted for only 6% of the copies on offer.⁵⁷

⁵³ On the other hand, the inscription to Mrs Murray (Christies's 2004: lot 438) may have been cited incorrectly because it appears to include two dates: 2 and 30 November. Since the catalogue entry appears in part to duplicate the 2nd of November inscription to Sir Roderick Murchison, that to Mrs Murray may in fact have been attributable to 30 November, in which case the apparent duplication may be attributed to Christie's careless cataloguing.

⁵⁴ See fn 8, above; also Table 3 for a summary of the processes described in this and the following section.

⁵⁵ A copy of this indenture is preserved in the National Archives of Zimbabwe (Jeal 1973: 197). Since it appears that David Livingstone never set foot within the borders of the country now called Zimbabwe, the quantity of material relating to him that is preserved in that country's Archives may appear surprising: in fact, much of its accumulation dates from the repository's previous (1953–63) control under the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

⁵⁶ By 1859, sales of the first edition had reached 70,000 copies, Livingstone's share of the royalties amounting to £12,000 (fns 6 and 16, above). Mysteriously, however, Murray's December 1860 catalogue of available publications includes Livingstone's *Missionary Travels* 8vo, described as 'thirtieth thousand, Map, Plates, and Index. 8vo. 21s.' (bound in Tristram 1860). These details are at variance with those argued elsewhere in this paper, raising the possibility that the entry was included erroneously in Murray's 1860 catalogue, perhaps copied from a list issued two years previously.

⁵⁷ Renard did not publish quantifications for the 'issues' which he recognised.

Comparative Rarity

It is not easy to estimate the comparative rarity of the various issues that librarians and booksellers have recognised. Quantification is rendered effectively impossible by the widely differing methodologies that have been applied. Bradlow's (1973) pioneering recognition of 'variants' was based almost exclusively on the reported possessions of thirty South African institutions, but he failed to take account of multiple holdings: his tabulations (*loc. cit.*: 14–16), which include 53% holdings of books with lithographed frontispiece and 43% with woodcuts only, must thus be assumed to indicate serious underestimates if applied more broadly. It is instructive to compare these figures with 53 copies individually listed for sale on the Abebooks website in November 2021: these included 10 (19%) with lithographed frontispieces, 17 (32%) with a woodcut one and 26 (49%) where the technique was unspecified or otherwise indeterminate. Although based on imperfect data, these figures themselves would support an erroneous conclusion that copies with a lithographed frontispiece are less rare than those with its uncoloured woodcut counterpart.⁵⁸

Copies with no tinted lithographs have clearly received comparatively little bibliographical attention and, as recording becomes more comprehensive, greater variation may be demonstrated between the late issues currently grouped together, as in Tables 1-3.

Illustrations of the Victoria Falls in Books by David Livingstone

Early in 2022, while preparing this paper on variant issues of David Livingstone's 1857 *Missionary Travels*, I was struck by the inaccuracy of that book's frontispiece depiction of the Victoria Falls, in all three versions that were successively employed.⁵⁹ Eight years later, a markedly different frontispiece was used in *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries* by David and Charles Livingstone (London: John Murray, 1865). Here, I attempt a comparative evaluation.

The 1857 publication (pp. 518–26) recorded David Livingstone's first visit to the Falls, 16/17–23 November 1855. He arrived by canoe, travelling downstream, having for several hours had the rising spray in view. His paddlers brought him to land on an island situated on the very brink of the Falls from which it projects with falling water on either side. It is now usually called Livingstone Island,⁶⁰ but Livingstone himself referred to it as Garden Island, since he selected a spot set a little back from the brink, and 'there planted about a hundred peach and apricot stones, and a quantity of coffee-seeds' (*loc. cit.*, p. 524).

Although David Livingstone has long been credited (not least by himself) with the 'discovery' of the Falls, he had been aware of their existence long before he actually caught sight of them (Phillipson 1975: 76–8, citing Cooley 1852: 130 and Oswell 1900, 1: facsimile

⁵⁸ As Renard (1969, 1994) and Bradlow (1973) recognised (see also pp. 7-10, above), two tinted lithograph versions are represented of the frontispiece and of the plates opposite pp. 66 (no. 8) and 225 (nos. 16/17). Bradlow's enquiries of South African institutions suggested that their copies with lithographs outnumbered those without.

⁵⁹ These were, in apparent sequence of issue: (a) the tinted and four-colour lithographs by West, (b) the tinted lithograph by Picken & Day, and (c) the uncoloured woodcut by Whymper. For details of these versions, see pp. 5-8 above, also Table 3. The position in this sequence of West's four-colour chromolithographs – not recognised by Renard (1969, 1994) but classed as Variant 6 by Bradlow (1973) – is uncertain.

⁶⁰ The African name, Namakabwa, was also sometimes heard as recently as the 1970s.

folding sketch map⁶¹ opp. p. 262). He had previously visited the part of the Zambezi Valley downstream of the Chobe/ Zambezi confluence, in the company of Cotton Oswell who had heard reports that ‘about four days’ journey further downstream [the river] ‘forces its way in a constricted channel through some rocky hills and is at length precipitated with such noise and vapour as to procure for the spot the name of Mosi wa thunya or Smoke-sounds (roaring vapours)’.⁶² Later, he ‘resolved on the following day to visit the falls of Victoria, called by the natives Mosioatunya, or more anciently Shongwe.’ Three points emerge: Livingstone already (1) knew about the existence of the Falls; and (2) seems to have decided to name them in honour of his queen, well before he actually saw them; and (3) recognised the priority of the African names by which they had long been known locally.

David Livingstone’s published account of his first visit to the Falls is remarkably prosaic, and very significantly underestimates their size.⁶³ His manuscript journal provides even stronger evidence for his wish to escape accusation of exaggerating. It appears that he was pressured by his publisher, John Murray, to liven up his prose, and it may have been at this relatively early stage in preparing for publication that the decision was taken to include a tinted lithograph view of the Falls.⁶⁴ Two versions were printed, by W. West and subsequently by T. Picken printed by Day & Son, both showing essentially the same scene, but with unmistakable – albeit minor– differences.⁶⁵ The uncoloured woodcut version, by J. W. Whymper, is clearly derived from the Picken lithograph. This factor strengthens the supposition that West’s lithographs were produced earlier than those of Picken and Day.

The view of Victoria Falls shown in all versions of the 1857 frontispiece is as seen from the east, looking along the line of the Falls, with the gorge into which the Zambezi falls in the foreground clearly visible to the viewer until obscured by spray, with the river flowing from right to left where the zigzag gorges downstream of the Falls are partly visible. On this first visit, Livingstone happened to see the Falls in November, which is the season when the water-level is at its lowest, and the geological formation of the Falls is most clearly visible, being relatively unobscured by spray. Even so, the published views are inaccurate and misleading in one important respect. They omit the easternmost section of the waterfall altogether, as if the gorge now spanned by the railway bridge connects with the line of the Falls at the latter’s eastern end, rather than at some 30% of its length measured from east to west, and with Livingstone (‘Garden’) Island incorrectly shown near the mid-point of the Falls instead of closer to their western end.

On his second visit, in mid-August 1860, Livingstone saw the Falls at high water, when the gorge into which they descend is filled with spray, making it much less easy to understand

⁶¹ The map itself, as reproduced by Oswell 1900, bears no indication of its compilation-date, but Oswell’s text strongly suggests that this was late in 1851, in which case news from the Zambezi Valley reached Cooley in London remarkably quickly, Cooley’s preface to his 1852 book being dated 26 July of that year.

⁶² Cooley, *loc. cit.* Cooley, who rarely provided details of his sources of information, implied that, in this instance, this was a communication (untraced but presumably written) from Oswell and one ‘Rev. Daniel [*sic!*] Livingstone’.

⁶³ The figures that Livingstone initially gave for the Falls’ breadth and height were less than half those ascertained more recently (see Jeal 1973: 148–9).

⁶⁴ In fact, two versions of such a tinted frontispiece were produced by different lithographers, each inscribed ‘Published by John Murray, Albemarle S^t, May 1857’, although the books in which these illustrations were inserted were not released for public distribution until October, which is the date appended to their printed dedication and preface. This date-line was not added to the subsequent uncoloured woodcut version.

⁶⁵ See p. 7, and fn 34, above.

the details of their formation. It was perhaps for this reason that the frontispiece in *The Zambesi and its Tributaries* (Livingstone & Livingstone, 1865), while showing the full width, is much more schematised, taking an imaginary aerial viewpoint looking obliquely from the south, and omitting any representation of the Falls' base.

It is instructive to compare the views of the Falls published in *Missionary Travels* with those in Livingstone's manuscript notebooks. Two of these are known to survive, both assumed to date from Livingstone's second visit, in 1860. The first, now held by the Royal Geographical Society, was published in MacKenzie 1996: 104–5; measuring 126 x 143 mm, it is in watercolour over pencil, with extensive ink annotation in Livingstone's hand giving paced measurements and details of vegetation. It presents a bird's-eye view from the south, somewhat schematised, showing the full width of the Falls and the first four of the zig-zag gorges. The second (Phillipson 1975: colour plate x) was lent to the (then) Rhodes-Livingstone Museum in 1955 by Dr Hubert Wilson, David Livingstone's grandson, to whom it was returned in 1966; it is smaller, broadly similar to, but less schematised than, the sketch at the R.G.S., with the Falls' western extremity and the fourth gorge incompletely shown.⁶⁶

These two sketches have much in common, and that now at the R.G.S. could be a re-worked copy of the other. This suggestion is strengthened by what appear to be marginal calculations of the measurements taken in August 1860. These paced measurements could be interpreted as a reaction to Livingstone's gross underestimates of the Falls' dimensions recorded on his first visit (Livingstone 1857: 518–26). The bird's-eye viewpoint adopted in these later sketches was used for the 1865 frontispiece.

Appendixes

Table 1: Summary of Gaston Renard's classification

This sequence of issues was not formally published by Renard, but was used as a basis for printed annotations to successive catalogues of books offered for sale, initially in his Catalogue 94 (1969) and more fully in Catalogue 307 (1994)⁶⁷ which provides comprehensive bibliographic annotation not reproduced in the present paper. Its compiler clearly regarded the numbered issues as forming a sequence although, perhaps in response to Bradlow's (1973) intervening publication, he later sought to emphasise that it was subject to reinterpretation (Renard 1994: 37).

First issue

Illustrations nos. 1 and 8 were both tinted lithographs by West; no. 16 was another West lithograph but monochrome, not tinted, with thatched roofs in the background sharply pointed; a note at the bottom left corner of plate 16 read "From a sketch by C. Bell". An error in the prelim. "List of Illustrations" reversed the order of nos. 16 and 17.

Renard (1994: 36-7, note to item 327) was aware that Bradlow (1973) had recorded three copies of *Missionary Travels* containing 4-colour chromolithographs by West, and

⁶⁶ Dr Wilson has subsequently died, and I have not been able to ascertain the present location of this notebook. In this connection, I acknowledge the kind assistance of Dr Kate Simpson.

⁶⁷ I am grateful to Gaston Renard's son, collaborator and successor, Julien Renard, for providing me with copies of these catalogues, as well as for much help and encouragement.

suggested that these might have pre-dated the more frequently encountered tinted lithographs by the same artist.

Second issue

All West lithographs were replaced with tinted lithographs of the same subjects by Picken, printed by Day & Son. No. 1 had human figures at bottom-right and was clearer, with less spray. No. 8 added the figure of David Livingstone to those of his wife and children. No. 16 was tinted, with 'nipple-shaped' roofs in the background, and lacked attribution to an original sketch. The 'List of Illustrations' remained uncorrected.

Third issue

All three lithographs were replaced with Whymper woodcuts based on the Picken lithographs, retaining the latter's captions but with 'Sketched by Ford' added above that for no. 16. The 'List of illustrations' had its order corrected in this and subsequent issues. (This issue was apparently not recognised by Bradlow as a separate variant.)

Fourth issue

No further changes were made to the illustrations or their list. The Introduction was revised and expanded with new pp. 8* and 8⁺ added as a tipped-in leaf interrupting the original pagination. This corresponds with Bradlow's Variant 3.

Fifth issue

Only a single copy seems to have been recognised (Renard 1994: item 332). It is described as identical to the fourth issue, with pp. 8* and 8⁺, but with the addition of an index at pp. 689-711 preceded by its own otherwise unrecorded title-page. It seems that, in this instance, the index and its title page were issued separately and subsequently bound into an anomalous position in this copy.⁶⁸ In this listing, I have followed Renard's own suggestion (loc. cit. in fn 2) and treated this issue as a variant of the fourth.

Sixth issue

Renard's descriptions of his fifth and sixth issues are confusing, particularly as to whether all copies include the index. If his fifth issue, apparently represented by a single copy (his no. 42171) is considered a fourth-issue variant as Renard himself suggested, and his sixth issue re-numbered fifth, the sequence would be clarified. The sixth issue would then remain as set out by Renard (1994) as including (albeit not necessarily in all copies) pp. 8* and 8⁺ and the index. It corresponds with the issue reproduced in facsimile by Time-Life Books in 1984. The possibility of subdivisions within that the sixth issue remains a topic for further investigation.

⁶⁸ Renard himself (1994: 39, note to item 232) raised the possibility that the listed copy might be better regarded as a variant to the fourth issue.

Table 2: Outline of Frank Bradlow's classification

Confusingly, although he emphasised that his listing of numbered variants did not imply a chronological sequence, Bradlow (1973) based his presentation largely on Renard's (1969) previously published issues. Despite this terminological confusion, and limitation to institutional holdings and stock of a few collectors and booksellers mostly in southern Africa, Bradlow's presentation advantageously includes details of presentation-inscriptions which provide indications of issues' chronology, notwithstanding the confusion imparted by his numbering.

Variant 1

As Renard's First issue, with tinted lithographs by West, although specifically without sequential or chronological implications for this classification were denied, the numbering having been adopted 'merely for convenience'. This was represented in the holdings of 10 institutions; none bearing dated inscriptions. Chromolithographs were recognised in three otherwise identical copies, listed under Variant 6 (below).

Variant 2

As Renard's Second issue, with Picken's tinted lithographs replacing those by West, this was represented in the holdings of 16 institutions and thus the most frequently occurring of Bradlow's Variants. Three copies had dated inscriptions, all from October 1857.

Variant 3

As Renard's Fourth issue, but apparently without the index.

Variant 4

Not recognised by Renard, this had illustration no. 1 by Picken/Day, nos. 8 and 16 being by Whympier.

Variant 5

Combining tinted lithographs by both West and Picken/Day, and not recognised by Renard, one copy (in the Library of Parliament in Cape Town was known to Bradlow, and a second was recently offered for sale in London by Shapero Rare Books.

Variant 6

Bradlow recognised 3 copies, 2 of them in Rhodesian (now Zimbabwean) collections, which (as his Variant 1, above) contained three West lithographs, all however being described as 'chromolithographs in four colours'. Bradlow implied that one of these chromolithographs was reproduced as the frontispiece to Lloyd 1973, but the quality of the printing does not permit an evaluation of the original.⁶⁹ No examples were described by Renard, although (1994: 36) he was aware of their recognition by Bradlow.

⁶⁹ The caption was evidently re-set, with John Murray's address mis-spelled. The same plate, including the erroneous caption, was re-used five years later by University of Cape Town Libraries as frontispiece to a bibliography (Lloyd & Lashbrook 1978). As noted elsewhere (p. 10), the identification of these "chromolithographs" requires confirmation.

Variant 7

See note under Renard's Sixth Issue.

Variant 8

Seemingly numbered out of sequence, these closely resembled Renard's Fifth Issue, although without mention of pp. 8* and 8⁺. Bradlow attributed five copies to this Variant, none with dated inscriptions.

Table 3: Consolidated summary of Variant issues

	Illus 1 (frontis.)	Illus. 8 (opp. p. 66)	Illus. 16/17 (opp. p.225)	pp. 8*, 8 ⁺	Index	Bradlow variant	Renard issue	Notes
I	chr West	chr West	chr West	No	No	unplaced	not noted	(a)
ii	t lit West	t lit West	m lit West	No	No	1	First	(b)
iii	--- see text and Table 2 ----			No	No	5		
iv	t llit Pick	t lit Pick	t lit Pick	No	No	2	Second	(c)
v	c lit Pick	wcp Why	wcp Why	No	No	4		(d)
vi	wcp Why	wcp Why	wcp Why	Yes	No	3	Third	(e)
vii	wcp Why	wcp Why	wcp Why	No	Yes	8	Fifth	(f)
viii	wcp Why	wcp Why	wcp Why	No	No	7	Sixth?	(g)

Abbreviations

chr = chromolithograph

lit = lithograph

m = monochrome

p. / pp. = page/s

Pick = T. Picken, lithographer (see fn 28), printed by Day & Son

t = tinted

Var. = Variant, as defined by Bradlow (1973)

wcp = woodcut print

West = W. West, lithographer (see fn 27)

Why = J. W. Whympers (see fn 29)

Notes

(a) Bradlow's distinction between 'tinted lithograph' and 'chromolithograph' may depend on his sources and is not fully clear. This, noted by Renard (1994: 36) as 'open to conjecture', could invalidate the distinction between VI i and VI ii.

(b) A copy offered for sale in U.S.A. in November 2020 was described as signed by Livingstone and dated 18 December 1857. This would appear to be the only dated presentation-inscription in a copy with West lithographs.

- (c) For speculation on the reason for this textual amendment to p. 8, see text (p. 5). This would accord with a date early in 1858, but re-pagination of the whole book may have been considered a costly expedient to satisfy a whim of the author who, in any event, left on his Zambesi expedition in March of that year. The one copy recorded with a dated inscription is for 28 February 1858.
- (d) This is the most frequently occurring of the variants recorded by Bradlow, held by 16 institutions. Three copies have presentation inscriptions dated in November 1857.
- (e) This appears to be an issue intermediate between those with lithographic illustrations and those using exclusively woodcuts. Was the binder using up remaining copies of the coloured frontispiece? Bradlow (1973) listed four copies, one of which had an inscription dated 2 November 1857.
- (f) This seems to have been the first issue illustrated exclusively with Whymper's woodcuts in lieu of lithographs, to have seen textual amendment at p. 8 and correction of misordering in the 'List of Illustrations'. These contemporaneous revisions would suggest a date during the early months of 1858, and the only copy with a dated presentation-inscription is for 28 February in that year. My observations indicate that the majority of first-edition copies are those with no lithographs but exclusively woodcut illustrations as represented by Bradlow's (1973) Variants 3, 7 and 8 also by Renard's third issue onwards. The Murray archive records authorisation in March 1858 for printing 1,000 copies with an index (see p. 6).
- (g) It is argued in the present paper that such copies (not all including the index) continued to be issued thereafter, perhaps into the early months of 1859 or even later. Copies including an index were still advertised in 1860 as available from Murray (see fn 54). Copies without lithographic illustrations have clearly received relatively little bibliographical attention, and future research may demonstrate unrecorded variation between these late issues.

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