

**Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
Mouloud Mammeri University of Tizi - Ouzou
Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences
Department of English**

Dissertation Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Magister

Degree Subject: English

Speciality: Civilization

Title:

***The Visions of Africa and Africans in Timothy Holmes’
David Livingstone Letters and Documents 1841-1872
And Joseph Conrad’s Heart of Darkness***

Presented by: Miss Bouchouareb Zahia

Board of examiners:

- Mr. BAHOUS Abbas, Professor, University of Mostaganem, Chairman**
- Mr. RICHE Boutheldja, Professor, University of Tizi- Ouzou, Supervisor**
- Mr. MAOUI Hocine, Maitre de Conference, University of Annaba, Examiner**
- Mrs. ZERAR Sabrina, Doctorate Candidate, University of Tizi- Ouzou, Guest**

Discussed on:

Acknowledgements

The research and writing of this humble dissertation were made true thanks to the wise guidance and the helpful suggestions by my supervisor Professor RICHE Bouteldja to whom I express my profound gratitude.

I would like also to thank all those who supported and encouraged me during the course of my work.

CONTENTS

Introduction

Chapter One: The visions of Africa and Africans in *David Livingstone*

Letters and Documents 1841-1872

1- Introduction.....	11
2- The biography of David Livingstone.....	17
3- The geographical vision of Africa and Africans.....	21
• Evangelical geography.....	24
• Scientific geography.....	29
• Commercial geography.....	33
• Colonial / Imperial geography.....	38
4- The spiritual vision of Africa and Africans.....	41
5- The anthropological vision of Africa and Africans.....	55
6- Conclusion.....	66

Chapter Two: The visions of Africa and Africans in Joseph Conrad's

Heart of Darkness

7- Introduction.....	68
8- The biography of Joseph Conrad.....	75
9- The geographical vision of Africa and Africans.....	79
10- The spiritual vision of Africa and Africans.....	89
11- The anthropological vision of Africa and Africans.....	99
12- The psychoanalytical vision of Africa and Africans.....	108
13- The philosophical vision of Africa and Africans.....	115
14- Conclusion.....	120

Conclusion.....	122
------------------------	------------

Bibliography.....	131
--------------------------	------------

Abstract

The study of *David Livingstone* Letters and Documents 1841-1872 and Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* has led to the following results. Livingstone carried the government afar the imperial idea while Conrad evaluated its implementation. Livingstone's idea or vision of Africa was looked at from three main perspectives, geographical, spiritual and anthropological. Similarly, we lead Conrad's from the same perspectives. The linkages that we established between the two writers in relation to their view of Africa were not of the order of similarities but also of differences. These differences of ideology were explained in terms of the gap between theory and practice. What Livingstone called "mission civilizatrice" that aimed at bringing light of Christianity and civilisation to Africans is regarded as Eldorado Exploring Expedition by Joseph Conrad carrying buccaneer motives. These expedition leaders were products of the nineteenth century Europe when science and material dominated religion and moral values. Conrad managed to give the reader the result and implementation of ideas and theories launched and developed by nineteenth century famous persons like David Livingstone. The Myth of the Dark Continent is one of the important issues that led to colonialism. Geographically speaking, the African continent was viewed, respecting the myth, as a "Dark" one which needed light spatially and spiritually. In other words, Africa needed a European intervention to clear up the territories and build up stations in order to establish order in the continent and its inhabitants. The latter was described as "children" and "savages" that required to European paternalism and conversion into Christianity to elevate their status. This is not the case with Conrad. Indeed, for him, penetrating the African continent and going up the Congo River was like "travelling back to the earliest beginnings of the world" (Conrad, 1990:183). It is inhabited by "creatures" still walking "all four" and also by cannibals that were capable of restraint despite days of hunger facing the white man's endless appetite to get and possess more. Despite his ambiguous position to colonialism, Conrad wanted to say that any European intervention or colonialism is done by "robbery and violence". The colonisation launched in Africa by David Livingstone came to disastrous results not only on the colonised but on the coloniser as well. It is a way to say that colonisation is economically beneficial but morally destructive.

Introduction

As most historians agreed, the great era of geographical exploration took place between 1485 and 1541. Just at the beginning of the European expansion, Europe imposed methods of territorial conquest and legislation towards the colonised countries. Pope Alexander VI attested in *Romanus Pontifex* in 1494 that he, as a successor of Saint Peter, was the visible representative of God himself. He claimed the right to grant European kings newly discovered countries. For him non-Christians have no right to possess any land to which no written claim could be supplied. The latter was considered to be *terra nullius* (no-man's-land). This land belonged to those who were ready to exploit it and Europeans were understood to be the beneficiaries of the New Canaan in what was supposed to be new discoveries (Mudimbe, 1994:30).

These two fundamental concepts were, later, to guide the colonization with a legitimate European right to sovereignty over *terra nullius* outside Europe. It not only gave Europeans the right to colonize, but to practise slavery as well. Inspiring their way of thinking from Linnaeus' "Natural Law" classification of botany, strong races, to use Darwinian terms, thought it indispensable to help the inferior ones to grow up since the world, as the forest, is characterised by the survival of the fittest. The only way to regulate this naturalist cycle was Christianity. Every colonial action has a religious explanation. Trade, for example, justified God's intent that all nations should trade with each other, and to make sure that all goods made by God for the whole of humankind should be exploited.

The glorious achievements in world explorations began in the sixteenth century during the age of discovery. There were many signs of greatly improved opportunities. Asa Briggs estimated that national wealth increased rapidly from 1688 to 1701 by twenty per cent (Briggs, 1991:175). This wealth was, obviously, generated at home but some of which was derived from the quest for wealth and power abroad. As prominent wealth searchers, Richard Hakluyt was cataloguing a wide range of exports counting needles, soap, glue and

locks, while John Hawkins was trading in African slaves. Francis Drake completed his circumnavigation of the globe in 1580 after a voyage of nearly three years on board of his ship, *The Golden Hind*. During this time, there were scientific inventions also, such as the mariner's compass by the Englishman John Davis, and the chronometer that solved the problem of longitude by John Harrison and so many renowned names that completed the list of adventurers, then.

Through centuries, the concept of the primacy of papacy over the Christian kings and the *terra nullius* concept worked side by side till the eighteenth century. The quest for overseas territories that had been a measure for wealth and power between European countries was challenged by a legendary occurrence marking particularly the Victorian era in the historical stage of Great Britain. The Industrial Revolution modified the British economy and society, deeply. The most immediate changes touched not only the nature of production but also its modes and localization.

Briggs observed that labour was transferred from the production of the primary products to that of manufactured goods and of services because they became exported from the English colonised countries (Briggs, 1991:185). The production of manufactured articles increased considerably thanks to technical innovation, resulting in the invention of increasing effective machines, bound to the use of steam as the source of main energy. Scientific and convenient knowledge played a major role in the process of production. Urbanisation, that meant the process of farm hands exodus toward the urban zones and of international migrations from less developed nations to industrialized ones, was also seen as a prominent factor in the industrial revolution.

Because people rushed to the cities where work was available, there sprang a period of social stratification. Despite the questioning of the aristocratic hierarchy by new scientific theories, economy created the bourgeois one with children and women at its

bottom. For the English government, people were equal but reality proved the contrary with the emergence of the new vision of man, the Homo- Economicus.

The quest for overseas territories that had been a measure for wealth and power between European countries grew its motives from geographic to economic ones during the nineteenth century. The economic boom stepped forward and the industrial need for raw materials rose in an unprecedented manner. As a consequence, the process of settlement during “the empire of the flag” called “formal Empire” was growing continuously to expand to “the informal Empire” of trade, investment and influence (Briggs, 1979:385). The expansionist process depended on an amalgam of economic, ideological and political impulses.

There was continuity in this expansionist process. Africa became the chief attraction for European countries, especially, Britain. The British government was interested in the African continent for two interrelated motives: economic and moral. After the exploration of the some areas, British explorers of the African continent claimed that the Africans were ignorant and primitive, so their task was to enlighten them and teach them Christianity. But after the conquest, they exploited the places of interest to provide Britain with the needed raw materials. What shielded Britain from other European countries opposition was its self-attributed title as the highest moral power that abolished the slave trade in 1833.

The British abolitionist programme from 1830s, i.e. the beginning of Queen Victoria’s reign (1837-1901) was humanitarian. However, as Patrick Brantlinger pointed, the humanitarianism applied to Africa did point insistently toward imperialism especially after the success of anti-slavery movement, the report of Victorian explorers and the emergence of racist and evolutionary doctrines in social sciences (Brantlinger in Gate. H.L.ed,1998: 186). The combination of these factors urged the British public to share the

view of the necessity of imperialization of Africa on moral, religious and scientific grounds.

Just after Buxton's Niger Expedition in 1841, expeditions to 'opening up' and colonising newly-acquired territories were reinforced. After their first travels, many missionaries and explorers saw the necessity of intervention in territories. With Buxton, David Livingstone, Henry Morton Stanley, Burton and Layard, expeditions to the new discovered lands reached the apogee. They were leading scientific expeditions aiming to make under study botanical experiments, missions of Christianity preaching and geographical extensions. Once there, they kept Britain informed with their moves, observations and achievements.

The expedition leaders contributed in the generalisation of the myth of the "Dark Continent" in Britain. Partrick Brantlinger defined this myth as "a modern, secularized , "depoliticized speech"— discourse which treats its subjects as universally accepted, scientifically established and, therefore, no longer open to criticism by a political or theoretical opposition" (Brantlinger in Gate. H.L.ed,1998: 187). The British public became broadly convinced of the imperialization of Africa on moral, religious and scientific grounds.

The advocates and generators of this view were missionaries and explorers with David Livingstone, Buxton's disciple, at the lead. With the adaptation of such a slogan, and with the growing 'darkness' and savagery of the African continent thanks to Victorian missionaries and explorers' reports, abolitionist wave of savage beliefs and customs was set off in the name of civilization. Consequently, as Brantlinger noted, the Myth of the Dark Continent developed during the transition of British campaign against slavery till its outlawing in 1833 (Ibid).

In their reports, Africa was depicted as a dark spot where "barbarity" and "savagery" reigned. The African society, with no written history of its own, was thought to

be timeless with no past, present or future. Furthermore, Africans were seen as poor “children” and “creatures” that lived in a state of stagnation. According to these European explorers, Africans failed to evolve from the primitive to the less primitive state. So, they saw that this state of helplessness in which they lived required the intervention of Britain.

Therefore, the British mission consisted in sweeping up the evil of savagery and saving the Africans from darkness by bestowing the light of Christianity, and from slavery by imposing another form of trade that Britain would take profit from. At this point, we notice the shift of the burden of the guilt. The blame for slavery was displaced on others, the French, the Americans and even the Africans themselves who maintain slave trade as the chief economic activity while Britain considered itself the fairest nation among its rivals with its abolitionist movement.

Indeed, the generators of this thesis or these imperialist agents exaggerated “savagery” and “darkness” to rationalize their presence in Africa. By depicting Africa and Africans in such a derogatory way, and reporting the hardships they endured to make converts, they tried to win the London Missionary Society’s sympathy and support, and to give a sort of reason for their occupation of the continent. In sum, it was a way of legitimating their presence there.

It is reasonable to say that the knowledge the explorers, travellers and missionaries transmit on and about non-western countries such as Africa, since it is our concern, takes the shape of a discourse. Starting from the concept that “Whatever signifies or has meaning can be considered as part of a discourse” as Diane Macdonell puts, discourses are not homogeneous (Macdonell, reported by Mills Sara, 1991:9). However, they “differ with the kinds of institutions and social practices in which they take shape and with the position of those who speak and those whom they address” (Ibid). One can deduce that in this context, the discourse should be analysed by taking into account the intentions of the British government and the prevalent ideas of the time. Thus, David Livingstone and Joseph

Conrad could be considered as speakers for Victorians and the Victorian people as the audience to their works.

Sara Mills pointed out that travel accounts are considered to be written within “the conventions” established by discourse and cannot, therefore, be seen as “transcriptions”. She expressed her ideas as follows;

Travellers send letters to their friends and relatives whilst they travel, which they have published when they returned. However, these forms should be recognised as conventions. Many of the letters which form travel books were scrupulously written with a view of publication (Macdonell, reported by Mills Sara, 1991:85).

Accordingly, the core of the travel writings and novels, as it is the case with *Heart of Darkness*, is questioned; whether reporting what happened (transcriptional) or what was seen to happen depending, then, to the rules of discursive formations (conventional).

Travelogues’ main concern was then, to tell the truth. To attain it, it is best to express it in a scientifically credible discourse since the age was dominated by science. The problematic here lies in the very reality that these travel accounts and tales convey. Were the visions they gave about Africa and Africans true? In other words, was David Livingstone’s knowledge about Africa and Africans that he transmitted through his letters and documents, and Conrad’s conceptions of the continent and its inhabitants worth to be believable?

As the title of this modest dissertation suggests, the aim here is to analyse David Livingstone’s vision of Africa and Africans respectively in *Letters& Documents 1841-1872* and Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*. The first book is a collection of confidential letters written by David Livingstone during his life, mainly, his travels in Africa to his friends as W.C.Oswell, J.Young and G.Frere, revealing what he intended to do, his descriptions of landscape and Africans, his feelings and confessions. They are well gathered in the title: *DAVID LIVINGSTONE Letters & Documents 1841-1872. The Zambian Collection at The Livingstone Museum Containing a Wealth of Restored*

Previously Unknown or Unpublished Texts. As editor, the Zambian poet, Timothy Holmes managed to gather 140 letters and 5 important documents to publish them in 1990, with British support. In fact, he was awarded the Richard Hillary Prize, 1986 administered by Trinity College, Oxford to enable him to travel from Zambia to Europe to pursue his research. He was also elected Temporary Member of Common Room, Wolfson College, Oxford for the same purpose.

The second work ***Heart of Darkness*** was serialized for the first time in ***Black Wood's Magazine*** in 1899. It is considered as the greatest work by Joseph Conrad. Thematically, it holds a considerable reference to problems related to politics, psychology, morality, religion, social order and evolution. Conrad also showed an ambiguous position towards imperialism and anthropology. The confusion is present even within the title, referring to Africa as a centre of wilderness and darkness or to the corruption, hypocrisy and hollowness of the white man's heart.

The writings of both writers, David Livingstone and Joseph Conrad, have been widely read and criticised. To begin with, David Livingstone and, despite the honourable image that Victorians presented him with such as William Garden Blaikie's portrayal as Prometheus the bestower of light into the Dark Continent, he was subject to harsh critics. John Reader saw that David Livingstone's philanthropy was "to have a commercial dimension"(Reader.J, 1998:531). In his book ***Africa***, he claimed that Livingstone's thesis of three Cs; "Christianity, Commerce and Civilization" anticipated and contributed in the Scramble of Africa and its colonization.

Another outstanding critic is Tim Jeal who gave Livingstone's mission an imperialistic dimension. He wrote about the most humanitarian of explorers that "with his missionary aims and his almost messianic passion for reporting British values [Livingstone] seemed to his successors to have provided the moral basis for massive imperial expansion" (H.L.Gate,1986:197). Other critics such as Curtin and Paul Bohanan

added, in their book entitled *Africa and Africans*, that Livingstone tended to view Africans as “children” and “savages” and to exaggerate “savagery” and “darkness” of the continent in order to rationalise British presence in Africa (H.L.Gate,1986:197).

Joseph Conrad in his turn reached the zenith of critical acclaim during the 1970s. To start with, the Marxist critic Terry Eagleton questioned Conrad’s art of ideological contradiction. To paraphrase him, Conrad stood in an ambiguous position between the belief in the cultural superiority of colonialist nations or the rejection of colonialism itself. For him, there is a message in *Heart of Darkness* that should be transmitted, and it is as follows: “western civilisation is at base as barbarous as African society- a view point which disturbs imperialist assumptions on the precise degree that it reinforces them” (Stape. J.H,1996:53).

The tale’s cultural echoes extend through time and across continents. The remarkable Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe, in his lecture “An image of Africa” in 1975, condemned Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* for its endorsement of racial prejudice. Conrad or “the bloody racist” as Achebe called him, depicted “Africa as setting and backdrop which eliminates the African as human factor” (Ibid). By using such dehumanisation and degradation techniques, Conrad was considered as a pro-imperialist and a promoter of racial intolerance.

Another outstanding figure was Nina Pelikan Straus, a leader of the feminist critics. In her essay “The exclusion of the Intendant from Secret Sharing”, she declared that Conrad was not only imperialist but “sexist”. She asserted that Conrad’s “literary method is to stress the formal and aesthetic ingredients at the expense of its sexist resonances, to exclude the possibility of woman’s intended views just as Marlow excludes the Intended from sharing in the views his tale discloses” (Strauss.N.P,1996:52). In other words, it is a way to say that truth for Conrad in *Heart of Darkness* was strictly masculine.

Our aim through this research is to raise the issue of the different visions that both David Livingstone and Joseph Conrad had on Africa and Africans. Our attempt to reach an understanding of the mentioned matter will be made within the framework of colonial and post-colonial discourse analysis. Being critical and analytic, our approach seeks to analyse the numerous and often contradictory visions of Africa and Africans in Livingstone's and Conrad's works, and the category of literature to which *DAVID LIVINGSTONE Letters & Documents 1841-1872* and *Heart of Darkness* belong.

Methods and Materials

This analytic approach will borrow mainly from Mary Louis Pratt's study in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* and Edward Said's colonial discourse study in *Orientalism* with its binary division of the world between the West and the Orient. It is true that Africa is not the Orient; yet it is also true that in its dealing with the other the West has always restored to the same categories, a fact which makes it possible for us to draw parallels between the Africanist and the Orientalist discourse.

Our approach will be supplemented by an appeal to Sigmund Freud's **Civilization and Its Discontents** and *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Mark Musa's edition of Aligieri Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Gill Roma the editor of **The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe Dr Faustus**, Guy Josephine's *The Victorian Age*. The two first books will be considered as colonial discourse works that will be analysed in reference to the other cited works. More precisely, our research will unfold itself in two chapters; each of which will be devoted to one of the writers under study in an outline that stretches as follows.

The first chapter will try to analyse David Livingstone's vision of Africa and Africans according to the theory announced above. To begin with the geographical vision, the analysis will be supported with Said's study of the Orient as viewed by the Europeans from multiple angles and Pratt's dialectic and historicized approach to travel accounts. The spiritual vision will be discussed with reference to Dante's descent into inferno while the

anthropological one will be considered according to Pratt's deep study of Linnaeus' *System of Nature* in her work, *Imperial Eyes*. The aim is to show how Livingstone viewed Africa as a spot of interest and Africans as "asses" and "children" that needed to be enlightened. In other words, to depict the racist colonial discourse at the length of Livingstone's confidential letters and the way he used to legitimate his search for political and commercial interests with medical, botanical and scientific pretexts.

The second chapter will be dealing with the presence of David Livingstone in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. The latter will be studied according to the explained process above, including a detailed Darwinian study of Conrad's anthropological vision of Africa and Africans, and further views of the continent and its inhabitants that stand to be Freudian and philosophical. Our purpose is to demonstrate the way Conrad tried to show the consequences of what Livingstone initiated in Africa, which is colonialism. In other words, to illustrate how he had reshuffled Livingstone's experience to denounce Belgian imperialism in Congo and its results for the colonised and the coloniser, that is the white man. In the conclusion, we will synthesise the results we would have attained in our discussion of the issues of the representation of Africa and Africans in the works of the two writers.

Introduction

***Brave young England longing to wing its way out of its island prison,
to discover and to traffic, to colonize,
until no wind can sweep the earth which does not bear
the echoes of an English voice*** (Kingsley in Briggs,1979:295).

Being a Victorian who wanted to praise the overseas achievements and explorations of his era, Kingsley in his ***West Ward Ho*** in 1855, made a similitude with the Elizabethan sailors who initiated the overseas movement despite the dangers for the sake of the British Isles. Thus, sprang the Victorian word “Neo – Elizabethans” referring to the nineteenth century explorers and voyagers. It is with this comparison that we decide to start our present chapter.

When David Livingstone reached Africa in 1841, Britain was in a great confusion. The impact of the Industrial Revolution in the 1830s on economy, society and politics was gigantic. Indeed, it brought about successful amelioration in many fields but violent and harsh reactions by factory owners and middle class workers, as well. The early Victorian era, which Asa Briggs limited historically from 1837 to 1850, witnessed an immense revolt by social classes, subsequently, after the signs of the economic depression in USA in late 30s. The latter reached and engendered a financial crisis in Britain in 1837 when populations were thrown out of employment in alarming numbers (Briggs,1979:295).

Thus, movements of protests and revolts swept England in the 1840s when “Bread was dear, and flesh and blood were cheap” because of the Corn Law that restricted the import of foreign corn in 1815. Briggs added that there was “no gloomier year in the whole nineteenth century than 1842.” (Ibid). However, the millions of victims in Ireland that the Potato Famine caused in 1845 cannot be overlooked.

The economic changes widened the contrast and gap between the rich and the poor, the skilled and the unskilled workers. It was sufficient to observe the outlook to deduce the gigantic difference. The skilled working classes had the opportunity to material gains

under the new economic system and a minimum freedom to organize, agitate and revolt whereas the village labourers or farmers suffered from several handicaps.

Consequently, the Anti-Corn League and the Chartist movement emerged during this era. They were respectively created by merchants and manufacturers for a total repeal of the Corn Law, and by the working class to struggle for their rights. The case was similar with the farmers who found difficulties to make their voices heard because of the loud and continuous calls for reforms. The successive reforms confirmed the birth of a New England. This England freed the governmental interference in Free Trade and economic system with the repeal of Corn Laws in 1846. The events marked the triumph of liberalism and free traders over the protectionist aristocracy.

The publication of *Principles of Political Economy*, two years after the repeal of Corn Laws by John Stuart Mill, rehabilitating the discipline of political economy advocated in 1776 by Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations* was a direct cause for the success of the non interference of government in economy. The book developed the idea that the economic policy was the most suitable for Britain because it “benefited both buyers and sellers, enabling each to dispose of his surplus and acquire what he needed, and that in both international trade and internal, the unfettered free enterprise of individuals made for the maximum public good” (Gregg,1986: 114).

In addition, the leaders of the Anti- Corn League, John Bright and Richard Cobden were bearers of liberal and utilitarian ideas set off by Jeremy Bentham in his *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* in 1789. For him, a good society could distinguish the right and the wrong only by the principle of Utility. As all human beings were endowed with the desire to seek pleasure and happiness, so the essence of Utility lies in providing “the greatest happiness of the greatest number” (Briggs,1990: 258).

Livingstone's theory to explore and exploit African abandoned natural resources was based, principally, on the current and emerging theories. Inevitably, the search for "the greatest happiness" in "Africa to benefit both Africans and my countrymen" as Livingstone put in one of his letters (Holmes.T, 1990:49) cannot be excluded from Bentham's initiated theory of utility. The principle aimed to satisfy the pleasure of the "greatest number" of British people but at the detriment of the African minorities.

The success of the Great Exhibition in 1851 intensified the theory of pleasure and happiness search. The Great Exhibition of "the works of industry of all nations" (Briggs,1990: 24) earned England a considerable reputation abroad. Besides, it permitted Britain to take profit from an unprecedentedly witnessed era of prosperity. It counted over "half the 14.000 exhibitors represented Great Britain and her colonies" with inventions and discoveries, (Ibid.,210) and provided a much firmer foundation for economic growth that was based on the capital goods of coal, iron and steel. As industry was growing in the rest of the world, it afforded an increasing market for British capital goods. The rate of expansion of British exports raised gradually by 1840-42 from eleven per cent and "by 1857-59 twenty two per cent, by 1882-84 twenty seven percent" (Hobsbawm. E.J, 1990:109). With such a great value inside and outside the country, Britain was granted the title of 'the workshop of the world'.

What is noteworthy is that as Britain grew in name and title, its needs increased in terms of quantity and quality. The economic boom was in a constant need to supplant as far as raw materials were concerned. Such an exigency and necessity had recourse to multiple means to satisfy it. The case with Livingstone is worth to be cited since he explored the African soil for the unique and direct cause: to meet the needs of British markets in terms of coal, iron, cotton and so many other materials.

However, British foreign policy was affected. The gospel of peace proclaimed during the Great Exhibition was broken, three years later, with the Crimean war. It grew

out of a local squabble between Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox monks for the control of the holy places in Jerusalem. Nicolas I, the Tsar of Russia, asked the Turks to recognise his authority over both the Jerusalem monks and ten million Greek Christians in the Turkish Empire. As they refused, Russian troops stepped the Danubian provinces of Turkey. Thus, the great powers as France, Great Britain, Australia and Prussia reacted immediately by declaring war in October 1853.

By taking part in the war, Britain thought of the would-be widened imperialistic and colonial interests after its victory. What dominated the political scene were “the Eastern Question” and the race for interests. In 1852, France was Britain’s enemy but became its ally in 1854 against the Russian power that wanted to seize alone the heritage of the “sick man” or Ottoman Empire as it approached its end.

To sum up the brief social, economic and political outlook of the Victorian era, one can deduce that Britain was vigilant in its domestic and foreign policies. At the moment when the balance of powers in Europe was changing to Britain’s disadvantage, as the success of the Paris Exhibition of 1867 that shook the British prestige and the adaptation of a protectionist policy, by rival countries like the USA, France and Germany, on British markets, Britain had built up very substantial interests and power outside Europe. It managed to maintain control over British colonies despite the rise of mutinies and rebellions. It introduced the constitutional government in its colonies as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Cape colony in 1853 and India in 1858.

It was agreed by historians that the above circumstances marked a transitional phase between what C.R.Fray called, in his *Cambridge History of the British Empire* in 1940, the formal and informal empire. As Briggs paraphrased him, the instant when the formal empire; the empire of the flag and territories acquisition, continued in growth, the informal empire of trade, investment and influence was in an intense expansion. The

promoters of both empires were “Neo – Elizabethans”, missionaries and colonial agents as David Livingstone, the core of the present study.

However, if imperial and ideological interests were the sword that each colonial agent armed himself with, the emerging intellectual perceptions that characterised the era, were the shield. One can say that what helped Britain to attain such a level was its promoting conception of the progressivist ideas of culture and civilization. To begin with, the conceptual claim of culture as opposed to nature was outdated during the Victorian era. It outran even the widespread mid-18th century sense of ‘refined’ as ‘cultured’ or ‘civilized’ in the sense of being a citizen of the city as opposed to “the wild man” or “savage” living in barbarian roaming lands that grew narrower to townsmen opposing men living in countryside relying on hunting and other less refined way of life. Rather, the pervasive conception then re-appropriated the use of words such as civilization to any “refining process undergone by society as a whole”, while culture was used in “ a progressive sense with reference to the individual or group, as a particular form or type of intellectual development, namely the improvement of the mind by education and training” (Young, 1995:32).

The stages of civilization were conceived in categories of economic development: hunting, pasturage, agriculture and commerce. Such scheme was adopted by Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations* first published in 1776. However, this economic four- stages model was modified to a three –stages one which defined human history according to the cultural racial categories of savagery, barbarism and civilization.

The racial categorization of human history was not defined at random. It was due to the emergence of the ideological one: Racism after the abolition of the institutional economic slavery in 1833. The *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (1853-1855) by Le comte Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882) appeared five years after the abolition of the slavery in the French colonies, reinforced the case by building a racial hierarchy. It

was determined by the affirmation of the intellectual and moral superiority of the Indo-European "Aryan" race in the purity of blood. Considering the history of the humanity, he put the notion of race, challenged by the modern genetics, as an essential factor in the emergence and the decline of the civilizations. For him, all miscegenation appeared from then on like a threat of degeneration.

Livingstone's three Cs theses aimed, perfectly and respectively, at sweeping the evils of savagery by Christianity preaching, barbarism by establishing trade and commerce stations and civilising Africans. Once again, by adopting such a slogan of three Cs theses of Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation, Livingstone proved to be in service of providing Britain not only with material needs but with quest of virtue and prestige in order to be at the lead of European countries. The civilizing mission was, thus, a pretext used to reach "the greatest happiness of the greatest number".

Furthermore, the new extended definition of culture and civilisation grew. It stipulated that culture or "the progressive sense with reference to the individual or group" described savage customs as superstitions and slave trade that civilisation came to destroy. More precisely, it became closer to man as opposing positions concerning the origin of man were rising, then. The 'progressivist' view that man had gradually evolved from a savage state into a civilized one "and would continue doing so until he reached perfection" (Young,1995:46) facing the 'degenerationist' view that derived from the Bible the idea that "man had been originally created as white and civilized, with the true religion revealed to him, but had in certain circumstances since degenerated into savagery"(Ibid.,47).

However, this was not satisfactory. Another or a second antithesis related to the origin of man came out. The 'monogenist' argument affirmed that all men were derived from the original pair of Eden Adam and Eve while the 'polygenist' one saw the diversity of human beings as a reason to treat the different races of mankind as different species as far as physical, intellectual and social capacities are concerned.

As the title of this dissertation aimed to detect David Livingstone's and Joseph Conrad's visions of Africans and Africa throughout their writings, we would limit the present chapter to the former issue. Livingstone's writings show an image of Africa from multiple angles. It includes: a geographical reflection showing the spatial shift from Europe to Africa that is considered as a place of interest, a spiritual or moral replication of paradise and hell and an anthropological or scientific vision of the continent and its inhabitants. The geographical one seems to occupy the primary position in the present study due to the important and lasting shifts that Livingstone effected from Britain to Africa. The travels were more than one counting *The Early years* (1841-1856), *The Zambezi Expedition* (1858- 1864) and *The Last Journey* (1866-1873) and practically each has, respectively, evangelical, commercial and colonial/ imperial intentions.

Our aim through a detailed study of selected excerpts from ***Letters and Documents*** is to study Livingstone's visions in terms of geographical, spiritual and anthropological angles. It is also, chiefly, in our concern to prove whether these visions were truth/ reality tellers or fitting only his personal and colonial interests. However, since most historians agreed that Livingstone's private life influenced greatly his ideas, it would be necessary to introduce his biography to understand his ideals.

The biography of David Livingstone

David Livingstone was born on March 19th, 1813 at Blantyre near Glasgow, Scotland. He was the second of five children of Neil and Mary Livingstone. As indicated in The Zambian Collection at The Livingstone Museum ***DAVID LIVINGSTONE Letters & Documents 1841-1872*** edited in 1990 by the Zambian poet and writer Timothy Holmes, his father was a peddler of tea and a propagandist for an independent congregation that had broken away from the Church of Scotland and established its own place of worship at Hamilton. Besides, he imposed strict religious discipline on his family. David had to work in the Blantyre Cotton Mill at the age of ten for thirteen years. He managed to work and to

continue his studies, at the same time. At the age of twenty three, he was enrolled at Anderson College, Glasgow to become a medical missionary.

Three years later, he was accepted on probation by the London Missionary Society (LMS) in London. He also completed his medical studies and graduated as Doctor of Medicine in 1840, the year he was admitted to full membership of the London Missionary Society. The same year constituted a watershed in his life career. It marked the beginning of his heroic travels and discoveries that fascinated the world. He accepted a posting in Kuruman, South Africa where he spent nearly all his life: exactly twenty-nine years, excluding four years spent in interludes in England.

His life can be divided into four periods including his three main travels that brought him fame. They are summed up in *The Early Years* 1841-1856, *The Zambezi Expedition* 1858-1864, *The Interlude in England* 1864-1865 and *The Last Journey* 1865-1873.

When D.Livingstone arrived to Africa in August 1841, he settled his mission at Kolobeng. He, along with William Cotton Oswell, managed to travel to the surrounding territories such as The Kalahari Desert, Kolobeng and Makololo lands. During this time, Livingstone was disillusioned with the result of London Missionary Society work. During twelve years, there was only one convert to Christianity (Schele). Thus, he began to develop his famous thesis of three Cs: Christianity, Commerce, and Civilization. For him, the Makololo land with its abundant natural resources was suitable to put control station into practice. He achieved a trans-continental travel while reaching Loanda, present Luanda. There, he discovered The Kasai River in 1854 and the Victoria Falls in 1856 while joining the Zambezi River.

At his return in 1856 to London, Livingstone was greeted as a national hero. The publication of his book *Missionary Travels and Research in South Africa* showered him with honours and wealth as well. All along the United Kingdom, he toured explaining the

importance of opening Africa with his theses of three Cs and the possibility to put it into practice by organizing an expedition to the Zambezi Rivers. In fact, Livingstone found support from the Royal Geography Society (RGS) and government to finance this expedition, which aimed at the establishment of a research station in Batoka plateau. For this reason, he resigned from London Missionary Society to be appointed Consul to Quelimane. By 1858, the Zambezi Expedition set out. Apart from the leader Dr David Livingstone, it was constituted of his wife and their child Robert and well known figures in the Victorian era.

The expedition arrived at Zambezi Delta in April 1858 and aimed to launch the Batoka project that would establish a research station in the Batoka plateau. But things went very badly, and Livingstone was obliged to abandon it. As a result, he changed the direction of his expedition to the Shire River and Lake Malawi (Nyassa). Moreover, he discarded the establishment of his own mission in Makololo, for when he went there, he found the king seriously ill. All along the expedition, Livingstone did not cease meeting hardships. His ship *Ma Robert* sank and his wife, who joined him after giving birth to her child Anna Mary, died in April 1862. Yet, despite the harsh moments he endured, his goals were not completed since his aims included finding exploitable natural resource and putting an end to slave trade by the Portuguese and Arab slave merchants.

By January 1864, when the expedition was declared to be over, Livingstone arrived at the mouth of the Zambezi with a number of freed slaves. The expedition of six years was fruitful. It had shown the extent of slave trade in the region and provided geographical survey of the natural resources that covered the area such as coal, iron, copper and exportable agricultural raw products like cotton. Concerning medical researches, it concluded to the existence of a connection between Malaria and mosquitoes, and proved its curability with quinine. According to the editor T. Holmes, with its wealthy achievements

and “as time would show, the Zambezi expedition drew the map for the British conquest of Central Africa.” (Holmes.T.ed, 1990:47).

Livingstone reached Britain in July 1864. At that time, the reception of British officials was cool. They asked him to stop his attacks on the Portuguese because they were an ally of Britain through Queen Victoria’s marital alliance with the Portuguese ruling dynasty. While touring Great Britain, he intended a meeting, in western England, of the British Association at Bath. There, he addressed a large audience, making a formal attack on Portuguese policy. But the important point was a debate between Richard Burton (1821-1890) and John Hanning Speke (1827- 1864) about the source of the Nile River.

The question of the source of the Nile River was a mystery which needed a solution. For Burton, the river flowed out of the north of Lake Tanganyika but for Speke, it arose in Lake Victoria. This is why Livingstone was called to solve the problem by the Royal Geography Society (RGS) which was ready to finance the expedition. As far as the question of the Portuguese is concerned, Livingstone wrote *Narration of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries*. This book attacked vehemently the Portuguese for the slave trade they practised. He depicted inhuman scenes of dead slaves on their way to the coast .

Livingstone landed near the mouth of the Rovuma, north of any Portuguese settlement, by 1866. Then, he went south the Malawi and passing the North West. Despite his illnesses and shortage of supplies, Livingstone crossed the Luangwa, Chambeshi Rivers and reached the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. He travelled to Lake Mweru, to Mwata Kazembe’s capital, and north to Ujiji, after making a separate journey to see Lake Bangweulu. At last, he ended his journey by crossing back again Lake Tanganyika.

Livingstone’s suffering from tropical ulcers deprived him of exploring the part of Africa he entered. On his way to Ujiji, he found that his provisions had been stolen. He was saved from destitution by Henry Morton Stanley’s supplies. Stanley the journalist had

been commissioned by *The New York Herald* to ‘find Livingstone’ whose reports did not reach London. He stayed for four months during which Livingstone took him to Lake Tanganyika that he thought to be the source of the Nile. He put in a letter to W.C.Oswell on November 24th, 1870 that “poor Speke’s great mistake was the eager pursuit of a foregone conclusion — when he discovered Victoria Nyanza he at once leaped to the conclusion that therein lay the sources of the river of Egypt” (Holmes.T.ed, 1990:47). While history disproved Burton’s theory and proved that Speke’s Victoria Lake was the watershed of the Nile.

Stanley returned to the Coast taking Livingstone’s journal and letters. He refused to come back with him to get medical treatment but asked him to send him porters and supplies. After receiving them, Livingstone flanked Lake Tanganyika on the east, and crossed northern Zambia and Chambeshi. After a nightmarish journey, he reached the village of Chitambo, south of the Lake where he died on May 1st, 1873. His body was carried together with his books to the coast where it was shipped to Britain and buried in Westminster Abbey. In 1874, all his notes were edited by H. Waller in a book entitled *Last Journals* (Ibid., 146).

Geographical vision of Africa

Our choice to start the present analysis is made upon the basis of Mary Louis Pratt’s study of two simultaneous interesting processes that happened in mid- eighteenth century northern Europe. In her book *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Pratt, one of the contemporary critics who focuses her study upon science, puts that the year of 1735 is marked by the emergence of natural history as a structure of knowledge and the “momentum” or shift “toward interior” in land - exploration, as opposed to maritime exploration (Pratt, 1992:15).

The last event or the geographical shifts and expeditions that European explorers effected then, are what interest us, at least presently. It was under the French leadership

that an international scientific expedition set out in 1735 to solve a burning empirical question related to the exact shape of the earth. Was the earth a sphere as Descartes the French scientist (1596-1650) said or an English Newtonian – referring to Sir Isaac Newton 1642- 1727) - spheroid flat at the poles? This expedition has gone down in history as Charles De la Condamine's expedition.

The expedition took the direction of South America. According to Pratt, Spain, as it conquered the majority of territories there, cooperated from the beginning in the interest of science. It was rewarded by both the competitive countries of Britain and France for its honorary memberships. Pratt, notes that such a gesture sums up the ambiguous interplay of both national and continental aspiration of European expansion that remains even in the age of science. She adds,

On the one hand, dominant ideologies made a clear distinction between the (interested) pursuit of wealth and the (disinterested) pursuit of knowledge; on the other hand, competition among nations continued to be fuel for Europeans expansion abroad (Pratt,1992:18).

With its nightmarish interior exploration, La Condamine expedition was prey to continual sicknesses, damaged instruments, lost specimen, in short, a tragic end. Even the French group disintegrated completely and each was left to find his way home alone. The deception was not restricted to this fate but to the objective of the expedition, as well. The question of Earth's outlines proved to be Newtonian; meaning spheroid flat at the poles.

Facing such circumstances, one wonders what marked La Condamine expedition in history. There is one aspect in which the expedition was a real success, which is writing. The tales that the survivors told or imagined became the passion of Europeans for decades. It resulted in the creation of a circulated fashion in Europe in the second half of the Eighteenth century. Scientific expeditions and explorations became the magnet for intellectual and commercial elites. Their travel writings became a focus of intense public interest and "a source of some of the most powerful ideational and ideological apparatuses

through which European citizens related themselves to other parts of the world” as Pratt puts it. (Pratt.M.L, 1992:23).

The other significance of La Condamine expedition resides in lifting the interest from maritime concept that kept the centre for three hundred years. It rather inaugurated an early instance of an orientation toward exploring and documenting continental interiors. As her book is an attempt to create a connection between travel writings written by explorers and missionaries about Africa and America and forms of knowledge and expression such as science and sentiment. Pratt sees in that,

This shift had significant consequences for travel writing, demanding and giving rise to new forms of European knowledge and self- knowledge, new models for European contact beyond its borders, new ways of encoding Europe’s imperial ambitions (Ibid).

The intense geographical curiosity resulted in passing an international law in 1758, by Emer de Vattel, the Swiss Prussian politician inviting “European states to take possession of territory inhabited only by mere wandering tribes” (Said.E.W,2003:216). To paraphrase Edward Said, what was important then was to ‘dignify’ simple conquest that was stimulated by an intense appetite for geographical space into an idea of special relationship between geography on the one hand and civilised or uncivilized peoples on the other hand.

In other words, the focussed interest of the European countries on the populations and the way they lived in Africa and the Orient was to cover the geographical appetite. With an ‘Orientalist’ study of the continent and its inhabitants, Europeans felt a sense of obligation and responsibility towards these populations. To legitimate their long-term presence there, they evoked names such as civilization, enlightenment and evangelism as the subject of their missions to Africa.

Said attested that from Ferdinand- Marie de Lessep's appraisal of Suez canal and "the opportunities in Africa" in 1869 and from Francis Garnier's exploration of the Blue River, a citizen could learn that,

Scientific geography soon gave way to "commercial geography", as the connection between national pride in scientific and civilizational achievement and the fairly rudimentary profit motive was urged, to be channeled into support for colonial acquisition (Said.E.W,2003:218).

Along with Livingstone's writings and besides these three divisions of geographies, we feel the obligation to add a more observable geography fitting the direct mission of Livingstone in Africa and that should stand as the first to begin with. To name them, we are to study in the present part of geographical vision of Africa in *David Livingstone Collection of Letters & Documents 1841-1872* four sub geographies; the evangelical, the scientific, and the commercial that gave birth to the colonial or imperial one.

- **Evangelical geography**

While completing his medical studies, Livingstone was accepted on probation by the London Missionary Society LMS. He was not admitted to full membership till his graduation as a Doctor of Medicine in 1841. In the same date, he accepted a post to Kuruman in South Africa where Robert Moffat, had established a mission in 1821.

According to Timothy Holmes, the editor of *Letters & Documents*, Britain, by then, and thanks to Moffat and other Christian preachers, gathered information about the area. It knew also about the Boers conflict with the natives, and the latter's repulsiveness to Christianity. Livingstone's first reports centred, mainly, on the land and populations' reaction to evangelisation. He seemed to be disappointed about the earliest contact. In a letter he wrote to his friend Thomas Lomas Prentice, a would be missionary in South Africa, on August 3rd, 1841 i.e. three days after his arrival to Kuruman and nearly six months after reaching the continent in Cape Town through Algoe Bay, Livingstone attested,

you have heard of the great success said to have attended the missionary efforts in this locality, it is great but to one coming from England it is invisible or neatly so. Those who had to deal with Bechuanas 20 years ago and those who have seen them far in the interior alone can appreciate the greatness of the change. Don't expect to find such amiable Christians as you read of in the South Seas etc. etc. It is quite a different mind here. Don't expect to find chiefs friendly to receiving missionaries. In general they are hostile and when friendly it is generally for the purpose of "milking" them, and nothing else can be expected (T.Holmes.ed,1990:16).

The "Don't expect to .." statements stood in E. Said's terms as textual attitude. As he indicated, it is the case with the travellers who found themselves "saying of an experience in a new country that was not what they expected, meaning that it was not what a book said it would be" (Said, 2003:93). By so, they found the opportunity to tell that this country is like this and not like that, i.e. creating their own image of the continent and the inhabitants previously unknown. The effect goes hand in hand with what Said pointed to as "creates the Orient, the Oriental and his world."(Ibid.,94). It has the function of widening the scope of 'Othering' and heightening the superiority of the dominating country 'us' on the dominated one 'them'.

Besides the unexpected nature of Bechuanas, the second nature that marked Livingstone's disappointment was the relationship between British and Dutch missionaries. Livingstone dared to tell his friend Prentice an unpleasant subject that disappointed him enormously. The conflict between Griqua missionaries notably, Messrs Wright and Hughes and the British Kuruman ones including Messrs Moffat and Edwards who opposed the idea of employment of native teachers in the mission. The idea caused "Great enmity"; the native teachers were despised by both [Missionaries] and people here and most unfortunately the "heathen" natives beyond us now despise them too." (T.Holmes.ed,1990:16).

While tackling this subject, Livingstone apologised for two reasons: when he found Griquatown possessed by Dutch and when Mr Moffat joined England, "he found the current strong in favour of native agency" (Ibid.,18). These two mentioned cases seemed to

disappoint Livingstone enormously to be preceded by Boer missionary churches in Griqua on the one hand and on the other hand, to submit to an idea imposed by Dutch and was not originally theirs, meaning English.

Both obstacles did not paralyse Livingstone's ambitions. On the contrary, as he wrote, it "will force us towards the dark interior" (T.Holmes.ed,1990:17). He, as M.L. Pratt puts it was no longer concerned with the circumnavigation. Rather, what interested him was investigating the interior of Africa. She calls these interior momentum and shifts "planetary consciousness" meaning " an orientation toward interior exploration and the construction of global-scale meaning through the descriptive apparatuses of natural selection" (Pratt.M.L, 1992:15).

The second letter selected for study was written on February 13th probably in 1848 as T. Holmes, the editor put it in square brackets, from Kolobeng, Bakwain country. By then, David Livingstone had already settled his mission in Kolobeng, learnt the language and got married with Dr Moffat's daughter Mary with whom he had a child. His letter was addressed to Revernd David Gilkinson Watt, his friend from Ongar days who had been a missionary in India till 1845 when he became an independent minister in various parts of England.

After seven uninterrupted years in Africa, Livingstone's view of the achievement of his mission and London Missionary Society (LMS) attained the degree of disillusionment. The theme of conversion seemed to concern him enormously, especially, while addressing a Reverend who would share his worries. Sechele, the chief of the Tswana clan was the only person that Livingstone converted to Christianity. However, being "a polygamist" was the cause that restrained Livingstone from his baptism. He informed the Reverend that,

We made a start last week and our friend Sechele conveyed us about 50 miles of the way. It was gratifying to see him on his pack ox hunting for us, and endeavouring to promote our comfort in various ways. We met a large party of strangers on their way to visit our tribe, this rendered his presence at home

necessary. He informed me at parting that he had intended to accompany me on the whole itinerary then presented me with about 4 gallons of porridge; and two servants to act in his stead. He is almost the only individual who possesses distinct consistent views on the subject of our mission (T.Holmes.ed,1990: 26-7).

At least three or four times, the binary division between (He / We, us, our) was repeated. According to E. Said, this “promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, “us”) and the strange (Orient, the East, “them”)(Said, 2003:43). Despite his high rank, Sechele stood as a servant, an outsider and stranger working for the benefit of “us” the Europeans who seemed to enjoy his services. They considered him as the most distinguishable among Africans for his complete devotion to Christianity. What added to his appreciation was his ignorance of the hidden motives of missionaries, to use A.Adu Boahen’s view that “[The African kings] were used on a number of occasions as colonial agents negotiating with African rulers” (Boahen,1990:17).

However, the idea became much more complex when Livingstone considered himself no longer a European. He gave the feeling of being Africanised while stating that a large party of “strangers”, whom he did not identify, were on the way to visit “our tribe”. This reversed state of matters had a twofold aim. Seemingly, it demonstrated the extent of sympathy and humanity he bore to Africans that reached the level of identification. But imperceptibly, it showed the high level his knowledge attained about the continent and its inhabitants. Relying on the view of institutionalisation of his knowledge by the colonial office, Livingstone by familiarising “the strange (Orient, the East, “them”)” with words as “our” and “us” inaugurated a process of colonisation that, under the cover of familiarity, was based on a mental and intellectual possession.

All along the letter, Livingstone stressed the humanitarian objective of his mission and his determination to act nobly. He illustrated it when he reacted to the fact of driving him out of the country during the Caffre war- or the War of the Axes (1846- 1847) the seventh war in the European conquest of the eastern Cape colony- saying that “I think I

should stick by my people to the last” in order to “promote their interest and shew [sic] them that [I love] them” (T.Holmes.ed,1990: 28). Furthermore, a story he told to the Reverend, is worth to be cited,

Lately we were menaced by an attack by a party on horseback. I got information of it one night and instantly went up to the town and when our invaders came all were ready. The worthies thought proper to deny that they had bad intention but having come at a time when horses die, the loss of a portion of their horses shewed [sic]they had been baulked of their intention. They would never have risked their horses had they not expected to carry off cattle. Some of our big-wigs said to me ‘Now we understand you are a real friend and would die with us. (Ibid)

The sentimental discourse Livingstone used through his letters and the unexperiential hero he was, to use Pratt’s words, gave him the image of a protagonist surveying a challenge and standing up for a whole mission with no fear. He made “all were ready” at the arrival of the invaders and gained the confidence of the natives with the recognition by one of them to be a “real friend” that “would die with us”. His use of direct speech as far as the last sentence is concerned, gave weight to his scope of “real state of matters” and increased the credibility of “facts”.

However, all changed by June 1848. Livingstone, in a letter he wrote to Dr J R Bennet, attested that “conversion is a plain prosaic affair among them”(Ibid., 31) showing, in so doing, that it was not done on the right way i.e. by faith. Rather, the least problem or confrontation retrieved their primal beliefs. He described the situation as follows,

we entertain hopes of others in the tribe but have need of patience. The people behave with decorum in the chapel — seem to listen attentively — the numbers are from 100 to 150 on Sabbath. Attendance on the infant school being in no way compulsory we hope good is being done, all who come do so simply because they like it and yet there are seldom fewer than 50 and sometimes they amount to twice that number. It is very different work at Mabotsa. Soon after we left some unpleasantness arose between the missionary and chief. The former had to pay a fine to be allowed to remain and as a heathen does not readily forgive for many months afterwards a single Mokhatla never entered either school or chapel (Ibid).

On this point, Livingstone unveiled the method he had recourse to, to teach them the gospel with the agreement and complicity of their chief,

Observing soon after our coming to live with him that we placed much importance on believing in Christ he Sechele several times offered to thrash his people into belief adding you who are kind hearted people do not understand how ‘hard’ hearted they are. I can do nothing with them without beating them (T.Holmes.ed,1990: 31).

The last sentence is a revealing one on the nature of relationship between Livingstone and the natives. On the one hand, he praised Sechele the chief who “always appears clean and dressed, purchases soap, makes candles and admires everything European” but, on the other hand, one cannot believe the way he dealt with the other natives unless revealed by himself. By teaching them with hits, Livingstone inevitably considered them as disturbing children who needed corporal punishment to correct their behaviour or in a common way of thinking, as drudges that should be beaten in order to move forward.

- **Scientific geography**

Being at the same time a missionary and a doctor, Livingstone cannot separate the two functions. He, as many other explorers who reached Africa in the nineteenth century, engaged in a ceaseless “planetary consciousness” in the name of science. The previously mentioned La Condamine expedition was an inaugurating historical phenomenon. It created a boundless curiosity for both science and momentum shifts. Livingstone shared interest in the huge rise at the level of literacy and the emerging slogan of science, the religion of the century. Besides the missionary career, he, indeed, exercised the task of a scientist and doctor on the African soil.

Livingstone’s scientific researches were apparent in the first letters and lasted till the final ones. They were mainly reflected through his ethnographic reports, anthropological interpretation, botanic and zoological interests – that we will develop in the section entitled anthropological vision of Africa- and precisely on landscape descriptions. The listed subjects were developed respecting the Swedish naturalist Carl Linné’s *Systema Naturae* first published in 1735. Linnaeus collection was “a descriptive

system designed to classify all the plants on the earth, known or unknown, according to the characteristics of their reproductive parts” (Pratt,1992: 24).

One of the system’s disciplines is ‘natural history’. It is unquestionably constituted in and through language through botanical and zoological words, drawing and documenting specimen. By so doing, scientific enterprise involved all manners of linguistic apparatuses and travel writings were considered to be among them. Pratt adds that

The authority of science was invested most directly in specialized descriptive texts, like the countless botanical treatises organized around the various nomenclatures and taxonomies. Journalism and narrative travel accounts, however, were essential mediators between the scientific network and a larger European public. They were central agents in legitimating scientific authority and its global project alongside Europe’s other ways of knowing the world, and being in it (Ibid., 29).

The systematising of nature through many forms of writing and publishing was a completing historical occurrence to La condamine Expedition in the creation of a planetary consciousness among Europeans. The latter or the orientation toward the interior supplanted the legendary circumnavigation or sailing round the world and the mapping of the world’s coastlines project. It did not concentrate in where land and water meet, rather in “internal “contents” of those land and water masses whose spread made up the surface of the planet” (Ibid.,30).

This section will focus, mainly, on this last item, since new internal spots were Livingstone’s observable concern. Timothy Holmes included in the collection a document that Livingstone previously published in his book *Missionary Travels and Research in South Africa* 1857. It was entitled “First Impressions of Victorian Falls 1855”. On this point, M.L.Pratt attests that in baptising landmarks and geographical formations with Euro-Christian names as it was the case with the Falls named in honour to Queen Victoria “that the religions and geographical projects came together” (Ibid.,33).

As Livingstone focussed on a minutely descriptive way of the landscape, we saw it essential to rely on M. L. Pratt's method in "analysing Victorian discovery rhetoric". She calls "The monarch -of -all-I-survey" all documents comprising three basic conventional means that we will analyse and develop along with Livingstone's report.

As a first dimension, she sees that all along the travel account, "the landscape is estheticized" where "the sight is seen as a painting and the description is ordered in terms of background, foreground symmetries between foam-flecked water and mist flecked hills, and so forth" (Pratt,1992: 204). In Livingstone's text, there is a binary rhetoric at work playing off the Thames against the Zambezi Rivers,

[...] and prolonged from the left end of the tunnel through 30 miles of hills and the pathway being 100 ft down from the bed of the river instead of what it is with the lips of the fissure from 80 to 100 ft apart then fancy the Thames leaping bodily into the gulph [sic]and forced there to change its direction and flow from the right to the left bank then rush boiling and roaring through the hills and he may have some idea of what takes place at this. The most wonderful sight I had seen in Africa (Holmes.T.ed, 1990:177).

The last sentence constitutes the "esthetic pleasure" of sight. It likewise gives significance to his journey that can be felt as a deep sigh caused by the admiration of a sight he had never seen before.

The landscape should be showered with a "density of meaning" and "represented as extremely rich in material and semantic substance" as Pratt claims in the second aspect. This density can not be achieved unless a large number of adjectives, adjective modifiers and nominal colour expressions are used. We detect this point in the course of the following excerpt,

In looking down into the fissure [sic]on the right of the island one sees nothing but a dense white cloud which at the time we visited the spot had two bright rainbows on it. (The sun was on the meridian and the declination equal to the latitude of the place.) From this cloud rushed up a great jet of vapour exactly like steam and it mounted up 200 or 300 feet high. There it changed its hue to that of dark smoke and came back in a constant shower which soon wet us to the skin. This shower falls chiefly on the opposite side of the fissure and a hedge of evergreen trees whose leaves are always wet. From their roots a number of little rills run back into the gulph but as they flow down the column of vapour licks them up clean off the rock and away they

mount again. They are constantly running down but never reach the bottom. (Holmes.T.ed, 1990: 177).

In this respect, Livingstone's passage comprised a limited number of adjectives like ("dense", "bright" or "great") and three nominal colour expressions as ("a dense white", "dark smoke" and "evergreen") that serve as Pratt asserts as a tie of "the landscape explicitly to the explorer's home culture" (Pratt.M.L, 1992: 204). They add referents to understand the state of matters in an English way. However, she sees in the density of meaning and the "esthetic project" a deeper meaning that is nearly invisible without a minute detection. It is a strategy used often by the western "for defining others as available for and in need of its benign beautifying intervention" (Ibid., 205).

Additionally, the landscape's aesthetic deficiencies as it is the case with the above passage (limited number of adjectives and an absence of adjective modifiers) is not an imperative point to thwart a discovery survey to be called "A monarch -of -all-I-survey". Instead, it shows an explicit interaction between esthetics and ideology. In other words, it is a witty device to "suggest a need for social and material intervention by home culture" (ibid). As far as Livingstone's account is concerned, his aim is plainly pointed to while revealing his objectives as follows: "I write in the hope that others more capable of judging distances than myself will visit this scene and I state simply the impressions made on my mind at the time" (Holmes.T.ed, 1990: 178).

The last and third dimension lays mainly in "the relation of *mastery* predicated between the seer and the seen" (Pratt,1992: 204). Livingstone claimed the mastery of sight by underwriting the Victorian falls to be "the most wonderful sight I had seen in Africa." In this case, he is in a position of a viewer who judged and appreciated such a scene. Moreover, in stating that "the whiteness gave me the idea of snow, a sight I had not seen for many a day" (Op.cit), he grew to be a verbal painter who produced for others "the esthetic pleasure" of sight in an analogous whiteness of snow.

However, all along the text, one feels that the mastery of sight is challenged by the presence of natives in landscape description. In the following excerpt, Livingstone had recourse to Makololo people:

The fissure is said by the Makololo to be much deeper farther to the Eastwards but there is one part at which the walls are so sloping that people accustomed to it can go down by descending in a sitting position. The Makololo on one occasion pursuing some fugitive Batoka saw them [unable] to stop themselves in the descent literally dashed to pieces at the bottom. They behold the stream like a white cord at the bottom and so far down (probably 300 feet) that they became giddy and were fain to go away holding on to the ground. (Holmes.T.ed, 1990: 178)

According to Pratt, such scenes are often present in discovery accounts. They do not threaten the mastery and the presence of the author but insert power to it. The role that Makololo played in this context is the witness or hypothesis they provide the Europeans with the objective of verifying the latter's achievements. That is to say, Livingstone after having described the Falls from top to bottom faced the enigma of how far the two extremities could be? And here he had recourse to natives to stand upon their experiences.

The basic landscape descriptive method used within his travel accounts, announces an innovative era to Livingstone's future in South Africa. With much concentration on the land, Livingstone developed a new thesis based on the development of "Christianity, Commerce, Civilisation" in Africa. His fundamental theory stipulates that Africans cannot elevate their status and way of life unless a new trade substitutes the already existing one, slavery. There is no wonder if this change in his way of progressing in Africa coincides with the British social and economic reforms that took place in all fields. It is, to a certain extent, due to the impact and the increasing need of Britain to supplant the market with raw materials that Livingstone offered the possibility to provide it with. In short, it announces what can be termed as, commercial geography.

- **Commercial geography**

After suffering a hard disappointment because of the evangelical set-back, an increasing interest emerged at the scientific level. Livingstone directed his attention to the

interior momentum that, in its turn, engendered a more profitable domain. The objectives revealed through the landscape descriptions and multiple shifts into the “Dark Continent” are purely commercial. In this context, M.L.Pratt assures “Like the rise of interior exploration, the systematic surface mapping of the globe correlates with an expanding search for commercially exploitable resources, markets, and lands to colonize, just as navigational mapping is linked with the research for trade routes.” (Pratt.M.L,1992:30).

Accordingly, Livingstone contributed, indeed, to the fulfilment of the project. Every description aims to advertise the would - be taken profits from abandoned treasures in nature. The report he made his friend Prentice about an industrious race he met in the north east producing wooden and iron things called to his mind the tasks that Manning - Prentice’s brother- would serve with. He mentioned that the ore that the natives extract from the mountains is “a fine field for Manning for the arts are in the most uncouth state imaginable” (Holmes.T.ed,1990: 18).

For Livingstone, the place counted innumerable and immeasurable tasks that Manning could perform to facilitate life in Africa. His aim from the latter’s intervention outran the practical field. He rather intended to give evidence of the Europeans’ intellectual and practical abilities. In this context, he attested,

By a little knowledge of chemistry Manning might save them a great deal of iron and labour too. I told them how they might improve but of course they could not see the utility of putting in with the ore another stone in which there is no iron. The thing must be done before their eyes before they will believe white men knowing as much of the trade as they do (Ibid: 19).

This point marks the junction between the commercial and the epistemological aims. Indeed, Livingstone stands by “the white men’s” side in terms of superiority over the natives or the black ones. This right or superiority that the westerners claim resides mainly in the mastery of science and knowledge. It reflects the binary opposition between civilised/ barbaric, white/ black and west/ orient. A detail that recalls Kissinger’s telling

and makes Livingstone in the position to say: “I possess knowledge while you don’t” (Said.E.W, 2003: 32).

If Livingstone’s commercial aims are manifested prematurely, i.e. from the beginning of his career in Africa, the keenness to benefit from the continent’s treasures came true by his arrival to Europe. By 1856, Livingstone came back to Britain in 1856 after 16 years of absence. At his surprise, in spite of his remoteness, his outstanding Christian fortitude and his bold crossing of the African continent from coast to coast made him a national hero. In addition to the publication of his book *Missionary Travels and Research in South Africa* that became a best seller, Livingstone was showered with honours and titles. However, all this success was not enough in Livingstone’s eyes who aimed constantly to further achievements. Rather, it gave him impetus to expose his developed project of opening up Africa. He toured around the United Kingdom for this purpose convincing traders and mill owners that Makololo lands with their apparently abandoned sources were the best providers of the needed raw materials such as cotton, coal and iron.

This practical evidence got him support from the British Government and Royal Geographical Society that accorded him an expedition up the Zambezi and the establishment of a research station on the Batoka plateau above its confluence with the Kafir river. Many British explorers and missionaries were influenced by Livingstone’s experiences; three missionaries’ ventures were sent, the universities’ mission in Central Africa including Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, Trinity Dublin followed the advice and a map drawn by Livingstone himself.

Under this authority, Livingstone addressed Adam Sedgwick, a professor of Geology in Cambridge University a letter from England on February 6th, 1858, to inform him in a set of details about his organized expedition. Situating this letter in a historical context, it was written a month before sailing from England on the steamer ‘Pearl’ that

would take them to the Zambezi. All along it, Livingstone respected a logical order beginning with the central object, then the chosen equipment and at last, his own and personal wishes and motives. Concerning his intent, he indicated “That you may have a clear idea of my objectives I may state that they have something more in them than meets the eye. They are not merely exploratory, for I go with the intention of benefitting both the African and my own countrymen” (Holmes.T.ed, 1990: 49).

Having equipped his expedition with experts practically in all fields including botanics, medicine, navigation and many others, Livingstone on the board of *Ma Robert* -the ship built especially for the Zambezi Expedition- scanned every spot he reached. With the help of experts, he succeeded to take profit from each area he stepped in. In a letter where he explained to Richard Thornton the mission he was charged with in Africa, Livingstone evoked a previously unknown objective, that “by engaging the natives to occupy themselves in the development of the resources of their country a considerable advance may be made towards the extinction of the slave trade” (Ibid., 51).

The contribution to slave trade extinction by involving the natives in the industrial processes and land cultivation is new as a mission to Livingstone if one reviews the 1840s. It obsessed him after coming into contact with the Portuguese territories. There, Livingstone manifested a behaviour that he never adopted before. He showed an excess of pride in relation to the expedition’s achievements in disregard of the Portuguese presence. He dared to announce that “Portuguese knew nothing of Shirwa” (Ibid.,60). As a result, Livingstone’s provocative behaviour engendered inevitable and rigorous reactions from the Portuguese authorities.

Six months after the sailing of the Zambezi Expedition, Livingstone affirmed his addressee, Sir Samuel Morton Peto, the British Member of Parliament and supporter of the Christian cause, alluding to the Tete region that,

This is the beginning of the coal trade here. We have no end of the best of specular iron ore. With coal and iron surely we shall do something to open up

Africa — the rapid above Tete is I am informed not a waterfall but a series of rocks jutting out of the stream, if they can be blasted, as there is a deep channel among them don't be surprised though in addition to turning skipper I try to be a quarry man (Holmes.T.ed,1990: 56).

From this passage, we embrace the plans that Livingstone outlined in the mentioned area. He saw in the settlement of a coal and iron trade in the region, the best means to open up Africa. For him, Africa, with its prosperous natural resources would be a provider of raw materials for Britain's industry. However, in a letter he addressed in November 1859 from Shire River to his dear friend and companion in his early interior travels of 1849, William Cotton Oswell, Livingstone's aims outran the national market and became borderless.

By April 1859, Livingstone described to William Cotton a fine point he found near a high mountain that would serve as a healthy station. He focussed interest on the fauna he saw there,

There are branches forming islands and when we got the elephants on these we hunted them in this steamer — With a good one we could have killed the whole herd. I saw five or six herds of them at once, my companions estimated them at 3000 (I think 800or less) but one had fine tusks — probably all the males had, the bodies are not large. There is plenty of game in the country but there is no hunting it... (Ibid., 59).

The prodigious number of elephants is counted according to their tusks and the benefit they would add up. They are abandoned wealth in nature, commercially known as ivory.

He came to seize a precious chance from the herd of males. These occasions are for him, "games" within a country where people ignore its value and benefits.

To sum up, Livingstone's engagement in slave trade extinction is twofold. It can be seen as a humanitarian mission that aimed to diminish the suffering of an uprooted population. It can also be considered as an imperial one to attack the Portuguese monopoly and presence in the continent through the uprooting of slavery. For, in comparison to Portugal, Britain did not show similar blatant colonial interests, occupied the first rank of the European virtual nations since it abolished slavery in 1833. In other words, it is a way

to tease the Portuguese, as he pointed “It was a knowledge of the plan I had for stopping the slave trade of Iboe and Mosambique as well as that Quilloa that made our Portuguese friends frantic” (Holmes.T.ed,1990: 87).

To be clear, the above quotation written at the end of the Zambezi Expedition after a cold war between Livingstone and the Portuguese shows a lucid race for Africa, its governance and commerce. This latter point cannot be separated from the colonial imperial ones aiming at winning the African continent for the European race.

- **Colonial/Imperial geography**

Livingstone’s first symptoms of colonial and imperial aims appeared timidly in the very early years. Gradually, they became an end behind every action or geography, if we review the evangelical, the scientific and the commercial to be a visible colonial/imperial one by the late years. What can be deduced to be a primary cause to the conspicuousness of his aims was his contact with the achievements of the Portuguese in their territories.

Our task at this level is to respect the given course of ideas and analyse them in reference to Livingstone’s achievements. In his first letter in the African continent, according to *The collection of DAVID LIVINGSTONE Letters & Documents 1841-1872*, Livingstone mentioned “colonial feelings” that Prentice, the addressee, couldn’t understand in England. The feelings he alluded to came after a contact with an old English missionary among a majority of subjugating Boers and a mass of subjugated natives: feelings towards Dr.Philip, feelings towards the natives and feelings towards a country “raped” by the Boers. What weights are the two forces at the extremities and the natives in between as the arm to harass them with. It is worth saying that Livingstone, before arriving in Africa, saw in Dr Philip a corrupt and ill-reputed missionary. This view changed as soon as he came into contact with the continent, being therefore a more convincing reason to

believe in the force, value and weight of colonial feelings of a famous British missionary in South Africa.

Through these feelings, Livingstone unveiled his colonial impulses and objectives in Africa. Under the disguise of humanitarianism, stood imperial and colonial motives. The presence of a competitive state to Britain in South Africa pushed the latter on account of its colonial agents such as Dr Philip to adopt strategies and take measures to get rid of it. By doing so, Livingstone can be counted among the agents who in the name of Christianity and evangelism planned to have South Africa as a colony under the British monopoly and imperialism.

The Zambezi Expedition equipment served, according to Livingstone, to provide Britain with raw materials that remained unexplored in nature and to develop free labour and commerce in the African soil. With expectations not only “exploratory”, Livingstone outran the colonial feelings that he showed over Africa during “The Early Years”. Precisely, they became colonial hopes and wishes manifested through his incitement to insert Central Africa in the large list of British colonies. The present confession: “I hope it may result in an English colony in the healthy highlands of Central Africa” (Holmes.T.ed, 1990:50) can be regarded as a serious revelation of the nature of his personal thoughts and reflections. It anticipated the subsequent growth of events and his courage to reveal it during a firmly secretive time.

However, his imperial plans included not only a search for places of interests with abundant natural materials to exploit, but geographical discoveries to label with English names. A fact that would affirm and guarantee the British superiority in all fields between competitive continental and transcontinental countries. This was the case with the scientific and ethnographic reports that Livingstone provided the British audience with. They are not far from the knowledge building project of natural history .i.e. the contribution in the

system of classifying elements of nature by referring to Linnaeus' *System of Nature*, as botanic, fauna and even humans.

Livingstone's "Monarch-of -All-I- Survey" is a Victorian literary method to describe nature from a colonial and imperial view. The imperial eye, to use M.L.Pratt's words, through the landscape's painting portraits, the density of meaning and the mastery of sight, aims at the possession of the scene. Equally, it aims at the description of the peak moments when geographical discoveries were won for and by England. The brand of verbal painting in the Monarch-of -All-I- Survey scenes "involve particularly explicit interaction between esthetics and ideology in one might call a rhetoric of presence" (Pratt.M.L,1992: 205). In other words, it is a European claim to mastery and will to intervention.

Livingstone opted from the early years, too, to a scientific way of description preceding even the Monarch-of -All-I- Survey. In a letter he wrote to Prentice in December 1841, he made an ethnographic report about a population an "industrious race" living in north east Kuruman. Their portrayal is a cultural anthropological study showing, mainly, a static and uncreative way of extracting ore from Tubal Cain times. Being a science, anthropology as Mudimbe assures, "became then the mirror reflecting "primitive" societies, focusing on their particular positions on the linear chain of civilizations, and, later on, as **a service to colonial enterprises**, analyzing the conditions for converting these societies" (Mudimbe,1994:29) (emphasis mine).

Livingstone was not merely a scientist 'hero' informing about geographic and ethnographic discoveries in order to claim mastery and the necessity of British intervention. In some circumstances, in order to call for help and support from the London Missionary and Royal Geography societies, Livingstone used a sentimental discourse that shares the protagonist's telling of important moments in personal experiences, shifts and motives. This hero- a sentimental hero-, as Pratt attests, shared also crucial characteristics

with the man of science in terms of “europeanness, maleness, and middle classness” (Pratt.M.L, 1992:78). The following extract marks the shift from the scientific discourse to the sentimental all serving the hegemonic colonial one.

Now why am I saying so much about these people and their abode. The reason is they have not yet learned to despise the Gospel. They received us kindly and only know that we are friendly with them. There was only one individual who had been at a mission station and who may be called a rejector of the gospel and his influence is small amongst them. I don't mean to point out to you this as a location for your future labours. But I earnestly entreat if this is not your power. Help these people now. I know you are connected with churches which might, if they knew the immense importance of native agents, support one or two in addition to what they are now doing. (Holmes.T.ed,1990:19).

An anti-conquest meaning “strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony”(Op.cit.,7) is shown at the level of this passage, precisely, in the statement “and only know that we are friendly with them”. Under innocence and passivity, Livingstone hides his supposedly Christian and civilisation mission motives. His presumed objective in this excerpt is to ask help from his friend. To support his aim, he exposed all the advantages he would gain from employing native teachers with help from Europeans. One can sum up by stating that his discourse is purely sentimental, but his goals are deeply colonial and imperial.

However, we should mention that Livingstone's spatial shift to Africa embodies other concealed moves that one cannot deduce easily. Apart from the physical one, Livingstone effected a moral or spiritual shift taking him from paradise to hell-like spots. This point is the main subject of the following section in the present work.

Spiritual vision of Africa

Between the geographical and the spiritual vision of Africa and Africans lie the visible and the invisible. The spatial shift that Livingstone carried out from Britain to Africa and within its territories had an evangelical mission at the primary motive. Preaching Christianity was doomed to failure despite his exhausting efforts. However, the

moral shift to Africa seemed to weight on the spatial one in terms of the ideas that he bore and the plans that he outlined to put into practice, there.

Livingstone's vision of Africa and Africans was faithful to the newly emerging conceptions of the Nineteenth century. The Myth of the Dark Continent was the legitimating and ostensible reason and motive which cloaks the English real one: colonialism. With the name of Christ, people must be Christianised, and civilised in order to renounce their africanity. Their way of life was regarded as savage and barbaric intensifying their remoteness in the dark ages whereas their Europeanization was the remedy and redemption.

In short, Africa through Livingstone's first writings after stepping on the African continent was represented as dark in comparison to civilised Europe, the source of light. Within his first letter, Livingstone provided Prentice with his first impressions of the era,

I find this a pretty spot but as it is winter it wants most of its charms. The church is the largest place I have seen on any Mission Station. The walls are built of stone and so strong they resemble those of a battery. The gardens are excellent but the number of the people is much smaller than I expected to find. This being the hunting time of year most of them are out pursuing their occupation. This is a point between light and darkness(Holmes.T.ed,1990:14)

The excerpt is a description of space, respectively, from a delightful spot with a large church to the absence of the other missionaries for the reason that they were "out" for hunt. With a deep analysis of the quotation, a dichotomy emerges at this level between "this" and "out" that each carries a further and hidden meaning. The subject "this spot" is employed in company with beautiful adjectives "largest", "strong", "excellent", however, the word "out" is followed by a conclusion that clarified the idea "This is a point between light and darkness".

The juxtaposition of the two eras shifted from spatial to thematic or spiritual representing the worlds of Lightness and Darkness. The former represented the church and Christianity having Europe as its origins, whereas the latter represented Africa the source of wilderness and darkness.

In other words, the spot that Livingstone penetrated was seen as a wide gulf separating him from his Christianised or heaven-like world and drowning him in a savage or hell-like one. It is, notwithstanding the geographical move a rather spiritual one shifting him from paradise to hell. In terms of evaluation, his travel into Africa through different stations evokes the setting of *Inferno* with its different levels of hell where the Evil keeps the centre. The developed extract recalls Dante's first words after his "Descent into Hell",

How hard it is to tell what it was like,
This wood of wilderness, savage and stubborn
(the thought of it brings back all my old fears) (Musa Mark.ed, 1995:3)

In view of that, Livingstone like Dante, the pilgrim, was in an imperative need of a guide to help him undertake the ascent to God. Livingstone's case requires a second reference to Prentice's letter to get acquainted with Virgil's corresponding person. The latter consists of the character of Dr Philip a missionary and superintendent of LMS in South Africa from 1820 to 1850. He was according to Livingstone's words, ill reputed among missionaries in England for having neglected his missionary cause and having interfered in dealings out of LMS.

However, Dr Philip was the first subject that Livingstone's knowledge questioned in South Africa. Under a confessional discourse, he expressed his regret for the prejudices and prejudgements while he was in England "I had heard a great deal said against him but now I am fully satisfied it is all, or at least the greatest portion of it, sheer downright calumny." (Holmes.T.ed,1990:14).

The textual attitude underlined by Edward Said in *Orientalism* is present at this level to judge and provide a final decision on the battle between the heard and the witnessed. A reason that puts Livingstone in the obligation to stand up for Dr Philip and represent the "facts" that would free him from harsh accusations. He reported Dr Philip's words that the London Missionary Society compelled him to act a part without his approval (Ibid).

The present statement is a value laden. It made Dr Philip look like a victim in the hands of his superiors' pressure. Such a device would pity the first and legitimate Livingstone's inclination. To continue with his process of clearing the character of Dr Philip, Livingstone opts for praising the Doctor's noble deeds as the following quote shows,

He has been the means of saving from the most abject and cruel slavery all the Hottentots and not only them but all the Aborigines beyond the Colony. The Boers hate him cordially. Many would think it doing God service to shoot him. They have an inveterate hatred of the coloured population and to him as their friend and advocate; you can't understand it, it is like caste in India (Holmes.T.ed,1990:14).

Accordingly, Dr Philip stands as a hero "saving" Africans from the spiteful Boers that "hate him cordially". In a more explicit way, the letter shows that between Livingstone who took side with Dr Philip at an end and the Boers at the other, stood the Africans whom the former recognised their humanity facing to the latter's subjugation. A further reading, however, states that Africans stood as the mediating tool that the English used to get rid of the Boers.

In the end, Livingstone summed up the whole situation between the trinity Livingstone and Dr Philip/ Africans / Boers in two words: Colonial feelings. These feelings that Prentice could not understand in England teach a person how to be jealous for one's country and possessions and how to look for them. Livingstone, by taking side with Dr Philip, was convinced of the legitimacy of this latter's cause in a land where a powerful force as Boers threatened them and resolved to take his services in "the path of duty" as a model.

The role that Dr Philip played in Africa was crucial and decisive for Livingstone's life career. He was his support and source of knowledge while he was travelling the African soil. He helped Livingstone understanding of the continent and to carry on his mission in Africa. Leaning on one of the theories of culture as socially distributed, the most common way of transmitting knowledge in the world is apprenticeship. Such a

system allows a person to feel involved in the whole task. Livingstone, in this context, can be seen as the novice who watches the expert, Dr Philip, at work and gradually let to the task. The kind of learning he was exposed to, was quite different from the one fostered in England since the experience acquired in the field of work counted intensely.

In this context and apart from the spiritual guidance that Dr Philip provides, he stands as the principal ideological guide for Livingstone. Dr Philip is to Livingstone what Virgil is to Dante in *Inferno*. In his adulation of Dr Philip, Livingstone reminds us of the following words by Dante,

You are my teacher, the first of all my authors,
and you alone the one from whom I took
the noble style that was to bring me honor (Musa.M.ed, 1995 :6).

In addition the “Myth of the Dark Continent” was created to blacken the image of Africa, Livingstone evokes the promethean myth. In this myth, Livingstone emerges as Prometheus who would bestow Africa and Africans light. Being a messenger from the bright continent to darkness, Livingstone’s role is to mediate the two worlds. He saw himself involved in mission to bring the light of Christianity and belief in the true God to the native population still living in what was then called barbarism and superstition. He recalls the Greek mythic figure of Prometheus who, after the distribution of ways of surviving to animals saw that man remained in nudity. So, as Robert Graves notes in *The Greek Myths*, Prometheus

lighted a torch at the fiery chariot of the sun and presently broke from it a fragment of glowing charcoal, which he thrust into the pithy hollow of a giant fennel- stalk. Then, extinguishing his torch, he stole away undiscovered, and gave fire to mankind (Graves.R, 1992:144).

The fire was a symbol of faith in humanity. It becomes the chief means that created the need for utensils, techniques and then civilisation in man’s life. The image is analogous to Livingstone’s devotion to Christianity and the conversion of Africans in order to redeem their souls and elevate their status as human beings. His efforts, as he noted, were not welcomed, instead, hostility faced him. In a letter he wrote on December 21st, 1841 to T.L.

Prentice, Livingstone deduced from “actual inspection more of the real state of matters here than ever I did before” (Holmes.T.ed,1990:16) that he was deceived. He became convinced that outdoors inspections are the only means to increase his knowledge of the region and its inhabitants. In his contact with the natives, he became disillusioned with the nature of the Africans. For this, he informed Prentice,

Don't expect to find such amiable Christians as you read of in the South Seas etc. etc. It is quite a different mind here. Don't expect to find chiefs friendly to receiving missionaries. In general they are hostile and when friendly it is generally for the purpose of “milking” them, and nothing else can be expected (Ibid.,16).

In addition to the resistance of Africans to conversion, the Boers governing of Griquatown was the direct impulse behind Livingstone's exploration and penetration of the “Dark Interior” as he termed it (Ibid.,17). It marked the birth of an immoderate thirst to know and discover being, then, a prey to his “libido sciendi”. This extreme desire to know and understand is the same as the thirst for knowledge that haunts the spirit of Faustus, Christopher Marlowe's protagonist.

Faustus, the graduated Doctor of Divinity represents in a soliloquy about sixty lines long “the thought- processes of years” as Roma Gill put (Gill.ed,1990:xxiv). He does not act on the spur of the moment but has spent almost a lifetime mastering and evaluating other subjects, from Aristotle's philosophy to medicine. When logic failed to satisfy him: “Be a physition Faustus, heape up golde[sic]”(Ibid.,14) then he turns to law when the physician's art disappointed him: “Physicke farwell, where is *Justinian*?” (Ibid). He observes the same attitude to Divinity when law did not provide the suitable remedy for his immeasurable scientific curiosity.

Keeping in the same context, Livingstone managed to shift from one spot to another writing Ethnographic reports and making landscape depiction before landing in Paradise within Hell itself. The following quotation describes this paradise,

This tribe live in a beautiful valley situated between two ranges of mountains, the many trees in it looked very beautiful indeed after the long ride we had

over the wide flat wilderness. I have not seen a better spot in the interior for a new station than this. Beside the village there is a fine fountain gushing out from beneath a rock; the water more precious than gold in this country is excellent and coming out of a defile in the side of the mountain range at a considerable elevation above the valley it could be led out for irrigation at a very trifling expense, scarcely any dam would be necessary it would only require a ditch led along the side of the valley a sufficient space for the formation of the mission gardens. The supply of water is larger than that at Griqua Town and nearly as large if not equal to that at Kuruman and the valley had more than ½ mile of excellent land (in width) capable of being irrigated (Holmes.T.ed,1990:19).

The passage calls forth the image of Livingstone as a new Adam alone in the garden of Eden. The landscape as he saw it was unpossessed and unpopulated even by travellers. The speaking subject being the only use of the pronoun ‘I’ is the seer himself followed by the verb ‘seen’. Referring to Mary Louise Pratt, Livingstone is the land scanning eye who while describing geography structures an asocial narrative in which the human presence is absolutely trivial.

The devotion to interior momentum is not limited to the mere personal pleasure of discovery, but to mapping and taking profit from the abandoned natural sources, too. 1850s Britain with its new economic and social reforms was a turning point to Livingstone’s adopted procedure in Africa. He required a revision of matters that would go with the needs of the period. A letter he addressed to Reverent Robert Moffat in 1852 hinted to his changing motives in the area. Livingstone insisted on his father in-law to send him a copy of the “English Capital” by Mr Alfred Winter Evans’, the British settler, trader, banker and politician in Natal, South Africa.

The allusion to “English Capital” was included by the editor T. Holmes in *The Collection of DAVID LIVINGSTONE Letters & Documents 1841-1872* as a copy from the Natal Times, first published on October 24th, 1851. It is entitled “The Public Meeting, August 12th, Importation of Coolies & Chinese Laborors [sic]”. Being a long text, two revealing extracts would suffice to understand the general content. The first is the intervention that Mr Evans made at the beginning of the meeting, while the second are the

last words of the paper. Mr Evans thought “That it is impossible to rely upon the Kafir population of this colony, for a permanent and effective supply of labour, and that, successfully to raise tropical production, it is absolutely necessary to introduce free foreign labour.” (Holmes.T.ed,1990: 175).

Three key formulas dominate the passage, “supply of labour”, “raise tropical production” and “introduce free foreign labour”. All of them include capitalist terms inaugurating a new era of labour and natural resource exploitation. The curiosity rises when we examine the nature and objective from this foreign labour,

Coolies and Chinese, from their differences in habits and religion, would not only form no coalition with kafirs, but, like the Fingoes on the frontier, be our best bodyguard against them. ...merchants in England were only waiting for a satisfactory settlement of the labour question to invest thousands of pounds in Natal. The soil must be made to yield a return for this money: We might be well off in the town, but the town could never make the country, agriculture alone could create permanent wealth, solid prosperity; to promote it we had capital enough, capital in the colony, capital coming here, labour and labour only was required (Ibid).

In this context, the purpose of the employment of Coolies and Chinese appears to be twofold. On the one hand, it would serve as an arm to fight with the Kafirs and on the other hand, as a means to create commercial activities that would gain them wealth in the colony.

To sum up, one can say that 1851 was a crucial year in British history and Africa as the paper illustrated it. The course of life should be changed for both Mr Evans and apparently to Livingstone especially after his discouragement because of the failure of the missionary work. His insistence to have a copy from the meeting report reflected his eagerness to innovate and change, to read, to get informed and to be well equipped for a new way to adopt in Africa.

With much concentration on the land, Livingstone developed a new thesis based on the development of “Christianity, Commerce, Civilisation” in Africa. His fundamental theory stipulates that Africans cannot elevate their status and way of life unless a new trade

substitutes the already existing one, slavery. This change in his way of proceeding in Africa coincides with the British radical reforms that took place in all fields. It is, to a certain extent, due to the impact and the increase the mother country's need for new raw materials that Livingstone responded.

To keep on with the spiritual vision of Africa and its inhabitants, Livingstone seems prepared for uprooting evil from Africa. With reference to Dante, the evil, Lucifer, is described as "one head wearing three faces!" that,

One was in front (and that was a bright red),
the other two attached themselves to this one
just above the middle of each shoulder,
and at the crown all three were joined in one:
The right face was a blend of white and yellow,
the left the color of those people's skin
who live along the river Nile's descent (Musa.M.ed, 1995:187-188).

In his analysis of Dante's presentation to Lucifer's head, Mark Musa sees a perverted parallel of the Trinity. The colours of the three faces ; red, yellow and black are, respectively, in opposition to the qualities attributed to the Trinity. Thus, God "the Divine Omnipotence" is opposed by impotence and symbolised with yellow, the "Highest Wisdom" meaning the Son opposed ignorance and symbolised in black while the "Primal Love" or the Holy Ghost by hatred or envy and is in red (Ibid).

Accordingly, Livingstone builds a "splendid castle" that can "lit the dark" protected by the trinity of three C thesis "Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation". Being in a position of a pathfinder in the African soil gives him the opportunity to be at the origin of any initiative in Africa and thwart the obstacles that hinder his mission in the continent. Christianity is seen as a remedy to impotence and powerlessness, Commerce to slave trade and ignorance when Civilisation to feeling of hate and aversion.

The newly traced way is a consequence of the savoured taste for knowledge and exploration. The result of the research is once more not self -satisfying. The intervention of another factor or way in dealing with situations is necessary for both Doctors, Livingstone

and Faustus. They attained both the end of “libido sciendi” and beginning of “libido sentiendi” that is stimulated by an extreme desire to possess.

Livingstone’s deduction by the progressed exploration of the “dark interior” suggests a new process to carry on his mission in the African continent and to stop the “hostility” and “savagery” of Africans. It aimed at settling a new trade to wipe out the already existing one: slavery. From another perspective, one can deduce that Livingstone after getting acquainted with the continent’s wealth wants to explore and to hold it as a property of Britain. Faustus’ case is similar; he, after praising the power of human mind to grasp complex subjects such as logic, law, medicine and theology, demonstrates the limitations of man’s understanding. The cited subjects seemed to have failed him when the moment comes to solve the mystery of existence: “Couldst thou make men to live eternally? / Or being dead, raise them to life againe?” (Gill.R. ed,1990:25). Having dismissed the whole of Cambridge secular curriculum including Divinities, Faustus becomes haunted by a violent appetite to know more and possess not only heavenly but metaphysical knowledge, as well.

These metaphisickes of Magicians,
And Negromantike bookes are heavenly
Lines, circles, schemes, letters and characters:
I, these are those that *Faustus* most desires (Ibid.,5).

Livingstone’s Zambezi Expedition started in 1856 was a revolutionary initiative after the disaster that turned out the “Niger” one led by Buxton in 1840. In a letter he addressed from England to Adam Sedgwick, a professor of Geology in Cambridge university in February 6th, 1858, he informed him that his intents “are not merely exploratory, for I go with the intention of benefiting both the African and my own countrymen” (Holmes.T.ed,1990:49). He got him aware about the equipment and most importantly, his personal wishes and expectations. Livingstone presented in names and jobs the experts he equipped the expedition with,

I take a practical mining geologist from the school of Mine to tell us of the mineral resources of the country [Richard Thornton], then an economic botanist to give a full report of the vegetable productions-fibrous, gummy and medicinal substances together with the dye stuffs-everything which may be useful in commerce [John Kirk]. An artist to give the scenery [Thomas Baines], a naval officer to tell the capacity of the river communications [Norman Bedingfeld] and a moral agent for knowing that aim fully [Charles Livingstone]. All this machinery has for its ostensible object the promotion of civilization but what I tell to none but such as you in whom I have confidence is thus I hope it may result in an English colony in the healthy highlands of Central Africa (Holmes.T.ed,1990:49) [square brackets mine].

Livingstone seems not to forget the least field to divide Africa. He wants to possess it from the botanic, geologic, mineral, commercial, artistic, naval and even the moral side. He manifested a boundless appetite to acquire all that his eyes caught in the continent. A fact that would approve the satisfaction of the British need for raw materials and his personal -as well as his country's- requirement for endless glory.

To reinforce this idea, an excerpt is worth quoting. Apart from his aim to get the natives busy with another trade than slavery, Livingstone revealed to Sedgwick further personal hopes,

All this machinery has for its ostensible object the development of African trade and the promotion of civilisation but I tell to none but such as you in whom I have confidence is thus I hope it may result in an English colony in the healthy highlands of Central Africa —(I have told it only to the Duke of Argyll). I believe the highlands are healthy, the wild vine flourishes there — Europeans with a speedy transit to the coast would collect and transmit the produce to the sea and in the course of time, say when my head is low, free labour on the African soil might render slave labour, which in notoriously dear labour, quite unprofitable (Ibid., 50).

By inserting Africa in the large list of British colonies, Livingstone aimed to satisfy a drop from his imperial plans. Nevertheless, his colonial campaign included not only a search for places of interests with abundant natural materials to exploit, but geographical discoveries to label with English names. A fact that would affirm the British superiority in all fields and would assure a high status between competitive western imperial countries.

Carrying on the process of possessions, Livingstone, six months after the start of the Zambezi Expedition, confirmed to Sir Samuel Morton Peto, the British Member of

Parliament that the Tete region marked “the beginning of the coal trade here” and would be a best provider to the mother country’s market. Moreover, in letter he addressed in November 1859 from Shire River to his dear friend and companion in his early interior travels of 1849, William Cotton Oswell, Livingstone’s aims outran the national market and became borderless. He sees from the Zomba territory even if,

This might be attained after our heads low but the field watered by the Lake and its feeders may be called a cotton country of unlimited extent, which really seems superior to the American, for, here we have no frosts to cut off the crops – and instead of the unmerciful toil required in the slave states, one sowing of foreign (probably American) seed already introduced by the people themselves serves for crops for three years, even though the plants should be burned down annually (Holmes.T.ed,1990:50).

Livingstone’s aspiration is to guarantee for Britain wealth inside and outside the country by dominating and conquering the world market. By referring to his wish for from Britain to go beyond the American provision of cotton, he both apologized and congratulated the situation. Livingstone felt sorry for the loss of the American colony especially after the position it reached there. On the other hand, he admired the result he attained in Africa a substitute to the loss of the American colony.

The pessimistic tone of the above excerpt is due to the presence of Portuguese in the surrounding territory. He saw them as an obstacle that thwarted the traced way to prosperity. The battle with him started when Livingstone denied any previous contact by the Portuguese in the Shirwa rivers. In an assertive way, he made known his success in being the first European to reach Shire and Shirwa Rivers: “The Portuguese knew nothing of Shirwa. It is 15° 23’ South Lat 35° 35’ E Long. ...The Portuguese are bent on shutting up what we open – they never went up the Shire and dare not now” (Ibid., 60).

Following the audacious and direct attack that questioned the Portuguese achievements in the continent, they resolved to pursue him in every spot he entered and oppose his discoveries by criticising his achievements. Over time, through his reports,

Livingstone gives the impression to be asphyxiated, paralysed and unable to continue his exploration of the continent.

The feeling of fear engenders an eagerness to exterminate the threatening part and dominate it. Livingstone, facing a real menace that puts in peril the British presence in Africa, reacted in a witty way to preserve his place and control. It consisted in denouncing the Portuguese ill-treatment of Africans. That is to say, he managed to wipe out the slave trade that they maintained and to free and convert into Christianity those Africans that he saved from slavery. By so doing, he chose to be on the side of the natives whom he used as a means of retaliation against the Portuguese. At this level, his Libido Scentiendi is overrun by the immeasurable Libido dominante. The latter extends self affirmation among rivals. .

Livingstone's attacks on the Portuguese in Africa came to an end with the end of the Zambezi Expedition in 1863. Nevertheless, he accepted to follow a purely geographical mission, provided that he kept his status of missionary. It consisted in solving the mystery of the source of the Nile River. This point remained uncertain since it was swinging between two theories. It was even the subject programmed for debate in Bath in 1864. This debate did not take place because Speke died in an accident the day before. The first view developed by Richard Burton saw that the Nile River flowed out of the north of Lake Tanganyika, while the second by John Hanning Speke confirmed that it rose in Lake Victoria.

Livingstone was not innocent when he refuted a merely geographical task and persisted on a missionary one. Seemingly, it helps him to carry on his humanitarian mission for eradicating of slave trade. However, from another angle, it is an occasion offered to him to satisfy his Libido for special domination and control. Timothy Holmes paraphrased one of Livingstone's aims in Bombay, a route he should take to reach Africa where "he declared that an effective way to end the East African slave trade would be 'an

expedition or settlement inland’.” (Holmes.T.ed,1990:147). His intentions, he added, were “to set up a trading station in Africa.” (Ibid).

During his last journey, Livingstone intended really to prepare for the colonization of Africa. He regarded inland settlement an imperial strategy suitable to Africans’ misery. With the help of a trading station, Britain could control for relieving raw material extraction, and the import and export in Africa. In sum, it could allow Britain to keep Africa in its proper hands.

Livingstone confronted another rival in this race for trade control in the region. Arabs stood as an obstacle to commercial projects because of the slave trade practice. This obliged him to act in a position of a persecutor of every slave purchaser. This is as far as the monopoly in commerce is concerned, while at the geographical level, he was convinced to solve the mystery by stating that it is rather in accordance with Burton’s theory while further researches proved that Lake Victoria is the watershed of Nile River as Speke said.

Due to his exhausting efforts, one can believe that Livingstone was successful in his attempt to stop slave trade in Africa. But his success was a mixed blessing because his humanitarian success involved colonial and imperial motives. To sum up, we can say that Dr. Livingstone just like Dr. faustus felt a continuous frustration of every pleasure he sought to satisfy, starting from the desire to know to the desire to possess and dominate. The latter was partially achieved by Livingstone since he died just at its beginning.

On the light of all that has been said, we come to the conclusion that Livingstone viewed Africa as a hell, an area full of unredeemed souls that need salvation. From a spiritual view, Africa was the Dark Continent that needed the light of Christianity as a first step to civilisation. However, his work also calls for an anthropological interpretation of the continent and its inhabitants.

Anthropological vision of Africa

David Livingstone lived the greatest part of the Victorian period which officially started with the enthronement of Queen Victoria in 1837. The fact that he worked as a missionary and explorer did not prevent us from seeing Livingstone as a doctor graduated in medicine. This detail imposes a scientific study of his works and accounts in reference to the ideas and conceptions developed then. His travel accounts and reports, to use Mary Louise Pratt's words, were far from survival literature and navigational narratives, but "handmaidens to Europe's expansive aspirations" (Pratt,1992:20). They are, simultaneously, an occasion to participate in the scientific battle field of his time.

Pratt outlines two simultaneous interesting processes in Northern Europe as a result of colonial expansion in mid-eighteenth century. The first process was the momentum towards interior as opposed to the maritime by La Condamine Expedition in 1735 to which we referred in the section dealing with the Geographical vision of Africa. The second was the emergence of natural history as a structure of knowledge with Linnaeus's *System of Nature* published in the same year of 1735. The latter inaugurated a system for classifying plants that is still current in travel writings. Eventually, Linnaeus included people in his classification of animals. He was the first to draw a distinction between *homo sapiens* and *homo monstrosus*. By 1758, *homo sapiens* had been divided into six varieties including: wild man, American, European, Asiatic and African (Ibid.,32). The other category of 'monsters' included dwarfs and giants.

It was with such a conception that Livingstone was equipped when he reached Africa. Through his writings and anthropological reports, one can deduce his inclination to Linnaean classification of botany, especially, if we add that he was offered the chance to examine the case in what was considered to be the least civilized place of the world, Africa. One of the instances is a detailed description on the population found in the North

East. The description, being lengthy, we shall divide it according to its themes. Here is the introductory passage dealing with the first contact,

We travelled in a North Easterly direction about 130 or 40 miles for the purpose of visiting a position of a tribe who live in a mountainous region there, a most industrious race who were busily engaged in the manufacture of wooden bowls, spoons etc. and some things iron for making picks axes and spears. The ore they extract from the mountains. A fine field for Manning for the arts are in the most uncouth state imaginable . The Iron trade is not a whit improved in their hands I should think just in the *statuo quo* that it was left by old Tubal [sic]Cain of glorious memory (T.Holmes.1990: 18).

The two last sentences are telling ones. They deliver and unveil Livingstone's intellectual aims. In this context, Livingstone assured that the iron trade "was left by old Tubal Cain of glorious memory". This fact denied any idea of creativity and progress on the part of Africans. The latter contributed to the building knowledge of natural history. In Linnaean classification and categorisation, Africans were primitive homo faber, in addition to being physically described as "black, phlegmatic, relaxed. Hair black, frizzled..." said to be "crafty, indolent, negligent [...].Governed by caprice" (Pratt, 1992:32) meaning fancies and imagination. These Africans showed characteristics that opposed thesis to the Europeans who are "fair [...] hair yellow, flowing; eyes blue" and above all "gentle, acute, inventive [...].Governed by laws" (Ibid).

The very opposition stands, at this point, in the words "crafty" facing the "inventive". Referring to one of the theories of culture as communication from the semiotic approach, Levis Strauss reacted to the already existing concept of "primitive thought" by stating that human mind is everywhere the same. He denied the existence of "primitive people" or, to use his terms, "bricoleur" who "works with his hands and uses devious means compared to those of a craftsman" (Duranti.A,1997:34). That is to say, someone who rearranges elements already found elsewhere.

In this context, the last sentence in the quotation means that Livingstone considered Africans as being far below the inventive Europeans. For him the iron craft existed from the time of creation of the world in the hands of Cain the Biblical figure which represents

the black race and have not refined it. In other words, their labour was limited to reshuffling already existing elements. The word “bricoleur” or the formula “primitive people” fitted Africans’ position as described by Livingstone. They were totally cut off from the outside world.

The process of primitivizing Africans goes further, in Livingstone’s letter, in terms of grammatical structures as the present excerpt shows

A furnace **is** built of clay similar in shape to a haycock in England having an orifice at the top and two at each end low down, a place being excavated from the ground below to enable the “blastman” to sit on a level with it. Two leather bags **open** at the bottom with two straight sticks fastened along the orifice and the mouth of the bags fastened round tubes of clay which enter the orifice in the furnace, **constitute** what may be called the “bellows in embryo”. the “blastman” seated between these bags **grasps** one by the bottom in each hand over which a small strap **comes** to enable him to separate the opening by means of the sticks. In lifting up the bags alternately he **opens** the orifice of the one ascending and **shuts** the orifice and **presses** with his hand the one descending. The pressure **expels** the air through the tube into the furnace — By repeated strokes a constant stream of air **is** sent into the furnace and they by great labour **raise** a heat often sufficient to burn their ore to a cinder. Indeed they **burn** most of their ore, using no limestone it **is** no wonder they repeatedly **fail**. (T.Holmes,1990: 18) (Emphasis mine).

As noticed, the description followed above is employed to widen the difference of cultures and as Pratt notes “to fix its members in a timeless present where all “his” actions and reactions are repetitions of his normal habits.” (Pratt, 1992:64). In fact, all along the passage, the ethnographer is present. Verbs as “ built”, “open”, “shuts”... are used in company of the “blast man” that was avoided repetition by the pronoun “he”. According constantly to Pratt, the use of an abstract ‘he’ in a timeless present tense helps to make an order, like the system of nature.

Another point is that through the ethnographic textual production of the African society that normalised and generalised at once the manners and customs, Livingstone contributed to the global knowledge building project of natural history and to “install a Eurocolonial discursive order whose territorial and visual forms of authority are those of the modern state.” (Ibid). Nevertheless, the whole process of ore extraction “repeatedly

fail” alluding to the lack of creativity and the narrow mindedness of Africans. In view of this mental deficiencies,

they satisfy themselves it has been bewitched. They have many superstitions to prevent their own ignorance spoiling the iron[...]They must not at that time even sleep in their own houses but be in the Kraal with the cattle — and no one is allowed to look at operations.[...] They stated that the reason why we are admitted to see the whole was that we were white men and had not been with our wives for some time so the hoped no harm would befall the iron (T.Holmes,1990: 18).

Such African belief reinforced Livingstone’s conviction in Linnaeus’s classification of Africans as “governed by caprice” while the Europeans by “laws”. In other words, Africans still live in imagination, a mystic world governed by oracles and spirits compared to the laws and rules that governed Europeans in a real and effective world. This fact shows that the primitiveness of Africans resides not only in the practical domain but in the intellectual as well.

Another instance is worth to be studied. Livingstone in 1848 wrote a letter to a physician called Doctor James Risdon Bennet. He was well known for his discoveries of the “new planet”; Neptune and “the new view of the Pleiades” as Livingstone noted in his letter (Ibid., 30). As we shall see through the selected excerpts below, Livingstone used a sentimental discourse underpinned by a scientific one. The following quote is quite illustrative:

I fitted a screw to the arm so as to produce pressure between the ends of the bones and thought the ligamentous [sic] union might become osseous and by the time I became undeceived the arm becoming useful. [...]I have no periodical pains as is usual in lion bites. A man who was bitten at the same time had his wounds burst open at the same time in the following year — and Mebaloe the native teacher feels a numbness in his wounds occasionally (Ibid).

Livingstone told Bennet about the consequences of the fierce confrontation with wild animals. Despite the lion accident that caused an indelible bite in his arm, his health condition was comforting. He assured him that “his arm becoming useful” and continued, “I lately shot an enormous buffalo at about 20 paces from our door — many shots were

fired as he rushed through the town and a full speed down to us but mine went through the heart” as an evidence of “his useful member” and success in attaining the target (Ibid). Furthermore, Livingstone evoked the image of the continent as follows, “From the above incident you will perceive we live in a wild country, buffaloes and rhinoceros [...] all were killed. We do not feel uneasy nor have many of the feelings which when at home we thought of these Things” (T.Holmes,1990: 30).

Wilderness was the main idea that Livingstone gave of Africa, but all difficulties were surmounted and the environment was tamed. From the last sentence we realise that Africa created another person in Livingstone’s character. He submitted to what Darwin qualified as atavism. He was no longer what he had been in England and his “feelings” were no longer felt in a continent where the jungle law reigned over life and the struggle to survive was an important preoccupation. Hunting made him look like a frontiersman. His fearless character and his daring was that of a pioneer opening the continent for civilization. On this point he added,

I had a great horror of serpents but usage not courage makes me care but little for them now. We killed one 8 ft 3 inches long by our house here a few months ago. [...]. Had I seen this in England I should have been petrified but men are so wisely constituted by the author of our frames, the mind as well as the body readily acclimatize and many of the natives are bitten by serpents but few deaths occur from that cause. Suction with some soft bark of a bush interposed between the tongue and wound is their chief remedy. I have introduced cupping over the part the first bite I saw that of a puff adder I treated by incision by scarifying the limb afterwards to relieve the enormous swelling, medicine etc. but since I have seen native doctors more successful without cutting out the part (Ibid., 30).

Through this passage, Livingstone kept a low profile though he assured his superiority as an English doctor. Livingstone’s medical knowledge was limited in “cupping” the affected member by suction while the native doctors were more successful to treat the case without having recourse to cut. Their treatment was “some soft bark of a bush interposed between the tongue and wound” (Ibid., 31).

The failure of Livingstone to represent western medicine in Africa calls into question a commonplace of imperial ideology, especially, if we recall that it was a tool of “Euroexpansionism”. It is a vivid instance of what Pratt calls a reciprocal vision in medical knowledge. She explains her idea by commenting on one of Mungo Park’s incident, a 25-year old Scotsman, who sailed to Africa in June 1797 to explore the Niger basin. “On one occasion, for example,” she tells, “Park’s medical skills are called on and he proposed an amputation to save a young man shot in the leg. The Africans responded in horror” (Pratt,1992 :83). Referring to Livingstone’s vision of Africans as primitives living in “a wild country” and with regard to this point, one should ask the question: who are the barbarians and who are the civilised? Who are the cannibals and who are the scientists? However, because western medical knowledge is technical and that of Africa is based on pharmaceutical plants, the latter is rather regarded as primitive.

As far as the style is concerned, it is a narrative giving the experience of Livingstone with serpents and his heroic role in “beheading” them. However, the language used, even though scientific, sustains his objective. It gives, rather, exact measures as “8 ft 3 inches” or “about 6 ft” and analytic reflexes engendered by the action of beheading serpents and “the clear poison dropped from ...”. Furthermore, this description follows a logical process that begins from generalising “the serpents” to categorising them and giving their proper names as “cobra” and “puff adder”. So, Linnaeus classification sprinkle the passage though never so many as to diverge from his “unexperiental” and sentimental heroism.

I am sorry you have not received any specimens of the production of this country [...]At present I have nothing except specimens of the geology of the country and these are not fossiliferous. Our summer begins again in about a month hence. Spiders are to be found in greater numbers and beautiful variety than any other except the grasshopper tribe. All insects must be preserved in spirit (T.Holmes.ed,1990: 31).

At this level, Livingstone introduced a subject that he would come back to, later. He introduced himself as a naturalist-hero meandering through the countryside looking for

and gathering specimen of whatever species (here in this context; plants, geology and spiders) and reacting against all that he found out there. Livingstone tried to possess the land and its fauna and flora production specifically through the discourse of natural history.

Let us examine the following passage

Nearly all the English vegetables grow well in our winter and peaches, apricots, oranges, apples, grapes, figs flourish in summer . I have seeds of all these in the ground and some are two feet high —there are some native fruit trees worth transplanting and I mean to try . we have an olive tree about a foot in height and ginger (one plant) . some of the medicinal plants might succeed if we had fresh seed to try .Rhubarb would be of great value . Also jalap— none of the medicinal seeds though vegetated. Could you procure any fresh seeds of the medicinal plants? We should feel very thankful for them. I have castor oil trees in the garden and use the seeds but they cause great nausea before they operate (T.Holmes,1990: 31).

The image of the naturalist hero that Livingstone introduced in the previous excerpt is extended. He stands between two countries (Britain and South Africa) that he presumes to be both his. Moreover, he seems to be in a laboratory trying experiments on selected specimen studying them and analysing, at the end, the extent of their success or failure. His discourse is purely colonial in the sense that colonialism can be defined as “culture” and culture of plants. Colonialism implies the change and transformation of the African landscape.

To sum up, we would dare saying that in an innocent lecture, Livingstone gives the illusion of being in a zoo pointing to animals and insects and telling the story or experience of each. He appears in the guise of a new Adam surveying his domains and giving names to animals. Relying on Pratt’s scientific theory, Livingstone stands for a model of a naturalist that recalls the image of Adam “where people seem to disappear from the garden as Adam approaches which of course, is why he can walk around as he pleases and name things...” (Pratt,1992: 51-2).

The classification included both naming the fauna and flora. The nomenclature of the animals goes from the lion, buffalo, rhinoceros, serpents and spiders at last. In other words, it started from the king of the forest and ended with the less dangerous species.

Indeed Livingstone overcame the biggest danger facing the much easier others. He, in a witty sentimental discourse, arrived to get over all the Linnaeus categorisations beginning from the top to the bottom, sometimes by courage and other times by “usage” as he indicated in the case of serpents.

The understanding of Dr Livingstone’s reports in Africa requires another interpretation of nineteenth century Britain. It is indispensable to have a look at the current anthropological views of that time. The background to this discussion involves one of the burning issues during the Victorian era that is the origin of man. It evokes a revision of ideas and assumptions in the Victorian anthropology and principally two sets of antithetical positions that are at stake; the progressevist and degenerationist views of man.

The progressivist sustains the view that man had gradually progressed or evolved from a savage into a civilised state and even more to continue to reach perfection, while the degenerationist view derived from the bible stating “that man had been originally created as white and civilized, with the true religion revealed to him, but had in certain circumstances since degenerated into savagery.” (Young, 1995:46). The assumption also draws on the argument that since, according to the Bible, man had existed for 6000 years, there “could not possibly have been enough time for him to advance from a state of savagery to a state of civilization.” (Ibid.,47).

The second antithesis related to the origins of man was the “monogenist” that draws its argument from the bible. The human beings are all one and derived from the original couple of Adam and Eve. It was increasingly countered by the “polygenist” view that saw the diversity of human beings engenders a treatment of the different races of mankind as different species. Their difference can not only be limited to the physical side but intellectual and social capacities, as well.

Possible adherences to these issues resulted in the view that most progressivists were also monogenists and monogenists could also be degenerationists since the two positions seemed to have the benefit of biblical sanction. Polygenists, on the other hand, “though instinctively degenerationists, could also be partial progressivists, to the extent that they could claim that while primitive races had remained static since their creation, civilized ones had progressed” (Young, 1995:47), and further on could be the possibilities.

The battle between these theories reached its apogee. It had recourse to another factor to act as a fair judge. It placed a great emphasis on the geological time, which was used as a way of showing the possibility of evolutionary change, so as to dispute both the Biblical account of the origin of man, or the doctrines of the permanence of racial types. Dr Livingstone was not excluded from the list of the competitors to conclusions making.

By then, Dr Livingstone was in London preparing for his legendary Zambezi Expedition. His contribution to the race for approving conclusions can be illustrated in this case. We take the example of the geologist Richard Thornton to whom Livingstone wrote a letter on April 16th, 1858; i.e. a month after the sailing of the expedition, explaining to him the mission he was called to,

to extend the knowledge already attained of the geography and mineral and agricultural resources of eastern and Central Africa, to improve our acquaintance with the inhabitants and to engage them to apply themselves to industrial processes and to the cultivation of their lands with a view to the production of raw material to be exported to England in return for British manufactures (T.Holmes.ed,1990: 51).

The above extract is the main and first among the ten other objectives that Livingstone listed to Mr Thornton. It comprises three sub-aims that can be summed up in three verbs, “to extend”, “to improve” and “to engage”. The concerned extension he alludes to, should be in knowledge and be in measure to extend to more than one field. It recalls Edward Said determination to prove the importance of the acquired knowledge about a country and its direct link to power and colonisation.

Precisely, a hegemony, to use Antonio Gramsci's words, arises in this quotation at two levels (Ashcroft, B. & Ahluwalia, P. eds, 2001:44). The first by Livingstone while maintaining the power to convince Thornton that "the interests are the interests of all" in stating that "the production of raw material to be exported to England in return for British manufactures" (T. Holmes, ed, 1990: 51). The second resides at the level of Thornton himself and his capacity "to influence the thought of the colonized" (Ibid) while Livingstone accorded him the mission to "improve" and "engage". All this may be hoped, as Livingstone added,

that by engaging the natives to occupy themselves in the development of the resources of their country a considerable advance may be made towards the extinction of the slave trade, as the natives will not be long in discovering that the former will eventually become a more certain source of profit than the latter (Ibid).

Moreover, the very geologic mission that Livingstone was charged of concerned rather the practical field. To sum up, Thornton had the duty of "collecting accurate information respecting the mineral resources of the country through which to travel". He had to be careful to

examine those parts of the country, [...] specimens of the fossils that may be found must always be brought away as evidence of the conclusions to which you may have arrived respecting the age and relations of the different deposits,..." (Ibid).

The interest that Livingstone granted to studies mainly on petrified found fossils, their state and age did insist on his determination to give into evidence some doubting points he believed on or to prove his adherence to one of the multiple trends that invaded the nineteenth century intellectual minds.

The result of his researches was not revealed till the period of interlude in Britain from 1864 to 1866. In a letter he addressed in 1865 to Sedgwich, his geology teacher, Livingstone confirmed that "I am about to say that there appears to have been no "stone

age” in Africa. Always one of iron and following Archbishop Whately I infer that the Africans had a super-human instructor, but I will write again.” (T.Holmes.ed,1990: 118).

The present quotation was the only pronounced one on the nature of Africa and Africans during his last stay in Britain. It can be seen as a geological and anthropological witness and theory based on studied specimen, weighty experience in the African continent and reliable conception by British intellectuals and religious men. It gives a new vision and representation of Africa and Africans.

On his vision of Africa, Livingstone after a long and deep study in the geological and anthropological field came to the conclusion that life in Africa did not exist yet in the Stone Age. It means that Africa was deprived from the Prehistory period and classified in the Iron Age, or the Protohistory that is chronologically speaking, classified between the former and History.

What encouraged him to say so was the discovery of skulls of primitive men in Europe exactly in Neanderthal (Germany) in 1856 (Wikipedia encyclopaedia). This precious finding confirmed that Europe was the most ancient continent in the world that lived all the chronological and historical time. As if there was a suspicious concurrent that was supposed to be Africa, such a conclusion enabled Livingstone to lessen and deny the essence of the whole conception.

As far as the Africans were concerned, Livingstone adopted Richard Whately’s conception on Africans. This Anglican Archbishop of Dublin and author of *History of Religious Worship* in 1849 was a ‘degenerationist’ ‘polygenist’ who thought that “Africans had a super-human instructor” that they worship and adore as Christopher. L.Miller quotes him (Gate.H.L.ed, 1986: 287). Coming to the deduction that they believed in metaphysics, the case recalls the idea developed later, in the beginning of the 20th century by the Belgium missionary in the Belgian Congo, Placide Tempels in his *Bantu Philosophy* published in 1921.

Tempels concluded that the gulf between the Africans precisely, Bantu people and the whites would remain and widen as “we do not meet them in the wholesome aspirations of their own ontology” or their ontological principle meaning the innermost nature of beings (Gate.H.L.ed, 1986: 287). He called this point “single value: vital force” that prevented them from conversion to Christianity and giving up magical rites. This world view shows the flagrant difference between Europeans and Bantu people.

Livingstone, by adopting such a perception and giving such a representation was on the way to provide a new strategy to carry on in the African soil. It can be seen as a new initiative to colonialism and “to obliterate Africa with kindness” as Miller notes (Ibid). It was based on the tolerance of difference that would be followed by a program of separate development.

The instance within the studied quotation represents one of the multiple alliances between science, especially anthropology and colonialism. With the new vision of the continent, Livingstone emphasised on the necessity of a hand to take Africa off, to Christianize and civilize it that is Europe on whose superiority he insisted even in the chronological and historical domain. Similarly on Africans, Livingstone carried on his process of demonstrating their primitiveness in the objective of legitimising the British presence among them.

We can conclude by saying that Livingstone, in general, was a faithful subject to his country. That is to say, he put into practice in Africa almost all that the British government, market and intellectual class saw as necessary, exploitable and innovative to test and take profit from. His mission in Africa was hierarchical; Christian at the bottom, scientific and commercial in the middle and imperial at the top. However, it can be summed in two concrete fields: the practical and the intellectual one.

The practical field that Livingstone served faithfully in Africa embodies mainly the evangelical and the economic domains. However, with the absence of any concrete

evidence of his evangelical mission, except the conversion of Sechele, Livingstone, by doing so, signed the act of his defeat. The victory remains, then, typically economic and commercial. Livingstone tried to take profit from the last natural object found in Africa beginning from the water to found a station, the ore, the cotton, the coal and even the human subject. Africans, for him, were the hands that economy needed to develop its industry. The souls that, if not freed from ignorance with Christianity, would be freed from the chains of slavery. Slave traders or slaves they were, the objective was one; to promote a new trade that would benefit “both Africans and my country men” (Holmes.ed, 1990:49).

Besides, the intellectual field that Livingstone contributed in its generalisation embodies the newly emerging scientific or moral ideas then. It can be seen through the promotion of the Myth of the Dark Continent and the ‘degenerationist’ and ‘polygenist’ view of the origin of man and the conclusions he came to through his geological researches. By considering Africa intensely dark, the Africans as creatures to be treated differently through their lack of evolution and by denying the existence of the ‘stone age’ in Africa, Livingstone worked hand in hand with the intellectual demand during the nineteenth century and, especially, the political one.

To sum up, one can say that the practical and intellectual domains that Livingstone promoted during his stay in Africa served primarily, the political and ideological trends that Britain led, then. His objective was clear, to be the first among the competitive nations in economic, intellectual and technological innovations and above all, in the race for territorial acquisition.

Introduction

By mid nineteenth century, British and German thinkers agreed on what Beatrice Webb said that “it was by science, by science alone, that all human misery would be ultimately swept away.” (Coote Stephen,1988:10). What seemed to support optimism was the successes in the fight against disease, the advances in material comfort and the rise in the level of literacy. The latter witnessed its golden age. Numerous new philosophical conceptions and theories in economics and the origin of man invested the European mind. The vague of change in ideas shook the religious belief and engendered a widespread questioning of confidence, morals and faith.

The sphere of understanding and thought was challenged by several revolutionary publications that enriched the remarkable year of 1859. Both Samuel Smiles and John Stuart Mill published respectively, *Self-Help* and *Essay on Liberty*. The former preached the gospel of progress and his total faith in hard work, thrift and individualism. In encouraging personal abilities and initiatives, Smiles’ archetypes of self help became the dream of everyone in Britain cheered with a slogan that ran like “god helps those who help themselves. Go thou and do likewise” (Briggs,1990:126), to achieve his praise and respect.

Mill’s work was not far from Smiles’. Likewise, he stressed the fact that the individual should pursue his interests and objectives but without the interference of any regulating body such as society or government. For him, freedom is not desirable for its sake but for its utility as the only way to achieve “the greatest happiness” for “the greatest number”. As the doctrine was caught in critic claws since competitive countries emerged, in 1861 in his book *Utilitarianism*, Mill responded to those who saw the doctrine as ‘inhumane’ and pleasure as ‘low’ principle. For him, pleasures that Utilitarian aimed to, are those which appeal to high faculties and not any ‘low’ ones.

All the major issues during centuries were interpreted scientifically given the fact that science became the religion of the century. The question of the origin of man is the

best illustrative element of clash between science and religion that resulted in the triumph of the former. The battle between the progressivists and degenerationists or monogenists and polygenists that ended by the rejection of any biblical interpretation is the notification of the divorce between man and faith.

By the 1860s, the words culture and civilization had broadened in meaning. Culture extended from the learning process as particular societies or educations. The dominance of this meaning of the word culture is corroborated by the phrase ‘intellectual culture’ proposed by Matthew Arnold in *Culture and Anarchy* in 1869. In this context, Raymond Williams quoted Arnold, “And so, as regards intellectual culture, I am far from denying utility in this large sense as the end of education, when I lay it down, that the culture of the intellect is a good in itself and its own end” (Williams Raymond, 1958:121). As he viewed culture as “the pursuit of our total perfection” (Ibid.,124), he evoked older traditions namely the Renaissance humanist device of the use of civility as a means of separating gentleman scholar from the Aristocratic and worker’s classes, to use Young’s own explanation of the context (Young, 1990:48). Concerning civilisation, Arnold added, “in our modern world...the whole civilization is, to a much greater degree than the civilization of Greece and Rome, mechanical and external, and tends constantly to become more so” (Op cit.,125).

Culture is also viewed from its anthropological point of view. Being one of the leaders of the trend, E.B.Tylor published *Primitive Culture* in 1871. The broadly related concept of culture to “high” culture associated with Arnold is faced by the anthropological relativist concept of culture as the “complex whole” of any individual society. Tylor introduced the modern concept of culture as follows,

Culture or Civilization, taken in its widest ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Young, 1990:45).

Meanwhile, Tylor evoked the ideas in Victorian Anthropology of progressivist view of man as gradually evolved from a savage state into a civilized one and degenerationist Biblical view of man as originally created as white and civilized but under circumstances degenerated into savagery. Equally, he developed the polygenist thesis of the origin of man that saw that human beings are diverse and different physically, intellectually and socially, that is why they should be treated differently. The polygenist view faced the Monogenist antithesis that drew man's origins to the original pair Adam and Eve.

Tylor tried to uphold the unity and equality of the human race. His reaction was to identify culture with civilization and "to assume a progressive evolution of humanity at both a material and a spiritual or moral level within a Eurocentric hierarchy of values" as Young wrote (Young, 1990: 48). Bearing such conceptions into mind, he opposed the widespread doctrine of degeneration of man into a state of savagery that became the doctrine of the polygenists as it is the case with the Anglican theologian Archbishop Whately, Arnold's teacher. Tylor's view on the polygenist trend emphasised absolute forms of racial and cultural differences in the sense that culture exists among all men, however, primitive or advanced in its level, the fault is in development rather than origin.

After the publication of *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (1853-1855) by Le comte de Gobineau and the development of polygenism that dominated the scientific view in mid nineteenth century that woke the racist thoughts on Europeans, the evolutionary doctrine came to set it with scientific evidence. Contemporary of the social Darwinism, structured itself little by little in various doctrines, extolling the eugenics, a systematic selection of the races, notably. According to Charles Darwin, the author of *The Origin of Species* first published in 1859, like animals and plants, men are fundamentally unequal, physically and mentally, and that their faculties are strictly hereditary. Therefore, they are destined to struggle for their survival and in search of the personal success in the society. The rich individuals are powerful, whereas the members of the underprivileged

socio-economic classes are the least adapted. The social Darwinism came thus to consider that the progress of humanity rests on rivalry. This doctrine reinforced religious doubt and “shocked not only religious fundamentalists and Evangelicals, but also leading figures within the scientific community.” (Briggs,1991:258).

Darwin’s theory provided the scientific backing for the belief in the superiority of the European race. Adherents to Darwinism, therefore, were elated to justify the conquest of what Darwin called “low” subject races or “backward” races by the “high” master race. The justification is included within the process of “natural selection” by which the stronger dominates the weaker in the struggle for life and economic existence.

The partition of Africa was consequently seen as a part of the inevitable natural process. Africa inhabited by a “low” race was seen as the darkest spot in the world. Scientifically and economically, the reign over Africans was justified. What remained was the moral side and for this Europeans created the Myth of the Dark Continent. Such a myth was, intensely, generated by explorers and missionaries through their perverted depiction of Africans and Africa in their travel accounts. By viewing them as children and savages, they prepared the ground to any practical action by the powerful nations meaning colonization.

A. Adu Boahen, the Ghanaian thinker, stated by late nineteenth century, the European powers had acquired commercial interests and were exercising considerable influence in different parts of Africa. Both Germany and Britain were free to wield all the influences they wanted, a point that delayed any formal annexation given that they could derive the same advantages from informal control. However, this attitude changed the partition of Africa that was set in motion for three reasons. The first was what “the Duke Brabant, crowned a constitutional King Leopold II of the Belgians in 1865, proclaimed in Africa” (Boahen,1990:14).

When Joseph Conrad travelled to Africa in 1890, the “Congo Free State” was under King Leopold II’s reign. He was officially recognised by the Berlin Conference 1884-1885 to become the sovereign of ‘l’Etat Independent du Congo’. Many European countries granted him this position. In return, he was required to make several promises. First, that all nations would be accorded the right to trade freely within the territory’s extensive boundaries. Second, King Leopold II would not impose any kind of taxation on such trade and the third one stipulated that no nation, including Belgium, would be granted a monopoly on any item of trade (Boahen,1990:14).

King Leopold II of Belgium, before being granted full sovereignty over the Congo State, showed an immense interest in the region. He viewed it as a suitable means to increase his fortune. In order to penetrate there, he proclaimed the necessity to open to civilization and bring light of Christianity into the darkest spot in the world. The Belgian Committee of the ‘Association Internationale Africaine’ (AIA) launched exploratory expeditions in Africa via the east coast.

Accordingly, in 1876, King Leopold II promoted the Foundation of the International Association for the Suppression of Slavery and the Opening Up of Central Africa (IASSOCA). He managed to work in cooperation with the American journalist Henry Morton Stanley in establishing a string of outposts along the Congo River. The King disguised private holding companies under international scientific and philanthropic associations. He intended to introduce western civilisation to Africa but did not mention his claims to lands.

The Vatican followed the Belgian ‘Association Internationale Africaine’ (AIA) activities carefully. On October 14th, 1876, Pope Pius IX (1846-78) had already expressed his benevolent and sympathetic attention for the ‘oeuvre civilisatrice’ of King Leopold II in writing to the Belgian representative in the Vatican. In fact, after losing power in

Europe, the Vatican wished to expand Christianity in Africa and elsewhere in the world relying, particularly, on King Leopold II.

The project of building a Christian kingdom in central Africa was growing along with King Leopold's colonial plan. Mudimbe proclaimed, "the missionary saga begins immediately" in 1878 (Mudimbe, 1994:106). However, King Leopold favoured Belgian missionaries that would easily be identified with Belgian nationalism, in the African kingdom. In 1891, the first mission was sent to the African continent. It was soon followed by others whose mission as Mudimbe added is, "to work, along with Leopold's colonists, for the conversion of central Africa, transforming its space, its inhabitants, and their culture" (Ibid.,107).

King Leopold failed to keep the three promises that he made. Once there, the expeditions and missions under his name and authorities were responsible for a whole catalogue of horrors in the name of civilisation and Christianity. His methods were Machiavellian. In cooperation with native chiefs, he imposed taxes on every individual being required to work. He became reputed for his tyrannical, brutal and subjugating ways in dealing with natives. The Black American lawyer and clergyman George Washington Williams described in an open letter to King Leopold, the latter's atrocities in the Congo Free State as follows,

Against the deceit, fraud, robberies, arson, murder, slave raiding, and general policy of cruelty of your Majesty's Government to the natives, stands their [the natives'] record of unexampled patience, long suffering and forgiving spirit, which put the boasted civilization and professed religion of your Majesty's Government to the blush... (Adams , 1991:110).

George Washington Williams' outcry made little impact in Europe. The interest in conditions of native inhabitants in remote parts of the world when Europeans working class objected to the Industrial Revolutions' results was the slightest of Europeans' problems. Even King Leopold was not obliged to justify his acts considering that no European country was ready to hear and judge. Joseph Conrad who, according to Richard

Adams, arrived to the Congo, a month and a half after G. Washington Williams open letter to King Leopold witnessed the atrocities of the Belgian so called “oeuvre civilisatrice”. *Heart of Darkness*, that was published nine years later, in 1899, reflects on King Leopold’s cynical pursuit of colonial goals under the name of civilization, Christianity and progress.

The concept of Civilization grew from complex to ambiguous. It showed a wide gap between the idea and practice. Conrad tackled this confusing state in the book under study, *Heart of Darkness*. He even tried to share the clashing battle over the definition of the word culture. His tendency remains ambiguous. Although he was successful in his effort to depict the cruelty and buccaneer goals of civilization missions in Africa. He was considered to be the first or pioneer to illustrate the new emerging modern man, product of the after industrial revolution period.

The civilisation / culture dialectic arrived at its highest point, by the beginning of the twentieth century. The moment necessitated a revision of matters. And the result was an epistemic shift that was developed by Germans notably Freud’s *Civilization and its Discontents* in 1930 but principally initiated by Herder’s “native culture”. This later criticised slavery and colonialism and dismissed any tendency to emphasize racial differences. Rather, he believed in the universal sameness and drew an intimate connection between people and the land or the locality where they live. Thus, his hostility to slavery was not based on its immorality but on the fact of tearing peoples away from their native land. So was the case with his attacks on colonialism that would only be terrible in decimating the colonizing nation.

His argument espousing human diversity and his emphasis on the relation of culture to indigenous and localized peoples gave rise to many conservative, racist and anti-colonial doctrines as the ones initiated by Gobineau and Knox. He likewise defined a new notion of ‘Kultur’ that described a particular way of life of people or a period or a group. It

became the anthropological focus on ideas of race and nations that was by the end of the century identified with colonialism and imperialism.

Our aim through this part of this work is to study Joseph Conrad's attitude towards the replication of the abrupt changes that occurred in Europe on the African continent. It is also our task to deal with the presence of David Livingstone in Joseph Conrad's work under study, *Heart of Darkness*. Indeed, he lived and witnessed the late years of the Victorian era, which Dr Livingstone missed as he died in 1873, when all the innovations concerning industry, science, intellectual theories showed their results and conclusions.

Heart of Darkness evoked almost all the Victorian conceptions of civilization and culture and their application to Africa. The continent and its inhabitants were represented from many view points. The following sections will be patterned on a similar outline as that devoted to Livingstone. Our task is to study the visions of Africa and Africans in detail and in a constant relation to their background. The visions are geographical, spiritual, anthropological, psychoanalytical and philosophical interpretations. Still, the writer's private life might bear heavily on the shaping of his ideas, we think it necessary to give some biographical information about the writer.

Joseph Conrad: his life and literary career

Józef Teodor Konrad Korzeniowski was born on December 3rd 1857 in Berdichev a Ukranian province of Poland that had long been under Tsarist (Russian) rule. He was the son of Apollo Korzeniowski, a writer, translator and Polish patriot and Ewa Bobrowska. Both parents were devout Catholics members of the landowning gentry known for their different political traditions and commitments. Even the name 'Konrad' has a patriotic significance recalling the historically suffering Poland. It links their son to the heroic freedom fighter of Adam Mickiewicz, the famous committed Polish writer's dramatic poem Konrad Wallenrod (1828) as Cedric Watts put in (J.H.Stape.ed, 1996:5).

At the age of three, Conrad's parents were arrested on charges of clandestine revolutionary activity and exiled by the Russian authorities to Vologda in northern Russia. Allowed to go with them, Conrad suffered with his parents from the harsh conditions of exile. His mother died when he was eight. His father passed on four years later in 1869. The thing that added to Apollo's misery was the failure of the 1863 insurrection in which he contributed faithfully. Conrad collected his father's letters that F.R.Karl and L.Davies, published in 1983. Reminiscing about him, he wrote that his father was "A man of great sensibilities; of exalted and dreamy temperament; with a terrible gift of irony and of gloomy disposition; withal of strong religious feeling degenerating after the loss of his wife into mysticism touched with despair" (Watts.C. in J.H.Stape.ed, 1996:5).

During his court life with his father in Cracow, Conrad developed in reading and writing skills thanks to his father's job as a translator. The occasion gave him easy access to several literary works by Polish writers as Slowacki and Mickiewicz, English ones like Shakespeare, Dickens, Burton and Stanley, French as De Vigny and Hugo, Spanish authors like Cervantes and American ones such as Fenimore Cooper. He was, also, known to have attended school occasionally because of his difficult health conditions "migraine, nervous ailments and epileptic symptoms" (Ibid.,6). Knowles summed Conrad's childhood in an ensemble of key words that begins as follows:

Isolated exile, the ever- present threat of sickness and death, the absence of a secure home, and tragedy both familial and national following upon the failure of the 1863 insurrection were virtually the first of Conrad's life-sensations (Ibid.,5).

Conrad was placed under the guardianship of his maternal uncle, Tadeusz Bobrowski. His conservative approach to life differs from the revolutionary fervour of Conrad's father. He saw that it was necessary to "abandon our traditional dreams" and "to work hard [instead], to persevere, and to observe a strict social discipline" as Owen Knowles puts (Ibid.,6).The moment was Conrad's first major exercise in forging an identity from irreconcilable opposites; conservative, pragmatic and chivalric as his uncle or

revolutionary, pragmatic and egalitarian as his father. One decision that marked the disillusionment of both the Korzeniowski and the Bobrowski is Conrad's rejection and turning away from the families religious traditions. As he put it in one of the letters gathered in the collection, "I always, from the age of fourteen, disliked the Christian religion, its doctrines, ceremonies and festivals" (Watts.C.in J.H.Stape.ed, 1996:7).

1872 was a landmark in Conrad's life. It was during this year that he decided to leave Poland. He visited Austria, Germany, Switzerland and Northern Italy with his tutor Adam Pulman. Despite his uncle's refusal, Conrad took to the sea. He travelled to Marseille where he became a trainee seaman in the French Merchant Service. Between 1875 and 1878, he made three voyages to the West Indies. In 1878, he made a suicide attempt that he escaped providentially. He shot himself in the chest, in Marseille, after accumulating gambling debts.

His uncle paid his debts but, in the meantime, he was declared unable to serve in French ships any longer. Always in the same year i.e 1878, he made his first contact with the British Merchant Service. The new contact with the English life was a sharp change in the direction of his life. The passage as Knowles noted was "slow and uncertain: first through the acquisition of the language, followed by his marine examinations, release from Russian nationality and naturalization in 1886 at the age of twenty nine" (Ibid.,8) when he obtained his master mariner's certificate commanding his own ship *Otago*.

In the following years, he sailed to many parts of the world, including Australia, and various coasts on the Indian Ocean. In 1890, he sailed to the Congo Free State for the Société pour le Commerce du Haut-Congo as a temporary captain of the river steamer *Roi des Belges*. Four years later, Conrad's sea life was over because of a physical and mental breakdown. He ended a sea career spanning twenty years that had taken him through the remote corners of the world, including the Caribbean, the Far East, Africa and Australia.

Ending the marine practice, Conrad began a new life in England. He married Jessie George, a woman seventeen years younger than him, with whom he had two boys. Well equipped with materials of his multiple culture origins counting Polish, French and English, a complex education full of oppositions and a maritime experience, he turned to imaginative writing. These factors provided him with insight into the main subjects of his novels: the East, the sea and colonialism.

Conrad's literary career is very rich as far as the multiplicity of his works and subjects are concerned. His first novel *Alwayers' Folly* appeared in 1895. It depicts a derelict Dutchman who traded on the Jungle Rivers of Borneo. It was followed by the publication of *An Outcast of the Island* in 1896 and *Lord Jim* in 1900. The latter is narrated by Charlie Marlow and tells about the fall of a young sailor and his redemption. In 1904, Conrad published *Nostromo*; an imaginative novel which explores man's vulnerability and corruptibility. It was followed by many other famous novels such as *Under Western Eyes* in 1910.

In addition to novels, Conrad wrote short stories. Among them, we can mention *Youth*, first published in 1902. The work is based chiefly on his experience on the sailing ship Palestine. *Heart of Darkness* was a novella which draws on Conrad's brief experience piloting the Belgian steamer on the Congo River. He wrote other stories such as *The End of the Tether* in 1902, *Typhoon* in 1903, *The Secret Sharer* in 1911 and many others. It is worth saying that from this date till his death in 1924, he never wrote anything that equalled his early years.

Being acquainted with the English language at the age of twenty-one, Conrad's literary achievement marked the English literature, as a whole. He succeeded to reflect his immeasurable cleverness in accurate language acquisition and mastery of complex and premature subject through devoted fifteen years of reliable work that put him in the front rank of English writers.

Geographical vision of Africa

Livingstone's shifts to Africa count three principal missions of evangelical, commercial and colonial/ imperial ones to carry out. This division is not rare in Conrad's work since most of his characters aim at, at least, one of these tasks. What differs is the degree of devotion. Livingstone devoted twelve years seeking to preach Christianity. He, at the end, succeeded to convert one: Sechele. Twelve years in Africa were sufficient for Livingstone to understand what was appropriate to do in Africa and that "conversion is a plain prosaic affair among them" (Holmes.T.ed, 1990: 31).

The presence of Livingstone is apparent at the very opening of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. Conrad glorified the "great knights – errant of the sea" and their heroic quest and ordeal. He, equally, paid tribute to "hunters for gold or pursuers of fame, they all had gone out on that stream, bearing the sword, and often the torch, messengers of the might within the land, bearers of a spark from the sacred fire" (Conrad,1990:137). These explorers, at first glance, seem indeed names to conjure with their heroic and noble missions. Closer inspection, however, reveals other ways than the torch to the achievement of their dreams. In fact, those who bear "the dreams of men, the seed of commonwealths, the germs of empire" (Ibid) depended on their realisation and growth as much on the sword of enforcement as on the torch of enlightenment.

Undeniably, Livingstone is alluded to through these torch bearers. To remind the reader, "if Livingstone", as Patrick Brantlinger writes "was already a national hero in the late 1850s, he was a national saint by the time of his last Africa journey in 1872" (Brantlinger in Gate. H.L.Jr.ed, 1986: 195). He was the first to be attributed the title of the Promethean, saintly bestower of light. The painting that William Garden Blaikie drew in 1880 *The Personal Life of David Livingstone* illustrated Livingstone as a saint carrying the Bible or the light of Christianity into the Dark Continent surrounded by African congregations (Ibid).

Joseph Conrad kept, as Victorians did, the deep-rooted image of Livingstone as a Christianity preacher in the Dark Continent. By speaking on the one hand about the torch and on the other hand about the sword, Conrad alluded to the symbol of force, superiority, subjugation and colonialism. The latter point keeps the core of the whole tale. To deal with it, Conrad puts Marlow in charge of introducing it in the very preamble of his narrative.

Conrad managed to let us know about colonialism in Africa by comparing Roman colonialism in Britain to that of Britain in Africa. Both of them involves what he calls “robbery with violence” what redeems colonialism is the idea or ideal of civilization at “the back of it”. This ideal is far from being “a sentimental pretence” (Conrad,1990: 141). According to Richard Adams, the idea is closely associated to “efficiency” signifying the belief in the moral worth of labour (Adams,1991:14).

Nevertheless, before sustaining colonization with the presence of a nineteenth century idea, Conrad defined and condemned the principle itself i.e. “The conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much. What redeems it is the idea only.” (Op. cit).

The presence of Livingstone was perceived in Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* mainly in his principal character. Through Marlow, Conrad wanted to provide the reader with the strong geographical eagerness that every European approved of when he had a look at the blank spots in the world map. Marlow confesses that in his childhood “when I saw one that looked particularly inviting on a map (but they all look that) I would put my finger on it and say, when I grow up I will go there.” (Ibid.,142).

Conrad invites the reader to have a look at the same image of Livingstone the child and the same feelings that he would approve of while scrutinising the maps. Both Marlow and Livingstone share the interests and live the fashion of the early nineteenth century. Marlow, like Livingstone, leads a sedentary life. He was considered an “emissary of light”

(Conrad.1990:149). He resembles an “idol” alluding to Buddha “preaching in European clothes”. (Conrad,1990: 140).

Additionally, Marlow, like Livingstone, showed contradictions as far as his own nature and his behaviour are concerned. He was aware that his enlightening mission makes him an “impostor” which suggests that one cannot serve colonialism without being corrupted by it. He detests lies yet he lied to the brick maker and the Intended. As the letters revealed unknown matters on the real person of Livingstone, Conrad through Marlow’s contradictions creates, as Hena Maes Jelinek puts it in her critical studies, “human beings as they are, not as they ought to be; also that each situation demands a new choice and not a blind adherence to a code” (Jelinek,1998:37).

The idea of “emissary of light” that Kurtz and Marlow represent, was taken from Livingstone in practice and in concept. The humanitarian mission they were asked to accomplish did not serve only themselves. Marlow’s can be seen through his capacity for moral discrimination. He pitied the enchained blacks, dissociated himself from the pilgrims and succeeded to oppose Kurtz despite the admiration he felt for this person. In short, it is well noticed from the progress he showed in self- knowledge.

Kurtz’ distorted personality through his contact with the wilderness disappointed the “gang of virtue” he belonged to and wiped the “moral ideas” he bore out. The whole humanitarian and romantic idealism he believed in were perverted by the achievements of personal ends. The possessiveness transforms the virtue into vice. Even the eloquence he used to write the report was but a mere façade hiding his hollowness. The finishing words “Exterminate all the brutes!” (Op cit.,208) shows the inevitable ambivalence of imperialism alluding to what marks the end of each mission of “pity, and science, and progress”.

To carry on this idea, Kurtz’s career can be seen as the example of the end of humanitarian missions in Africa. Written at the end of the nineteenth century (1899), *Heart*

of Darkness was published just ten year after the scramble of 1888 when European countries partitioned the African territory according to their own wishes. It marks an instance of truth while dropping the curtains of the crusades against evil and souls' redemption as Livingstone's mission and the moment of uncovering the faces of searchers for progress such as Kurtz.

We can add that if Livingstone's role was the exploration and the quest for knowledge about the continent in order to get more territories and profits in the service of Britain under the humanitarian and Christian mission, Conrad's role was the report about the consequences of these explorations. His story started at the very time when Livingstone suggested "settlement inland" as a solution to control and colonize the African continent. Conrad showed to what extent a civilization or humanitarian mission could be miscarried. The mission had nothing but greed, violence and exploitation. The enlightenment of native souls did not occur due to the darkening of that of those who wanted to civilize others. Resulting, then, in the conception that civilization creates its own darkness.

Another interpretation of Kurtz's case is more efficient. Livingstone as we have already mentioned reflects the image of Adam in the Garden of Eden naming plants. He replicates also the image of a heroic man moving from one adventure to another against a dark infernal backdrop where there is no other character of equal stature only "children" and "savages". The centre stage is occupied by Livingstone, a Victorian Saint Georges battling the armies of the night. Kurtz's career, at this stage, being haunted by the devil suggests, at least in some occasions or in some ways, it was a losing battle. The lack of Christian faith, self-trust and bravery are what made him a pray to the forces of desire and appetite satisfaction. By so doing, this becomes an evidence of his buccaneer- like mission under the name of civilization

Here we come to the very core of *Heart of Darkness*. The battle between the forces of light and darkness owes its loss to the nature of the person of Kurtz, being a product of

Europe. Kurtz's mission became demonic rather than evangelical, obsessive and possessive rather than commercial and imperialised rather than imperialising. What colonized his soul and heart is the darkness and the real state of his nature. Here, for another time, we face Conrad's contradictions and ambivalence towards the imperial idea: whether the darkness resides in the heart of Kurtz or that of Africa and Africans.

In the first case, the promotion of the Myth of the Dark Continent reinforces it, while in the second, the exploitation, cruelty, and hollowness of Kurtz indicates Conrad's worries. Ian Watt thought that Conrad's primary concern was with the colonisers and the consequences that colonisation had on their characters. He claimed that

The imperial or colonial experience is disastrous for the whites; it makes them lazy; it reveals their weakness; it puffs them up with empty vanity at being whites; and it fortifies the intolerable hypocrisy with which Europeans in general conceal their selfish aims (Ian Watt, 1996:37).

The remarkable event of "the arrival scenes", to use Pratt's words, that most travellers comment about are worth to be cited from Livingstone's and Conrad's viewpoint to help us establish a clear view of Africa and Africans during the early and the late nineteenth century. On December 1841, Livingstone wrote to his friend Prentice that

At one town in particular a white face having never before been seen amongst them— they having lived out of the way of any traders, the women fled with precipitation, the children screamed with terror and the very dogs did not make to bark but ran as if they had seen a lion. But we were not long in gaining their confidence for we had two native Christians with us who explained the object of our coming and that we were people who loved all men (Holmes.T.ed,1990:20).

Accordingly, the natives' excitement was eased with the whites' assertion of the nobility of their mission. Under the slogan stating that "they loved all men", Livingstone preached the Gospel and even civilization since he "had the honour of cutting out a tumour out of the hand of his [the chief's] favourite wife" (Ibid.,20). Such a case elevated his status from a curious subject to a Saint accomplishing marvellous deeds.

However, Conrad's description of Marlow's arrival scene to the Congo Free State reveals the curiosity of the reader being different from the usual depiction of the explorers and travellers. The latter's visit made the natives react in flight while Marlow, after seeing the pitiful conditions of the poor natives, reacted as follows,

While I stood horror-struck, one of these creatures rose to his hands and knees, and went off on all-fours towards the river to drink. [...] I didn't want any more loitering in the shade, and **I made haste towards the station**. When near the buildings I met a white man, in such an unexpected elegance not of get-up that in the first moment I took him for a sort of vision [...] His appearance was certainly that of a hairdresser's dummy; but in the great demoralization of the land he kept up his appearance (Conrad, 1990: 157-8) (emphasis mine).

The two images of the Africans are chronologically remote and thematically extreme. The very native who by the 1840s lived a life full of motion and activity was the same described in shapeless figures and in a dehumanized state by 1899. The difference is that the former case revealed the worries of the whites while the latter their pity. The cause comes back to the nature of the mission that Livingstone and many other missionaries carried. To use Conrad's words, civilization was in "appearance" but facts showed disastrous consequences within Africa and Africans.

Concerning the previously initiated idea of The Myth of the Dark Continent, Conrad followed identically the same process that Livingstone had resorted to to legitimate his presence in Africa. However, Conrad's reason was rather to support his idea of the disastrous consequences of imperialism upon the imperialists. So, we can deduce that the knowledge that European explorers gathered about the subject races of Africa gives legitimacy to the colonial action as far as Livingstone is concerned, but warns about its result if we refer to Conrad's view.

The colonization that permits to take a land away from the natives was a fashion in the nineteenth century. Disraeli affirmed, then, that "the East is a career". As we have already drawn parallels between Edward Said's orientalist discourse and the africanist one, Africa is also a career with opportunities for promotion where bright young westerners would

consume their passion. Marlow was an africanist or a special agent of western power who seeks in Africa profits that would influence positively his career. Keeping in the same point, Kurtz wanted, strongly, to promote his career in Africa but the triumph of desire for nomination and possession over his nature was stronger.

The geographical shifts have the objective of promoting careers and assuring supremacy. The latter point can be in speech or facts. Conrad alluded to the Myth of the Dark Continent through his mouthpiece Marlow while delivering his confessions: “True, by this time it was not a blank space any more. It had got filled since my boyhood with rivers and lakes and names... It had become a place of darkness” (Conrad,1990: 142).

As a western agent, Marlow intended through the description of landscape to promote the notion of darkness from one spot to another. Being the narrator, he assured superiority in speech. It is a technique used generally to assure the supremacy of the whites in terms of social and technical advance. While Kurtz, assured it in facts but to his self detriment.

The process of land description goes from less obscure to darker one. It is a well studied process that did not but prop the dark myth up. Beginning with an “empty land” (Ibid.,160) in his route to the central station to “The smell of mud, of primeval mud, by Jove!”(Ibid.,171) in the same station, “travelling back to the earliest beginnings of the world” (Ibid.,183) through his passage to the inner station to unmoved woods “like the closed door of prison” in the very post (Ibid.,219). There, and while meeting Kurtz, he came into contact with the wilderness itself. It was a beast that “embraced him, got into his veins, consumed his flesh, and sealed his soul to its own by the inconceivable ceremonies of some devilish initiation.”(Ibid.,205).

Carrying on the process of personalization of the wilderness, Marlow’s last description of Africa stressed the “fierce river-demon beating the water with its terrible tail and breathing black smoke into the air.” alluding to a primitive extinct beast that still lived

in Africa (Conrad,1990: 235). This literary image insists much more on darkening and primitivising Africa.

At the beginning, the Thames is represented as the source of prosperity and wealth, it rests peacefully “after ages of good service done, the race that peopled its banks” (Ibid.,136). On the contrary, the Congo River was desert-like deprived of any commercial activity. However Conrad’s description of the river at the moment when Kurtz was agonising altered,

The brown current ran swiftly out of the heart of darkness, bearing us down towards the sea with twice the speed of our upward progress; and Kurtz’s life was running swiftly, too, ebbing, ebbing out of his heart into the sea of inexorable time (Ibid.,237).

The sombre, demon-like river became brownish and lighter in front of a darker heart that greed, violence and lust filled with gloom. The current ebbed out of the ‘heart of darkness’ that means the ‘empty land’, ‘virgin forest’ and ‘closed door of prison’ just as the dark soul ebbed out Kurtz’s heart, the very personification of evil and darkness.

The image of the African as barbaric sinks in front of European’s measureless will of possession and machiavelic career promotion. Kurtz’s heart was darker than the ‘heart of darkness’ with its devilish intentions and deeds. Thus, the supremacy that Kurtz attained was demonic in the sense that his behaviour transgressed human conduct and became Satan-like defying God.

The three Cs theses of Christianity, Commerce and Civilization was the only remedy that Livingstone prescribed to elevate Africans’ status and redeem their souls. The blame for slavery shifted from European countries due to their successful abolitionist action, to Africans themselves. There should be, as Livingstone thought, another trade that would end slavery and that was in fact what he aimed to do with his Zambezi Expedition. He succeeded to give an image of Britain less as perpetrators of the slave trade and more as potential saviours of the Africans. The British, as Brantlinger put, “would teach them [the

Africans] to be both religious and industrious.” (H.L.Gate.ed,1986:192) (Square brackets mine).

Blame was increasingly displaced into Portuguese and Arabs for maintaining the slave trade as a chief form of economic exchange. The persistence of Livingstone in attacking Portuguese slave trade practice has a political and economic dimension apart from the visible humanitarian one. It is true that Livingstone was the most respected missionary and explorer by the British and the world as well for his strong belief in saving Africans from “darkness” and “savagery”, but it is also true that the “Colonial feelings” he felt in Africa and not elsewhere, were ideologically and economically revealing.

The political and economic motives that impelled Livingstone to work hard in Africa in the service of Africans and in detriment of the Boers and Portuguese went side by side with the need of industrial revolution in Britain and basically with the race for prestige. This sort of reasoning can be, respectively, explained as follows. The era marked the “end of our poor old England” as Carlyle called it (Briggs,1990:24). The 1851 Great Exhibition of “the works of industry of all nations” (ibid) gained England a considerable reputation abroad. Further expansion of production and development of distribution occurred and Britain’s need for raw materials grew. Livingstone managed to provide it with thanks to the success of the exploration of the African territories.

The political aspect in Livingstone’s motives is interpreted in terms of his collaboration in his country’s competition for supremacy and influence in Africa. The fact of intervening in a Dark Continent by a higher moral power assured Britain, with Livingstone at its lead, the position of “the highest moral power among nations” (As Brantlinger put in Gate. H.L.ed, 1986:197). The success of anti-slavery movement from the beginning by Wilberforce, the leader of the abolitionist movement, Buxton his disciple and Livingstone at last, seemed to prove that Britain was more virtuous than its rivals for empire.

However what incited Henry Morton Stanley, the famous British explorer (1841-1904) or as Brantlinger called his “Livingstone’s doppelgänger” in the Congo for King Leopold II of Belgium was far removed from Livingstone’s. The blatant political and economic motives are well shown in Conrad’s description of the Eldorado Exploring Expedition in *Heart Of Darkness* “to tear treasures out of the bowels of the land was their desire, with no more moral purpose at the back of it than there is in burglars breaking into a safe” (Conrad,1990:177).

As a point to finish with, if we compare both sorts of motives to that of Conrad’s principal characters’, we find a great degree of similitude. Marlow intended to promote his career in Africa while Kurtz’s plan was to make a report to the International Society for the Suppression of Savage Customs. Cedric Watts puts in his explanatory notes that Conrad had probably in mind the International Association for the Exploration and Civilising of Africa of which King Leopold II was president in 1876 (Ibid.,273). Yet, Kurtz’s contact with wilderness and the centre of darkness was distorted. From a suppressor of superstitious belief, he became a carrier of savage customs such as cruelty, possessiveness and exploitation.

These tragic ways are typical to the ones that the “Majesty’s unlimited Monarchy is enacting in the Congo” as the American lawyer and clergyman, George Washington Williams wrote in an open letter to King Leopold after the studies he carried out in Congo. (Adams.R,1991:110). Conrad wanted to denounce through Kurtz Leopold’s cynical pursuit of his colonial goals under the disguise of conducting a crusade for progress and civilization. He wanted also to make it an outcry that would have an impact in Europe.

Heart of Darkness can be seen as the continuation and the result of the ideas that Livingstone had launched about thirty years earlier. He tried to give the outcome of civilization missionaries, career promoters and traders in ‘dark spots’ of the earth on the colonized lands and especially themselves- the colonizers-, as it was the case with Kurtz.

The idea believers were not redeemed. Their destructive intentions impeded the progress of their mission and even modified their thinking. They became haunted by an eager appetite to possess everything and take profit from the least to get the paramount. They were no longer light carriers but barbaric ideas bearers.

Spiritual vision of Africa

Conrad debunks Livingstone's spiritual vision by appealing to two main writings *The Divine Comedy* by Alighieri Dante (1265-1321) and *The Tragic story of Dr Faustus* by Christopher Marlowe (1564 – 1593). To begin with, Inferno provided Conrad with the suitable milieu and incidents against which to measure the moral bankruptcy of his time. Perhaps, this was more marked with the conspicuous indices of the potent collapse of European civilisation and modern man.

Prematurely conscious about twentieth century concerns, Conrad drew parallels between Dante's inferno and his mouthpiece Marlow's "descent into Hell" to warn about the consequences of the diabolic ways modern man had resorted to acquire wealth and the infernal position he ends in. Marlow's travel into Africa through different stations evokes the setting of the inferno with its different circles of Hell in the centre of which Lucifer, the evil, is placed. Kurtz shares with this latter the same central position he keeps in *Heart of Darkness*.

Thus, Africa is presented in *Heart of Darkness* as a sinister Hell or an abyss where darkness reigns. It plainly opposed Europe that is presented as the enjoyable paradise of the white race. Conrad, at this level, joins Livingstone's view of Africa as a point of darkness that Europeans would enlighten. The spatial shift from Britain to Africa is represented as the spiritual movement from paradise to hell. Furthermore, Marlow's role as a traveller to the Dark Continent can be seen in reference to Dante's portrayal of the

pilgrim's through Hell, seeking salvation and redemption after sinning in the nineteenth century world life.

What is remarkable is that Livingstone just as the pilgrim, as explained before, had recourse to a guide. The equivalent of Dr Philip and Virgil was missing as far as the character of Marlow is concerned. Probably, this is due to the nature of the quest that each carried out. Both Livingstone and Dante were, noticeably, pursuing a religious quest while Marlow's mission was basically personal.

With the guidance of his "teacher" Virgil, the pilgrim began his descent and pass through the gates of Hell. Once in the vestibule, they heard the loud "sighs and cries and shrieks of lamentation" that resound through the starless air. These are the wretched, as Virgil clarified "whose state of being / is the fate of those sad souls who lived a life / but lived it with no blame and with no praise" (Mark Musa.ed, 1995:15). They are the morally neutral who, never more than half alive have no hope of death or as he added with "no hope of truly dying" (Ibid).

The case is similar to Marlow who as he stepped out of the surroundings of the company station was faced by "six black men advanced in a file" with a slow path growing a pitiful feeling (Conrad, 1990:154). These 'miserables' "were connected together with a chain whose bights swung between them, rhythmically clinking". They were called 'criminals' and passed without a glance and with a complete "deathlike indifference of unhappy savages" (Ibid).

But before this incident, and just like the pilgrim, Marlow attested having met the "devil of violence, and the devil of greed, and the devil of hot desire" (Ibid.,155). For the pilgrim, they are represented, respectively, in the form of a lion, leopard and she- wolf. These fierce beasts filled him with fear and drove him down to the sunless wood.

The three beasts that blocked the pilgrim's path symbolise the three major divisions of Hell. They are analogous to the three stations that Marlow had to pass through to meet

the ‘remarkable man’ Kurtz. They are the Outer or Company station, the central and inner one referring respectively to the beasts of violence, fraud, concupiscence with incontinence that are seen as the destructive means of European civilisation basically of moral values.

When the pilgrim recovered from fainting, the two poets descended into the first of the series of concentric circles of Hell that becomes progressively narrower on their way to Satan’s pit. In Limbo, Dante encounters the sad shades of the virtuous non Christians who were suffering and producing “the thunderings of endless cries” (Musa.ed,1995 :19) for the good reason that

they have not sinned . But their great worth alone
was not enough, for they did not know baptism,
which is the gateway to the faith you follow (Ibid: 20).

It is to such creatures that Conrad referred, after comparing his first steps in the company station to “the gloomy circle of some inferno” (Conrad, 1990:156). The noise he heard while he was lying under the tree “filled the mournful stillness of the grove... as though the tearing pace of the launched earth had suddenly become audible”. It came from black “shapes” in a state of slow death. The reason of their state was neither for being enemies nor criminals, “nothing but black shadows of disease and starvation lying confusedly in the greenish gloom” (Ibid.,156). In other words, they were nothing but helpless black victims of the whites’ exploitation.

Conrad reverses the spiritual voyage: instead of proceeding from Hell to Paradise, he shows a journey which goes from Paradise to Hell. The situation calls to pursuit a reversing process from Dante’s. The meeting with the leopard, the lion then the she-wolf is inverted in reference to the stations that Marlow penetrated. Instead of meeting the she wolf symbol of concupiscence and incontinence as in *Inferno* in the first division of Hell, Marlow met it in the last one, meaning the inner station. Thus, the first meeting suggests being with the leopard (symbol of fraud) that stood in the last division of Hell.

The first person that Marlow got acquainted with in the company station was the chief accountant. His description recalls a “vision” and “miracle” in juxtaposition to the “black shadows” and “phantoms” who were suffering a slow death. His physical appearance was perfectly kept among “the great demoralisation of the land” while his feelings did not vibrate at the worst of events (Conrad, 1990:157). He became the symbol of indifference, blindness and exploitation. A situation that reinforces the idea that civilisation stood only in appearance.

Marlow’s meeting with the chief accountant recalls the pilgrim’s meeting with the horrible monster Geryon, whose face was appealing like that of a honest man that “shone with such a look of benediction; and all the rest of him was serpentine.” (Musa.ed,1995: 89). A false appearance that hides tricky and cruel intentions. In other words, Dante’s beast is a metaphoric picture of how seeming and being differ, giving, then, a perfect personification of fraud,

And that repulsive spectacle of fraud
Floated close, maneuvering head and chest
On to the shore, but his tail he let hang free (Ibid).

The central station was a parade of cruel figures. Each hiding or at least showing their brutality in the bright of their eyes or through their hypocritical words. The manager, the brickmaker, the pilgrims and the uncle are the “stuffed men” that undertook the existence of an amount of sins to each Dante reserved harsh punishments in *Inferno*. Their indifference and blindness are the state of modern men in twentieth century acting in cruelty and violence to satisfy their endless appetite of worldly goods and materials.

The manager’s punishment of the negro accused of firing the glow is a drop in an ocean since his pitiless harassment reached even his own race. He did not hesitate to order the native “to treat whites under his very eyes with provoking insolence” (Conrad,1990:164). The discussion with the leader of the Eldorado Exploring Expedition revealed crucial buccaneer and greedy aims to achieve in Africa. To gain a promotion, they

hoped that nature and climate may do away with the only difficulty they met, that is Kurtz. Marlow described their talk as “the talk of sordid buccaneers: it was reckless without hardihood, greedy without audacity, and cruel without courage...” (Conrad, 1990:177). A statement that reinforces their violence and hollowness.

The latter element is well shown within the Pilgrims behaviour “strolling aimlessly” and “wandering here and there with their absurd long staves”(Ibid.,166). The staves that they carried everywhere as a mark of authority made Marlow think of them as pilgrims, but pilgrims whose faith had been bewitched by the devil of rapacity and replaced by the worship of the material; “ The word ‘ivory’ rang in the air, was whispered, was sighed. You would think they were praying to it” (ibid)

The equivalents in Dante’s book *The Divine Comedy*, are, no doubt, the usurers who “around each sinner’s neck a pouch was hung” (Musa.ed,1995:91), the violent and the cruel who were thrown to the boiling crimson of Phlegethon river, while the pilgrims are the blasphemers who scorned God and substituted Him with a mortal one. The sterility of their acts is the punishment they deserved. They remained

stretched out flat upon their backs,
others were crouching there all tightly lunched
some wandering, never stopping, round and round (Ibid.,74)

The last division of hell incorporates the character of Kurtz an embodiment of all sins. His long stay in the jungle distorted his character and made him a new one devoured by greediness, violence and lust. Many incidents showed Kurtz’s indifference to those who surrounded him and his possessiveness and immeasurable appetite for material as indicated in his telling “My Intended, my ivory, my station, my river, my ... everything belonged to him” (Conrad.1990: 206). Moreover, his acts transgressed not only his relations with human beings but God, as well, by organising nautical ceremonies where the natives adored him. Thus, in Reference to Dante’s terminology, Kurtz should be treated as the conspitent, greedy, usurer and blasphemer and his punishment can not bring to a close.

In the light of all that has been said, Kurtz with his devilish acts and dwelling in the last station (inner) stands as the personification of Lucifer who occupies the centre i.e. the last division of Hell. The latter as Dante presented his head “wearing three faces!” in yellow meaning impotence, red (envy) and black (ignorance) the three respective opponents to the trinity: Divine Omnipotence, the Highest Wisdom, and the Primal Love. It can also be interpreted in relation to Kurtz’s obsession by the three devils of ‘violence’, ‘greed’ and ‘hot desire’ as Marlow attested. This can also be taken to mean the three devils that Livingstone aimed to uproot from the African soil by his three C thesis application of Christianity, Commerce and Civilization.

To recapitulate Livingstone’s spiritual vision of Africa and Africans, and comparing him with Dr Faustus, Livingstone outstripped the ‘Libido sciendi’ became manipulated by his ‘libido sentiendi’ and the desire to possess. His career brought to an end at this level when he became obsessed by the idea of saving Africans and freeing them from his purchasing enemy, the Portuguese. His extreme want to clear it from his way and win with the continent deafened him from hearing the British Government’s warnings to stop his direct attacks.

However, Patrick Brantlinger draws our attention to what, probably, can replace the missing “Libido” in Livingstone’s spiritual and psychological successive developments. Brantlinger presented Henry Morton Stanley as Livingstone’s doppelgänger (Gate. H.L.ed, 1986: 192). This German word as the *Free Encyclopedia Wikipedia* puts “refer to any double or look-alike of a person, most commonly an ‘evil twin’ ”. It means that Stanley was acting as Livingstone but in a misleading and malicious way. The idea can be sustained strongly with Stanley’s use of Livingstone’s notes and maps that he gathered in Africa for his own use. His book *How I Found Livingstone; travels, adventures, and discoveries in Central Africa* 1872 was universally read thanks to the fame he brought from Livingstone’s apotheosizing and deification.

One can deduce that Stanley, the doppelgänger provided Livingstone with the last Libido dominante. By pronouncing his famous phrase “Dr Livingstone, I presume?” at the moment when he met Livingstone on November 10th, 1871 in Ujiji, near Lake Tanganyika, Stanley was chided and blamed for his sangfroid. According to the Encyclopedia, a doppelgänger is “an omen of death” or the evil twin that anticipated Livingstone’s death. This thesis can easily be believable if we remind the reader that Livingstone died after a year from his meeting with Stanley.

The coup de theatre or crucial moment in Livingstone’s life was when Stanley worked with the Belgian King Leopold II who in 1876 had organised a private holding company as an international scientific and philanthropic association, which he called the International African Society. It aimed at the introduction of western civilization and at bringing religion to the central part of Africa. However, he intended to claim the lands. Stanley, ignorant at the beginning and conscious by time, remained on King Leopold II payroll. He was the target of many charges on the violence and cruelty of his African expeditions. He was held responsible for a number of deaths and indirectly responsible for helping establish the rule of King Leopold II over the Congo Free State. To end with one can say that his motives are like the Eldorado Exploring Expedition, confirming, then the notion of the evil or bad shadow of Livingstone.

Conrad showed the continuation of such a nineteenth-century man well-equipped with the humanitarian Promethean ideas of civilising Africans but in reality concealed the exploratory ones. Within the character of Kurtz, Conrad supplied us fully with the last libido that - Dr Livingstone manifested partially -Dr Faustus had recourse to to satisfy his scientific curiosity. Like him, Kurtz became haunted by the “libido dominandi”. This extreme desire to dominate and be over all outran the human level and overstepped the mark. He cleared the frontier between God and man and became God himself adored by

the natives. He even presided at “certain midnight dances ending with unspeakable rites.”, a fact that insured his soul selling to devil (Conrad.1990: 208).

Dr Faustus, at his turn, when he dismissed the academic knowledge became obsessed with the metaphysical one. As a means to attain his aim, he sold his soul to Lucifer and signed the diabolic pact,

I *John Faustus* of *Wertenberge*, Doctor, by these presents, do give both body and soul to *Lucifer* prince of the East, and his minister *Mephastophilis* and furthermore graunt unto them, that foure and twentie years being expired, the articles above written inviolate, full power to fetch or carry the said *John Faustus* body and soule, flesh, bloud, or goods, into their habitation wheresoever.

By me *John Faustus* (Roma Gill.ed, 1990:18).

The instance shows Faustus’ insistence on the freedom to possess his own soul and commits it to Lucifer with the self-consciousness *Consummatum est* the last words by Christ on the cross (Ibid: 17). After the infernal contract, Faustus was seen as a “spirite” that in the Elizabethan world means “devil”. Through the voice of consciousness, he recognised his fault but could not repent and despaired “I God will pittie me, if I repent” (Ibid., 21).

Kurtz signed neither a verbal nor a written diabolic pact. He, rather, came into contact with the devil in the wilderness. His soul selling was not a conscious and deliberate act, but was a result, to use Marlow’s words, of the absence of a policeman, and ways of control in the extreme solitude that push us to “fall back upon your own innate strength, upon your own capacity for faithfulness” (Conrad, 1990:206) and Kurtz’s betrayed him. Incorporating the vices of violence, greed and lust devils restrained him to repent. “This man suffered too much. He hated all this and somehow he couldn’t get away.” the harlequin attested (Ibid.,219).

The pleasure of Faustus through years of infernal resources leads to his disappointment. For the benefit of his academic friends, he conjures up the famous Helen of Troy and Alexander the Great in demand of the German emperor, but recognised the

nature of the allusion when he said that “It is not in my ability to present before your eyes, the true substantial bodies of those two deceased princes which long since are consumed to dust.”(Gill.ed,1990:33), admitting, by so doing, that all resulted in disappointment.

The condition of both Dr Faustus and Kurtz can be best understood in the Christian doctrine. They have committed the sin against the Holy Ghost for which there is no forgiveness. The former, Dr Faustus, pride and despair are what led him to such a result. While the latter’s case, Kurtz, was the consequence of solitude and wilderness. Marlow represented the latter as a beast that “had patted him on the head, and, behold, it was like a ball-an ivory ball; it had caressed him, and- lo! –he had withered; it had taken him, loved him, embraced him, got into his veins, consumed his flesh, and sealed his devilish initiation” (Conrad,1990:205). Unfortunately, there was not in the ability of Kurtz a way to overthrow it. He died in despair, full of consciousness of his errors and fear pronouncing two words, “The horror! The horror!” (Ibid: 239).

As for Dr Faustus’ case, his pride was shown from the beginning and his despair was present in his mind even before the contract is drawn up. His end, through his words, reverses the first, as Roma Gill noted,

The proud scholar who had fretted at the restrictions imposed by the human condition and longed for the immortality of a god now seeks to avoid an eternity of damnation. Like a trapped animal, he lashes out against the mesh he has woven for himself: and becomes more entangled (Gill.ed,1990:xxxvi).

His last words go, indeed, in the same feeling intensifying despair, fear and regret praying

Oh soule, be changed into little water drops,
And fal into the ocean, nere be found:
My god, my god, looke not so fierce on me: [sic] (Ibid., 46).

To end with, we can say that if Livingstone stands as a promethean figure that bestow humanity and Africans with the light of fire, symbol of civilisation, even seemingly, Kurtz succeeded in replacing him in God scorning. Prometheus, as Robert Graves quotes Hesiod, the Greek writer, dared to trick Zeus in a sacrificial day in Sicyon where bulls reserved for men, should be offered to Gods. Prometheus, who was invited to

act as an arbiter, planned to offer Zeus the bones that he hid beneath a rich layer of fat, and the humans the flesh hidden in a bag beneath the stomach.

When he offered Zeus the choice of either, Zeus, easily deceived, chose the bag containing the bones and fat (which are still the divine potion); but punished Prometheus, who was laughing at him behind his back, by withholding fire from mankind. 'Let them eat their flesh raw!' he cried. (Graves.R, 1992: 144)

Furious and hard was Zeus' revenge. He chained Prometheus naked to a pillar on a Caucasian mountain, where a vulture tore at his ceaselessly growing liver all day. It became harder when he sent Pandora, the most beautiful and idle woman to Epimetheus, Prometheus' brother. This latter, alarmed by the fate of his brother, hastened to marry her. She opened a jar that Prometheus warned to keep closed and delivered all the imprisoned spites that might plague humankind as: old age, labour, sickness, insanity, vice, passion and delusive hope.

As Hesiod pointed, Pandora or "the price of fire" with her jar of evil serves to express both the attractiveness and the ultimate hopelessness of civilisation. He saw from all this legend that fire and civilization had ended by blighting both men and nature. This can be one of the major themes of *Heart of Darkness*. Civilization stands in words as in the case of the uncle's: "Each station should be like a beacon on the road towards better things, a centre for trade of course, but also for humanizing, improving, instructing" and appearance like the chief accountant's case who kept on his look among the surrounding confusion (Conrad, 1990:181).

In the Nineteenth century, civilization stands also as a mark of advanced technology and intellectual field. Science manipulates the ideology, the politics and the human mind. When the origin of man is questioned and the classification of races is legitimised, Conrad warned about the consequences. The cleared barrier can attain even the relation between man and God as it is shown in the character of Kurtz being a product of

Europe. By so, Conrad was ahead of his time presaging a point in time of “all the dead cats of civilization” (Conrad,1990:209).

Anthropological vision of Africa

Joseph Conrad based his race conceptions on some theses written at the beginning of the nineteenth century, dealing with the biological race inequality. The most important thesis is the one developed by Charles Darwin (1809- 1882) the famous Victorian intellectual in his book entitled *On The Origin Of Species By Means Of Natural Selection* published in 1859

The Darwinian theory of evolution emphasises the scientific validity of the Natural Selection. It indicates that many variations occur to living species and those who “will have the best chance of being preserved in the struggle for life; and from the strong principle of inheritance they will tend to produce offspring similarly characterized” (Darwin.C. in Guy Josephine.ed,1998: 252). He based his theories on studying animals, agricultural selection and even ‘individuals’. He attested that if natural selection has really acted in nature in modifying and adapting the various forms of life to their several conditions and stations, it entails both extinction and divergence of character.

The former is the result of the natural selection that acts solely through the preservation of variations that can endure in one hand and that leads to much extinction of the less improved and favoured forms of life, on the other hand. The latter, the divergence of character is observed through the study of plants naturalized on other areas than theirs. They produced modified descendants and tend “to partake of the same advantages which made their parent successful in life, they will generally go on multiplying in number as well as diverging in character...” (ibid., 247).

Heart of Darkness provided a persuasive instance illustrating the latter point. This illustration was presented from the beginning as an idea that stood as a hypothesis exposed

by the doctor then developed through the character of Marlow as the experience and at last was given an appreciative conclusion in the character of Kurtz. Atavism, as it was alluded by Darwin's series of change, affects the natural selection including man. Darwin insisted in the fact that man can act only on external and visible, he selects only for his own good while nature acts on every internal organ on "every shade of constitutional difference, on the whole machinery of life". Nature exercised fully every selected character and "the being is placed under well-suited conditions of life" (Darwin.C. in Guy Josephine.ed,1998: 230).

The conception recalls the doctor's words while measuring Marlow's head before leaving for Africa. He assured him that it is in the interest of science to watch to mental changes of individuals who would reach the black continent. As he put "the changes take place inside" (Conrad, 1990: 148) after being exposed to sun and being a prey to irritation.

Marlow, being treated according to the idea, refused any corporation. But his position changed as soon as he was in contact with the African continent and its inhabitants. He deduced that he became "scientifically interesting" (Ibid.,162). Moreover, he became partially convinced at the idea attesting "I was getting savage" while the demons of hunger and fatigue haunted him. The meeting with the character of Kurtz was the full belief in the atavistic process in the African continent. This devil – like person was the consequence of "the powers of darkness that claimed him for his own" and provoked a divergence in his character. In this context he added,

how can you imagine what particular region of the first ages a man's untrammelled feet may take him into by the way of solitude — utter solitude without a policeman — by the way of silence — utter silence, where no warning voice of a kind neighbour can be heard whispered of public opinion? These little things make all the great difference. When they are gone you must fall back upon your own innate strength, upon your own capacity for faithfulness (Ibid., 206).

The persistence of the doctor to measure Marlow's head does not aspire merely to atavistic aims. In the eighteenth century, classification of the racial characteristics based its

work on craniologists and cranioscopists who measured the cranium. It was one of the flourishing studies in the late nineteenth century. Conrad, no doubt, was interested by the developing studies. Cedric Watts put in his explanatory notes on *Joseph Conrad Heart of Darkness And Other Tales* that Conrad's favourite book was Alfred Russell Wallace's *Malay Archipelago*. A work that based its research on cranioscopy, a previously tackled subject by T.H. Huxley. Watts, to reinforce Conrad's involvement in such studies, attested that Dr Izydor Kopernicki, a leading Polish anthropologist, while corresponding with Conrad in 1881, asked him "to assist his craniological studies by collecting skulls of natives and dispatching them to a museum at Karakow" (Conrad,1990:267).

The growing racial theories, then, are reflected through Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* with the antagonism of two races; the whites and the blacks. Anthropologically speaking, the description of the black Africans is characterised by the theories of evolution, mainly, the Darwinian and the Huxlian. The African natives are seen as primitive living in a timeless and ancient world, lacking the least of social structure, which is family.

All along his journey to Africa, Conrad distinguished, apart from Europeans, three sorts of natives living in the continent. Keeping on their meeting order in the book, the first persons that Marlow saw were "grotesque" figures with "a wild vitality" having no "excuse to be there" (Ibid.,151). These same natives were after a short period of time described in a slow death state. Their depiction was based on their deplorable case while their build was dehumanised with the use of geometrical vocabulary referring to their body as "bundles of acute angles sat with their legs drawn up" (Ibid.,157). He added that he was stupefied by their situation when one "of the creatures rose to his hands and knees, and went off on all- four towards the river to drink" (ibid).

At this level, the process of dehumanization attained animalization. Whether the descriptive course was meant, nobly, to get us aware of the atrocities of the white man or to emphasise on the evolutionary theories, as it was fashionable then, it leads to one result.

It evokes one of the Linnaean classification of Homosapians; the “four – footed, mute, hairy” Wildman (Pratt,1992:32). What accentuates the idea is the use of word “creature” letting loose ambiguity whether animals or humans.

Conrad reinforced the idea of primitiveness and the representation of the ancestors of the human beings through his mouthpiece, Marlow. While steaming to the inner station, he notices, “the prehistoric man was cursing us, praying to us, welcoming us...” (Conrad, 1990:186). The African natives were still undergoing the first stages to civilization being at “the night of the first ages” (ibid).The following excerpt is another instance of Conrad’s leaning on Darwinian theories,

It [the earth]was unearthly, and the men were- No, they were not inhuman. Well, you know, that was the worst of it- this suspicion of their not being inhuman. It would come slowly to one. They howled and leaped, and spun, and made horrid faces; but what thrilled you was just the thought of their humanity- like yours- the thought of your remote kinship with this wild and passionate uproar (Ibid., 186) (Square brackets mine).

Conrad becomes fully convinced with the progressivist idea of origin of man meaning that man is originally created in a savage state and gradually evolving into a civilized one (Young.R.J.C, 1995: 46). His mouthpiece, Marlow, abhorred even thinking about the kinship relation between himself and the “not being inhuman[s]” knowing that Europeans were in a same primitive case “in the beginning of times” (Op.Cit).

The second category of natives that Conrad got acquainted with is what he termed as “an improved specimen”. A typically scientific word employed to describe the state of natives who were not still primitive and by time became integrated to the whites’ life style. This sort of natives is well illustrated through two characters; the fireman and helmsman. According to Marlow’s eyes, to look at the fireman “was as edifying as seeing a dog in a parody of breeches and a feather that, walking on his hind-legs. A few months of training had done for that really fine chap. ...He was useful because he had been instructed” (Conrad,1990:188). So was the case with the helmsman who Marlow described in a moment of alarm, when the cannibals began to shoot arrows. “ That fool-helmsman” he

said “his hands on the spokes, was lifting his knees high, stamping his feet, champing his mouth, like a reined-in horse” (Conrad,1990:200).

Conrad’s followed process in describing the two natives was not away from the previously developed one. In reporting both, the fireman and helmsman’s behaviours, Conrad made analogy to animals that out passed the state of savagery and became, progressively, trained and servable. He succeeded, even, in his choice of dog and horse animals being nearly the most faithful ones to their master. This can be, for another time, one of the multiple instances of Conrad’s conviction with Evolutionary ideas for, saying improved specimen means automatically a gradually changing nature of a subject from a less acceptable to a developing state .i.e. civilization.

The cannibals are the third category of the natives that Conrad mentioned in *Heart of Darkness*. Their image is given through Marlow’s description of their head man. He noticed that he is “a young, broad-chested black, severely draped in dark-blue fringed cloths, with fierce nostrils and his hair all done up artfully in oily ringlets, stood near me.” (Ibid.,193). The physical description corresponds literally to the Linnaean’s while describing the African as “Black, phlegmatic, relaxed. Hair black, frizzled; skin silky; nose flat, lips tumid; [...] Anoints himself with grease.” (Pratt, 1992: 32). It recalls also the one that Livingstone made on Africans while describing their ore extraction practice. Through, constantly, his master piece, Conrad added, “They still belonged to the beginnings of time – had no inherited experience to teach them as it were), and of course, as long as there was a piece of paper written over in accordance with some farcical law or other made down the river” (Op cit). An example that emphasised on the theory that Africans are not governed by law but by “caprice”.

To reinforce this idea and although it diverges from the evolutionary scope, a historical witness by the great Arab explorer Ibn Battuta who wanted to go on a Hajj, or a Pilgrimage to Mecca, is worth to be stated. He started his travel in 1325 and lasted about

29 years. It covered about 75,000 miles visiting the equivalent of 44 modern countries which were then mostly under the governments of Muslim leaders. Once he came to a wide channel which flows out of the Nile [Niger] that can only be crossed in boats. In a village near it, he met cannibals. On their behaviour based on superstition and witchcraft, he stated,

He [the qadi] lived among them for four years, at the end of which the sultan sent him back to his own country. The reason why the heathens did not eat him was that he was white, for they say that the white is indigestible because he is not "ripe," whereas the black man is "ripe" in their opinion (Gibb.H.A.R.ed, 1929 [Internet Medieval Source Book](#)).

Nevertheless, the descriptive process diverges when Marlow saw in the head man's character "a dignified and profoundly pensive attitude". The idea of hunger made a radical change in his coming thoughts. He rather saw them as "big powerful men" even though they lack the capacity to weigh the consequences, with courage" and "strength." (Conrad, 1990:193). Despite their starvation and hunger, they restrain,

What possible restraint? Was it superstition, disgust, patience, fear- or some kind of primitive honour? No fear can stand up to hunger, no patience can wear it out, disgust simply does not exist where hunger is; and as to superstition, beliefs, and what you may call principles, they are less than chaff in breeze." (Ibid.,195).

They were not victims of the starvation's exasperating torment, black thoughts and ferocity. In other words, they master their inborn strength and fight hunger properly. Primitiveness, as it is developed by Conrad along his book, is not restricted only to the inhabitants of the continent but to the land itself. Being one of the leading causes of primitiveness, Conrad did not find words to qualify it but "unearthly earth" (Ibid., 184) within a timeless world. The spatial setting as it is well developed in the geographical vision of Africa is alluded to as a "prehistoric earth" having the aspect "of an unknown planet" (Ibid) where darkness is omnipresent. Marlow noticed while steaming the inner station that,

Going up that river was like travelling back to the earliest beginnings of the world, when vegetation rioted on the earth and the big trees were kings. An empty stream, a great silence, an impenetrable forest. The air was warm, thick, heavy, sluggish. There was no joy in the brilliance of sunshine. [...] And this stillness of life did not in the least resemble a peace. It was the stillness of an implacable force brooding over an inscrutable intention (Conrad, 1990: 183).

Marlow speaks about a static and still world that is resentful rather than peaceful. There is no time movement. Time as static and time in progress are developed in Conrad's novel to show the opposition between Europeans, located in progressive cycles, and the African natives in a static one. He added "I don't think a single one of them had any clear idea of time, as we at the end of countless ages have." (Ibid., 193).

The quotation is a telling one. It is a concise and precise comparison making Marlow oscillating between past and present. It makes allusion to a wide gulf between the Africans and "we" the Europeans. This gulf is termed progress through long ages of evolution from a savage state to a still existing civilised one. In Darwinian words, it is pointed up as one of the natural selection's task that "works solely by and for the good of each being, all corporal and mental endowments will tend to progress towards perfection..." (Jordan, E. ed., 1996: 85). Marlow, from the beginning of the story mentioned that the English endured in "old times" by the Romans what the Africans endure by the British. He confirmed it while looking at the moving ship that "darkness was here yesterday" meaning by "here" Europe (Op.cit).

Like the setting, the inhabitants that are still in a barbaric and savage state, lead inescapably, a life reigned by anarchy and chaos. The social anarchy, that this primitive time is characterised with, is referred to by the absence of the family structure. In *Heart of Darkness*, it is illustrated with Kurtz's illegitimate relationship with the black mistress just for the sake of sexual satisfaction. While the wife meant to be Kurtz's fiancée, is represented in modern life where family structured the European societies.

The social human life is also still in its primitive state in Africa. It has not out passed the stage of tribalism with its savage customs and a head man as the principal chief,

as Europeans see it. According to them, this system easily breaks into civil wars and clashes. Being so an evidence of their governance by caprice and superstition and lack of law and regulation. Europeans claim, for this reason, that the African native who suffers from the loss of community needs their shelter and civilization. It is well expressed in Lamarine's words: "regions of the earth designated as 'uncivilized' ought to be annexed or occupied by advanced powers" (Said, 2003:179).

Growing up in the heyday of evolutionary theory and being influenced by one of the leading bearers of these ideas, leads Conrad to an instantly recognizable consequence. Many aspects of evolutionary thoughts are present in *Heart of Darkness*. The description of natives, primeval and no time world are all instances of the Darwinian covering of his ideas. Adding to this, atavistic results from the contact with the jungle opposing the work of natural selection in progress towards perfection are also evidence of his evolutionary influences.

However Conrad's resolving to explore the African continent from an evolutionary angle puts him in a swinging position between it and Europe, or the past and present or in other words the barbaric and the civilized. The last dichotomy claims its originality and authenticity to the pre-Darwinian period. It recalls the traditional view of the white man's supremacy and later on joined Darwin's "high" and "low" races of the "stronger" and the "weaker" nations. The evolutionary theories have been developed to the different life domains and give rise to social, economic and political Darwinism.

European nation's resolution by demonstrating that they were the fittest to survive through economic, political and religious institutions aimed to share it with the rest of the world. Imperialism was the engendering step after the acceptance of such racial doctrines. It claims a right and a legitimacy to conquer lands and 'civilize' inferior people.

Conrad's life background, being an exiled polish seeing his country vanishing from the world map, puts him in the leading position of the anti- imperialists. He, indeed, leant

on Darwinian consumptions but retorted by turning them against the political Darwinism. Conrad wants to explain that the equilibrium between the creature and the environment is reached in Africa. Marlow observes on the coast natives who “wanted no excuse to be there” blending with their setting (Conrad, 1990:151). The anomaly rather resides within the Europeans. The manager, the uncle, the pilgrims and over all Kurtz’s cannibalistic appetite for ivory and wealth out passed the cannibals themselves who opted for restraint.

These Europeans were supposed to be civilization careers. The uncle and the manager were members of the Eldorado Exploring Expedition that satirises all expeditions to the African soil carrying buccaneer motives. The aim of civilizing the African population is also evoked, since, Kurtz himself was sent there for so. He was an “emissary of pity” who was entrusted by the International Society for the Suppression of Savage Customs to make a report, but instead of being a suppressor, he became their carrier.

Here comes the point of contact between the two writers, Livingstone and Conrad. Livingstone was the initiator and leader of an imperialist strategy that came into practice through two windows facing two worlds. In terms of writings and ideas launching, he gained his place in Britain, while in terms of souls redeeming and saving, he won the sympathy and esteem of the Africans. Within the report that Kurtz made, we feel the very contact. Just like Kurtz’s first words was Livingstone’s career “we [whites] must necessarily appear to them [savages] in the nature of supernatural beings — we approach them with the might as of a deity” (Ibid., 208) but as the final words “exterminate all the brutes” (ibid) were the motives and the result.

Conrad wanted to say that what was behind the civilization missions launched by missionaries and explorers as Dr Livingstone was not constructor but destructor. Through his characters as the members of the Eldorado expedition and especially Kurtz, Conrad raised to the European world threatening questions, who are barbaric and who are

civilized? The answer to these issues were summed by Spencer's telling "we are in course of rebarbarisation" (As Watts Ian quotes Spencer in Jordan.E.ed, 1996: 40).

The answer given by Conrad through his book under study is that Europeans become barbaric at the same moment when they become colonizers. Colonization is not in the service of the white man. It is as economically beneficial as morally and religiously destructive. In sum, *Heart of Darkness* was a bell rang prematurely by Conrad prophesizing the death of man and the coming of modern man. Colonial and imperial experience is one of the impetuses to the rising of lazy, weak and empty vanity white man. This new model of man represented through Conrad's characters, mainly, Kurtz became an example of the intolerable hypocrisy with which he satisfies his selfish aims.

Psychoanalytical vision of Africa:

Visibly, Conrad's vision of Africa extends the gap between Europe and the Dark Continent on one hand and establishes a psychological link between them on the other hand. The gap exists mainly in the geographical and social factors while the link confirms and shows the necessity of the European civilization in Africa. This relationship is mainly characterised by 'oppositions'. All that concerns Africa is an antithesis of what represents Europe.

Sigmund Freud (1856- 1939) is the leader of the psychoanalytical movement in the world. In this section, we would rely mainly on his principle works, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1953) and *Civilization and its Discontent* (1962).

At the very opening of his tale, Marlow is first described, in a cross- legged position "resembled an idol" (Conrad, 1990:136). He was in a position called lotus posture that is adopted to engage to a yoga meditation. As Richard Adams quoted W.B. Stein, Marlow, "is ready to engage in an exercise of intense introspection" that leads to some kind of personal enlightenment (Adams.R, 1991:8). He was like Buddha a wanderer,

imposing on himself the greatest physical austerity. Buddhist knowledge teaches that man's suffering comes from his selfish desire. A man may long to do good works or he may be consumed with lust. Either path is his Karma or the destiny that he created for himself, as Stephen Coote quotes Dhammapada,

What we are today comes from our thoughts of yesterday, and our present thoughts build our life of tomorrow; our life is the creation of our mind. If a man speaks or acts with an impure mind, suffering follows him as the wheel of the cart follows the beast that draws the cart (Coote.S,1985:119).

Like Buddha, Marlow tries to achieve a psychological experience in the hope to rise as the All-Enlightened One. His preaching, even in "European clothes and without a Lotus-flower" (Conrad,1990:14) predicts the illusoriness of the phenomenal world and warns of the perils of the appetites.

Conrad managed to start his tale in reference to Livingstone's position in England then. He was more than a Buddha, a Christ like, a saint that preaches Christianity despite all obstacles. He was even the Prometheus who stole the torch from the sacred fire to enlighten the Dark Continent with. His preaching reinforces the paternalistic link between Europe and Africa being, this later, doomed to an enforced dependence to the former.

The psychological journey that Marlow led is told in the form of a dream that according to S. Freud, "thinks" principally in "visual image" (Freud.S,1953: 82). Marlow begins by explaining that nothing he observed in the course of his journey appeared "very clear" to him. After his account of the conversation with the brickmaker, he complains of the impossibility of his understanding

Do you see the story? Do you see anything? It seems to me I am trying to tell you a dream— making a vain attempt, because no relation of a dream can convey the dream- sensation, that commingling of absurdity, surprise, and bewilderment in a tremor of struggling revolt, that notion of being captured by the incredible which is of the very essence of dreams...(Op cit.,172).

Conrad's definition of dream as an amalgam of 'absurdity', 'surprise', 'bewilderment' and the capture by the 'incredible' is an unconscious dream sensation expressed in the conscious state. In other words, dreams reveal repressed manifestations of

urges and desires mainly sexual in the conscious mind or ego that have their origin in the id or unconsciousness. These urges are able to encroach on the consciousness in state of sleep. It is worth to be compared to Freud's definition: "Dreaming is on the whole an example of regression to the dreamer's earliest condition, a revival of his childhood, of his instinctual impulses which dominated it and of the methods of expression which were then available to them" (Freud, 1953: 87).

Marlow once again reminded of the similarities of his experience as a dream the kind in which the dreamer experiences a sensation of hopeless disorientation from reality. He attested that when one comes into contact with "things of that sort", "the reality- the reality, I tell you- fades" (Conrad, 1990:183). Freud attested that one of the factors determining the most marked feature of dream- life is the detachment from the external world. He added in another definition that because dreams are disconnected, "they accept the most violent contradictions without the least objection, they admit impossibilities, they disregard knowledge which carries great weight with us in the day -time, they reveal us as ethical and moral imbecilities" (Freud, 1953: 87).

As a last factor to compare Conrad with Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* is the ceasing of the dream process by the wakening moment. Freud attested that in dreams, when someone wakes up, "the critical comment arise that we have not experienced anything but have merely been thinking in a peculiar way, or in other words dreaming." (Ibid: 83). The very moment was experienced by Marlow who was streaming in the current of images that was waked up by the men audience aboard the *Nellie* "try to be civil, Marlow" (Op cit.,184). What waked Marlow up was not "the mere sensory of an impression" but rather its psychological context. For Freud "a sleeping man is not aroused by an indifferent word, but if he is called by name he wakes" (Freud,1953: 84). As a result then the mind distinguishes between sensations.

The reason why the dreaming world is absent in Livingstone's writings is due to a technical and thematic perspectives. Technically speaking, unlike Conrad who aimed to write a novella meaning a planned fiction and story using literary techniques to reinforce his ideals, Livingstone's case was to provide his addressees with facts and information concerning his personal shifts, the continent and its inhabitants. As far as the theme is concerned, Livingstone's aim in enlarging the gap between Europe and Africa is to legitimate his presence there and to accelerate the English intervention in all domains as soon as possible while Conrad's was rather psychological and philosophical claiming a revision of the nineteenth-century matters.

Up to now, the analysis shows Marlow's introspection and dream like state. Psychologically speaking, Marlow moves from the Ego to the Id. In other words, he moves from Europe / the Ego, to Africa / the Id. In Freudian terms, the Ego stands for the mind which has the capacity to control the feelings and emotions while Europe is to be the mind.

Thematically speaking, it is a shift from the conscious, which stands for Europe, to the unconscious that stands for Africa. A question rises at this level, is it a technique used by Conrad to refer to the superiority of Europeans over the Africans? A fact that confirms their need to the civilization of the whites and paternalism just like the Id needs to be controlled by the Ego, or is it a flight from the Ego's repressions to the Id's world of urges and desires?

To analyse the given supposition, Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents* is the best choice. Freud saw that the purpose of life is decided by the programme of the pleasure principle. That is men strive after happiness "they wanted to become happy and to remain so" (Freud, 1962: 23). However many factors conditioned on man situations that engender his suffering. What threatens his happiness can be caused by his own body, the external world and his relations to other men. From this state, emerges a new purpose of life that is averting and keeping suffering away.

Man under such pressures of suffering is pushed to moderate, if not eliminate his claims to happiness. A fact that makes him suffers from a deep and longstanding dissatisfaction. Freud attained an astonishing contention “that we call our civilization is largely responsible for our misery” (Freud, 1962: 33) He condemns it on several occasions especially, the society that imposes on man an amount of frustrations. On this state, Freud stated,

It was discovered that a person becomes neurotic because he cannot tolerate the amount of frustration which society imposes on him in the service of its cultural ideals, and it was inferred from this that the abolition or reduction of those demands would result in a return to possibilities of happiness (Ibid: 34).

The voyages that Kurtz made in the service of his cultural ideals did not but impose on him a series of restrictions. He became in an inaccessible state to all that he got familiar with as his world, family and, especially, his intended. All these lacks created on him a kind of frustration and the sexual one was in the leading position.

The state of the two folds foundation and parents of human civilization “Eros and Ananke [Love and necessity]” (Ibid., 48) or the compulsion to work and the power to love, is threatened when one comes over the other. “On the one hand love comes into opposition to the interests of civilization, on the other civilization threatens love with substantial restrictions.” (Ibid., 50). It is the case with the civilized neurotic man who under sexual life restrictions creates substitutive satisfactions for himself in his symptoms. Because instinctual passions are stronger than reasonable interests of work, civilized man develops a powerful inclination to aggression and hostility. It becomes a sort of disintegration that threatens the civilized society.

The manifested behaviour within the character of Kurtz was, for the most part, an antagonism of “hunger and love”, to use the poetic terms of Shiller, or Ego instincts and libidinal/ object instincts. The African or the ‘Dark’ continent he treaded on was ‘wild’, ‘amazing’ and ‘bewildering’. Marlow saw an impossibility to restrain in such a world where human appetites were not controlled by a policeman for example, as in the ‘civilized

world' (Conrad,1990:202). Meaning, by so, that under oppositions between a limited freedom access- world and a borderless one, an atavistic behaviour is inevitable.

The phenomenon of life is explained according to the contrasting action of these two instincts. The libidinal or 'Eros' represents the instinct of life " to preserve living substance and to join it into larger units" facing an opposing instinct "seeking to dissolve those units and to bring them back into their primaeval, inorganic state" (Freud,1962: 66) that is the instinct of death or 'Thanatos'.

The main derivative and representative of Thanatos is the aggressive instinct which, along with Eros, shares the world dominion. It can be manifested in relation to two motives: libidinal that twists the erotic aim as in sadism that provides the ego with a satisfaction of vital needs and control over nature. Narcissic, meaning it excludes any sexual purpose and becomes blinded by the wishes for omnipotence.

Kurtz was caught by the labyrinth of instincts; to live or to die. Eros was manifested through Kurtz's relation with the black mistress that Marlow sensed to be the embodiment of wilderness itself. It was limited to the sexual desire satisfaction and no more, while Thanatos was manifested through Kurtz's aggressive and violent instinct. Kurtz became pitiless towards the natives and the whites as well. He made from himself a supernatural to be adored and became a killer who found pleasure in decorating his house with the natives' skulls. He dared to threaten the harlequin who served him faithfully, since his arrival with death for a piece of ivory. This latter became his endless and unceasingly unsatisfied appetite. To sum up, Kurtz's hostile instinct was manifested aggressively through both motives; the sadist and the narcissist one.

Freud saw that all this conduct was the result of civilization in the civilized world. So, what he proposed as a remedy to this series of dissatisfactions related to the advance of civilization and that can attain happiness was to return to "primitive conditions"

(Freud, 1962: 33). For him, primitive peoples and races lead “a simple and happy life” unattained by the Europeans / civilized men themselves. Their needs are easily satisfied since ‘Eros and Ananke’ live in co-operation and harmony.

However, what we come up to analyse was the case of a civilized man victim of civilization in a ‘wild’ world. Here, we attain the very heart of *Heart of Darkness*; the modern man and the primitive one. How can we compare Kurtz out of his civilized world and a primitive one in his own? The answer is a vicious circle. Kurtz’s existing battle of love and hunger reached apogee when it came into contact with a free and wild world. He tried to maintain harmony in the ‘Eros’ and ‘Ananke’s’ needs but culpability quakes the foundation. The harlequin assured Marlow that Kurtz suffered too much and “hated all this, and somehow couldn’t get away” (Conrad,1990: 219). Then, the excess in both instincts engenders, respectively, sadist and narcissic behaviour that explains his aggressive instinct in whole.

The cannibals who lead “a simple and happy life” just like the harlequin’s descriptive terms on natives “simple people” (Ibid: 213) attain a harmony of instincts. Under such harmony and despite the pressures of hunger, cannibals restrained, as Marlow got puzzled. Wilderness did not exercise power over cannibals as it did over Kurtz. They mastered their hunger or ‘inborn strength’.

We can define the primitive man in reverse to the neurotic one given by Freud as follows:

He can tolerate the amount of free access satisfactions which nature imposes on him in the service of his instincts’ pleasures, and it was inferred from this that the mastering of these instincts would result in attaining a harmonic and happy life.

To end with, we can say that Freud analysed, psychologically, the threatening and emerging humans, that is the modern or civilized man. Prematurely, he wanted to get the world aware of the depressive and aggressive behaviour that modern man adopts under

asphyxiating restrictions due to civilization. We come to realize, by so, that we find in a body of a cannibal a civilized man and within the white's a barbaric one. What Freud wanted really to attain was a happy life like that of the primitives characterized by the mastering of "inborn strength" even in an uncontrolled and free world in order to overcome Kurtz's case "a tree swayed by the wind" (Conrad,1990:209).

Philosophical vision of Africa:

Cedric Watts shed light on an important point that had a weighty impact on Conrad's works. The Superfluous Man has origins in the Russian literature of the nineteenth century. It gives the image of an educated, idle and discontented gentleman living in the countryside that is excruciatingly boring. This Man anticipates existentialist or absurdist heroes proving selfhood by some defiant and anarchic actions. On his nature, Watts puts "he is extremely egoistic, his 'sensitivity' makes him self-conscious to the point of paralysis or derangement" (Watts.C,1993:66).

The model of this hero is current in the Russian writings of Lermontov, Dostoyevski, Tolstoy and Turgenev, Conrad's favorite Russian author. The Superfluous Man, according to Dostoyevski and Turgenev, is on the one hand, Hamlet like dominated by thought but submitted to inertia and is Quixotic, referring to Don Quixote, acting anarchically, on the other hand.

Turgenev's lecture 'Hamlet and Don Quixote' 1860, which was first published in England in 1896 claimed that Hamlet and Don Quixote represent "the twin antitypes of human nature, the two poles of the axle-tree on which nature turns". He added,

So on the one side we see the Hamlets of this world – that is to say, types that are thoughtful and discriminating, persons of wide and profound understanding, but persons who are useless in the practical sense, inasmuch as their very gifts immobilize them – and on the other, crack-brained Don Quixotes, who are only useful to humanity and can set its feet marching because they see but one sole point on the horizon, a point the nature of which is often not at all what it seems to their eyes (As Watts quoted Turgenev, 1993: 68).

If we turn to Conrad's works, we find that the Hamlet / Don Quixote dichotomy is applicable to the principle character in *Heart of Darkness*. Kurtz lived and triumphed over crucial circumstances in Africa that overcame, by end, his own nature. He, on the one side, appeared to be the one who had a remarkable career in Africa. He held a whole station under his authority, controlled ivory trade and had a very estimable position among the Africans who even adore him. While he appeared to submit to the excess desire to have more without restraint, on the other side. His boundless ivory quest became cannibalistic and buccaneer-like. His will to have power also outstripped the barrier between God and man and became God himself. He was conscious about the state he attained. He "suffered too much" and disliked his deeds but "couldn't get away" as the harlequin revealed Kurtz's error of impotence. Another reason was the waste land of boredom where he lived.

Africa, thus, from the philosophical view was no more than a waste land that despite its wealth was sterile with the reign of uncontrollability, boredom and remoteness. Kurtz's Quixotic side dwells in the anarchical actions and acts he committed on his self and others while the Hamlet like one resides in his consciousness of the inappropriateness of his doings and incapacity to correct them. The hamlet half of Kurtz was based much more on regrets and remorse than on thought. Accordingly, inertia was not an outcome of the power of thought but from the power of evil and wilderness of his heart and the core of the remote place that haunted him in flesh and spirit.

One can say that the Quixotic half dominates the Hamlet one. It is due to the very aim Conrad wanted to reach. This later lays, specifically, in the emphasis he stressed on the consequences and results of colonization upon the white man, the colonizer. Generally, it is inherent in the pessimistic view that he held on the human nature as a whole as corruptible seeing that civilized men do not look to be much better than the less civilized or primitive ones.

Comparatively to Livingstone, he was neither Hamlet like nor Don Quixotic. He was thoughtful in his plans to explore Africa, and active in his expedition to conquer the spots of interest. No one can deny that Africa was for him a dark, savage land, but never to be a waste one. For Livingstone, all was exploitable, either in coal, water, plants or trees, ore, cotton and so on. Likely for the waste land of boredom, Livingstone's complaints turn around shortages and Africans or Boers and Portuguese's hostilities but never for lassitude or boredom.

The emphasis on the anarchical actions, the offences and outstripped barrier between Kurtz and God were led by the violent will to power. Nietzsche, the famous German philosopher (1844-1900), attested that the immense variety of human conduct is motivated by the will to power (As Philip Novak quoted Nietzsche, 1996:9). Man is haunted by an inexorable ache for more and is determined to seek the enjoyment of his own "sonorium" (Ibid). It can embody a will to live, to be healthy, and to be strong and overcome resistances. It even exceeds the will to self preservation and seeks "more" that is an intensification of life.

The case is typical for Kurtz. The will to power blinded him excessively with possessiveness and the obsession to get more in Africa. He guaranteed himself the right to live, be healthy, strong. He overcame resistances and sufferings and became himself the source of suffer for others. He caused it for the harlequin, the members of his station, the Africans and over all for himself. He went past the Nietzschean words of "self preservation" and seeks "more" that is adoration. Kurtz's will to power cleared the humans' level to the degree of deity. His apotheosis by Africans can be seen as the climax that led him to the denouement. This model created by Conrad anticipated the emerging civilized man who cares, first and foremost, for his own person's interests. It anticipated also the absurd, hollow, existentialist and neurotic model, to use Freudian terms, whose greed is bottomless and appetite, continuously, unsatisfied.

As we have previously developed in the section entitled spiritual vision of Africa and Africans, Livingstone was “haunted by an inexorable ache for more” as far as the knowledge about the nature of Africans, their behaviour, beliefs and Africa or the ‘dark interior’ as he called the untrammelled spots. His will to power was gradual from knowledge collector to territories explorer and slave trade purchaser. Livingstone’s will to power is twofold. The purpose behind the personal one is to be showered with honours and titles for the achievements he realized, whereas, what lies behind the national one is much important and significant. The objective was to take profit from the abandoned sources in Africa to sustain Britain’s keen need for raw materials as the period corresponds with the Industrial Revolution of 1850s. He, even, seemed to put into practice a prematurely British outlined plan to conquer the South African coast that was proved to be so with the scramble of 1899. To end with, we can say that Livingstone’s will to power embodies the wills of a man and the wills of a nation that seeks continuously for ‘more’.

On its positive sense, the will to power is not only synonym to power over “others” but can give way to subtler expressions as in power over oneself (self- discipline), especially, for creation. He meant by “the most spiritual will to power” to the philosophy’s quest for truth.

Livingstone as a travelogue wanted to transmit truth about Africa and Africans. He saw it true to convert Africans to Christianity, to educate and to civilize them for they were “children”. He saw it also true to enlighten Africa for it was a “Dark” spot, to conquer lands and take profit from for there were “abandoned sources” in nature. The truth also resides in the necessity to kill animals for they represent both a danger and a chance to be under study. To sum up, Livingstone saw in his view of Africans as savages and Africa as a dark spot a truth to transmit and prove to be accurate to legitimate his presence in Africa.

Kurtz, at his turn, reached Africa to seek for the truth of slavery practices and savage customs. His perverted behaviour was the result of quest for truth that led him to

falsehood. The report he wrote tells the very truth he held about Africans that were inferior in comparison to whites or “supernatural beings” (Conrad, 1990:208) and should, by time, be exterminated. Even Marlow wanted to know the truth about Kurtz. He equally saw it true to digress and pervert in a place where wilderness reigns without the least control. He saw also the truth in lying for the Intended on the reality of her beloved.

Even Conrad while writing his book, found the truth in denouncing the Belgian atrocities on Africans in Congo. He saw it true to condemn colonialism and the bad impact it causes on the white man as far as his moralities and civilized character are concerned. The truth, for Conrad, is that colonialism is bad but not the British one for all that he endowed to his adoptive country. It is also bad not for the sufferings it carries on Africans but on white men.

Nietzsche renounced the comfort of religious faith i.e. the Christian doctrine to pursue his quest for truth. He deduced that what exists is the “objective truth” which is a fiction. A fiction in the sense that every ‘truth’ is told or expressed orally in language, that is notoriously far from reality. Nietzsche asked,

What, then, is truth? A mobile army of metaphors, metonyms, and Anthropomorphisms — in short, a sum of human relations, which have been enhanced, transposed, and embellished poetically and rhetorically, and which after long use seem firm, canonical, and obligatory to a people...(Novak Philip quoted Nietzsche,1996:42).

However, as he directed the truth to a divine origin, Nietzsche announced that “God is dead”. Such a teaching anticipates what humanity might become when it no longer believes in God. The death of God announces the birth of a new humanity; modern man. The human soul that housed God so long feels its demise. What can fill the void left by God’s departure is only a vision. The clarification can be simpler in the modern man’s words that lit a lantern in the bright morning hours, run to the market place and cried “I am looking for God”,

We have killed him — you and I. we are all his murderers. But how have we done this? How were we able to drink up the sea? Who gave us the sponge to

wipe away the entire horizon? What did we do when we unchained this earth from its sun? [...] Are we not perpetually falling? Backward, sideward, forward, in all directions? Is there any up or down left? [...] Do we not feel the breath of empty space? Has it not become colder? Is more and more night not coming on all the time? [...] Do we not hear anything yet of the noise of the gravediggers who are burying God? Do we not smell anything of God's decomposition? —gods, too, decompose. God is dead. God remains dead. And we have killed him (Novak Philip quoted Nietzsche, 1996:58).

Kurtz can be judged to be the killer of God. He killed him with the sufferings he inflicted to Africans, his own race and above all himself. He killed him when he signed the satanic pact and accorded himself the status of adoration. Comparatively, Livingstone is free from such atrocious accusations. He contributed in the Africans education, in shedding light on paradise-like spots worth to be visited and exploitable sources that benefited "Africans as well as my country men" (Holmes.ed, 1990: 49). He, and outstandingly, managed to save a huge number of Africans from the highest of miseries that is the chains of slavery. However, he ignored that he contributed in God killing at the moment when his deeds and achievements were used as primary sources to Africa's colonization and millions of Africans' sufferings.

What Nietzsche did is summing up the passive nihilism of the modern civilization, prematurely. Morality that is the system of evaluation is questioned. Nietzsche in *The Immoralist* saw a necessity in a radical revolution of values. Man binds all that is moral to the 'the above' God. But since "God is dead", moralities can no longer make this claim. They are but human creations.

We can end by stating that Conrad like Livingstone was influenced by the Victorian flourishing intellectual theories during the nineteenth century. His book *Heart of Darkness* mirrored the Myth of the Dark Continent notion, evolutionary Darwinian theories on his principal characters' faces. They are like Livingstone, generators of such doctrines and like Kurtz the product of Europe. Besides, the angles he viewed Africa and Africans from are illustrative outlooks of Europeans' eminences.

The geographic vision illustrates the race for land acquirement; the spiritual sustains the Myth of the Dark Continent on the one side and marks the civilized man's deviation, on the other side. This point shows the degree of man's degeneration under climatic or colonial conditions, civilized or primitive he is. He stressed on this point when he viewed Africa and Africans from the anthropological side. Blacks are described as ancestors to whites. They are considered different from each others from the point of hunger mastering. Blacks succeed despite days if not weeks of destitution while whites failed regardless of their immeasurable bitterly acquired wealth. Here, emerges the issue of the modern man that contributed in God killing, to use Nietzsche words, that Freud came later to define as a neurotic victim of civilization.

Conclusion

We have attempted in this modest dissertation to shed light on the different angles from which David Livingstone and Joseph Conrad viewed Africa and Africans. Nearly thirty years separated the writing of Livingstone's letters and that of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. During these thirty years, took place the Scramble for Africa that resulted in the partition of the continent in zones of influence or colonization. It can be said rightly that David Livingstone contributed to a large extent to the exploration of the interior of the continent that ultimately led to colonization.

It follows from the analysis that Livingstone consolidated the ideas about Africa and Africans that prevailed during his time; at the same time, he developed the trinity of ideas of Christianity, Commerce and Civilization as means for saving Africa from slavery.

Dr David Livingstone responded faithfully to "the European male subject", to use Mary Louis Pratt's words, and imperial agent of Britain. His actions were the result of the emerging European, precisely, British imperial theories during the nineteenth century. Thus, Africa served as the laboratory of experiments and the Africans were the subjects on which experiments were carried on. This can be illustrated through many angles following to Livingstone's colonial and imperial goals.

Accordingly, Africa was a remote mine of treasures from the British island. It was, from the geographical eye, viewed as an attractive spot where savages, children lived without the least level of civilization. Their description would be attractive to the Victorian audience that blindly believed not only in such told fancies by explorers and missionaries, but in the necessity to elevate natives' status, as well. To intensify the belief in a requisite European intervention, Victorians invented the Myth of the Dark Continent. Such a myth served to darken the image of Africa with savagery and wilderness to legitimate the European presence through Christian and civilization missions.

In this context, David Livingstone was one of the promoters of the Myth of the Dark Continent through his continuous reports on the hostility, savagery and ignorance of Africans. He sustained his views on Africa and Africans by relying on scientific evidences. The crucial question of the origin of man that invested the European mind found ground, from Livingstone's side, in Africa to share the battle of ideas between degenerationists and progressivists, monogenists and polygenists. Livingstone's attitude was clear by the end of the Zambezi Expedition. Thanks to the advanced scientific field of geology, Livingstone deduced the inexistence of Stone Age in Africa. The drawn conclusion put him along with the degenerationist polygenists like the archbishop Whately.

Joseph Conrad, in his turn, was a watchful and mindful observer of the nineteenth century European intellectual current. *Heart of Darkness* is a suitable show or display of multiple Victorian ideas grounded in the African soil. One can cite the Myth of the Dark Continent, civilization and culture, the anthropological view of the origin of man, evolutionary doctrine and colonialism from the colonizer and colonized viewpoint.

Given that the book was written in the last year of the nineteenth century, precisely in 1899, Conrad's work provides us with the concluding episodes of the series of Victorian theories implantation in the African continent. Evidently, Conrad's mouthpiece Marlow was a bearer of the Myth of the Dark Continent ideas that viewed Africa as a dark savage spot inhabited by barbaric and wild men. The geographical vision by Conrad was, in terms of darkness and wilderness, intensive. So was the case with the spiritual one in which Conrad's description of Africa was analogous to Dante's Inferno. However, as corresponding figures to Dante's sinners, Conrad alluded to white men rather than Africans, and here resides Conrad's deviation from the agreed on current ideas in Britain and emerges his individual tinge.

The majority of sinners in *Heart of Darkness* were white men while the Africans were set a part in an anthropological view. The blasphemers, the usurers, the greedy and

the lustful were, according to Conrad, the manager, the brickmaker, the uncle, the pilgrims without faith and over all Kurtz. They came to Africa with buccaneer and Machiavellian aims contrarily to Africans who “had no excuse to be there”. What altered the whites’ nature in Conrad’s view were the circumstances engendered by colonialism. For him, from the anthropological view, blacks were ancestors and kinships to whites. They are one race. However, as blacks evolved progressively from animal like to man like states, whites degenerated from man like to beast like conditions. The reason was the remote and wild land for the former and the lessened level of advance and progress for the latter.

According to Conrad, even though Africans appeared to be physically less developed, their civilized state resides in the mastering of their “inborn strength” or restraint over hunger. On the opposite side, we find the whites who keep up their appearances amongst “the surrounding confusion” (Conrad, 1990:160) while their bottomless need to have more ivory was buccaneer like and even narcissist if we recall Kurtz’s daring to eliminate his faithful servant.

The burning issue of culture and civilization is questioned. Culture can not be intellectual given that the whites’ intellectual level is inevitably superior to blacks. Civilization also was in name or used as a disguise to hide personal and colonial aims whereas it is found within the supposed to be barbaric; or Africans. Conrad raised many questions through his book *Heart of Darkness* in the hope of change or emancipation of Europeans from the Victorian ideas that chained their minds. His book carries a message. It warns about the consequences of the age of rationalism on the Europeans. He, equally and prematurely, announces the model or prototype of the emerging modern man. The latter, as personified through the character of Kurtz; is greedy, lustful, Machiavellian and over all secular with no belief in divine power except his own.

Conrad’s attitude towards colonialism is ambiguous. It showed perceptible ideological contradictions. Starting from the point that all his friends were fervid anti

imperialists as Edward Garnett and Cunninghame Grahame who defined the “imperial Mission” as “the stock of Exchange Militant”, as Ian Watt reported (Jordan Elaine, 1996:35), and relying on Marlow’s definition of colonialism, one can consider *Heart of Darkness*, in broad terms, as a powerful attack not only on Belgian colonialism but on western expansion, in general, as well. His position can be sustained by the biographical causes that let him experience the disaster in his native country, Poland, by Russian authorities. However, Conrad’s commitment to his adopted country brought him into conflict with sentiments. This can be explained in Cedric Watts’ words that “Britain’s imperialism seemed to Conrad relatively paternalist and less ruthlessly exploitive than that of other nations” (Watts Cedric, 1993: 59).

However, if we combine the two works by David Livingstone and Joseph Conrad *Letters & Documents 1840-1872* and *Heart of Darkness*, one can deduce the overflowing intellectual stream of ideas from the beginning to the end of the nineteenth century. It includes the linked strategies to territory purchase, the moral and scientific theories serving to achieve this end. Together, Livingstone oeuvre, along with Conrad’s, represents a vivid and detailed sample about the race for land acquisition from the concept to experience and at last, the confirmation. Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* can be regarded as providing the following of the lacking episode of Livingstone’s process to achieve such a national end.

The combination of both works, *Letters & Documents 1840-1872* and *Heart of Darkness*, represents the course of two major trends that occupied the European intellectual ground. It concerns the notion of culture and civilization and the origin of man. Livingstone was proclaimed to be a degenerationist polygenist that believed on Matthew Arnold’s idea of “intellectual culture” based on scholar refinement. Arnold’s conception of culture follows his teacher’s the archbishop Whately who thought that Africans lack this culture for their belief in superstition and supernatural forces. Whately, can be seen as the point of contact between Arnold and Livingstone since both believed in the former’s ideas

launched in his book *History of Religious Worship* published in 1849. Livingstone's task, besides the achievement of a geographical acquisition of the lands, was to confirm the triumph of degenerationist polygenists in the battle for the solving of the origin of man's issue.

What Conrad supplied us with in *Heart of Darkness* was the second trend that made from the origin of man issue its central focus. The anthropological trend was led by many leading figures, and the most prominent was E. B. Tylor. However, once again, we face Conrad's ambiguous standing relating the diverse anthropological tendencies. He owed to Johann Gottfried Herder, the German thinker (1744- 1803) the native culture that threw blame of colonialism and slavery not on the disasters they cause on the colonised but on the results they engender the colonists themselves with, because of unnatural climates. He, equally, owed to Tylor, the unified identification of culture and civilization without division that exists among all men but in different levels fault to the progress and advance. He owed, also, the notion of equality and unity of human race but did not, at any rate, show explicit adherence to one of these doctrines. His explicitness was rather shown at measureless occasions through his inclination to Darwinian conceptions. Evolutionary believes were illustrated with Conrad's use of atavistic notion and kinship between black and white man derived from animal descendent living in a timeless world as far as the former is concerned and a progressive one for the latter.

The combination of Dr David Livingstone and Joseph Conrad's works under study also illustrates the process of creation, implantation and results of Christianity preaching and civilizing missions in the African continent. Within Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, we find many deviated or perverted Livingstones following to either climatic reasons or blinding colonial goals. What Dr Livingstone initiated in Africa under the name of Christianity, civilization and commerce promotion became, in Conrad's terms, Eldorado Exploring Expeditions whose task was "to tear treasures out of the bowels of the land"

(Conrad, 1990:177). The ironic attitude toward what civilization missions look like and stand to be, was alluded to within one of the Eldorado Exploring Expeditions' member who attested that each station "should be like a beacon on the road towards better things, a centre of trade of course, but also for humanizing, improving, instructing" (Ibid.,181).

The use of the word Livingstones is not intended to defamatory reasons or pejorative sense. Rather, it aims to show the presence of missionaries and explorers under civilization and Christianity names in the late nineteenth century Africa that unveiled their buccaneer colonial aims, by the end. In this context, I dare add that they are Stanleys in the sense that they, purposely, relied on colonial ends in the detriment of Africans. For Livingstone, despite the imperial aims he bore on Africa, he never caused bloody clashes to Africans. He, at least, believed in Africans' elevation in soul by Christianity preaching for almost 12 years and in economy by freeing them from the chains of slavery.

To end with, we can say that Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* is the continuation of Livingstone's oeuvre in the African soil. It illustrates the hidden goals under civilising missions bearing dark notions on the African continent and its inhabitants to legitimate the presence of Europe, there. It, also, showed promoting theories to sustain such an end not in intention to be or against their side but to warn about the risks of bearing intellectual or colonial ideas fanatically. Prematurely, he shed light on modern man's psychological disequilibrium and spiritual decay that many thinkers were to develop later like Sigmund Freud and T. S. Eliot.

However, if the analysis of the two works by David Livingstone and Joseph Conrad comes to an end, at this level, the discussion on representations or misrepresentations, Orientalism or Africanism and Pre- colonial and Colonial theories, in general, is everlasting. The publication of *David Livingstone Letters and Documents 1841-1872* by the Zambian poet and member of Common Room, Wolfson College in Oxford with British

support in 1990, is not purposeless. Indeed, 1990 is a decisive year in whole twentieth century when the geographical, political and historical map and outlook of the world changed radically.

To begin with Africa, on February 1990, the leader of the black movement against the Apartheid system Nelson Mandela was officially announced to be free by the elected president Frederick De Klerck. An event that marked the end of the Apartheid system in South Africa.

In relation to Mandela's liberation, the publication of *Letters and Documents* written by a south African in commitment David Livingstone and edited by Timothy Holmes, a south African by nature, marks two historically distant periods in this country: the starting and the end of black people movement. The first seeds were initiated by Livingstone, the British missionary, by purchasing slave traders after slavery abolition in 1833. The last step is concluded with the liberation of the committed South African to blacks' rights Nelson Mandela. The event as the President F. De Klerck announced on June 18th, 1991 is "the end of an epoch" when the South African parliament abrogated Apartheid laws with 89 voices against 38 (Peyrefitte, 1999:168).

Letters and Documents' edition is a way to recall that Britain stands as the most virtual country by drawing anti- slavery and anti -racism movement developed later as anti apartheid system that Africans themselves carried out later by well known figures as Mandela. In other words, what Britain succeeded to oppose in early nineteenth century, South Africa under Dutch Boar governance values it in more than a century later. It is also a way to say that in order to understand the present South Africa, one should call to mind its history traced by Britain with its faithful agent, David Livingstone.

1990, also, marked the end of USSR and the birth of new derivative European independent states. This event permitted to USA to stand at the succeeding position since the Cold War came to an end with the triumph of capitalism over socialism. It engenders a

new balance of forces with European countries in one side and USA occupying the other side. As illustrative ways to show the extend of its success and power, the new diplomatic measures it adopted towards the world, mainly, the Middle East. Edward.W.Said put, in a preface he added to the re edition of his book ***Orientalism*** in 2003, “There has been so massive and calculatedly aggressive an attack on the contemporary societies of the Arab and Muslim for their backwardness, lack of democracy, and abrogation of women’s rights...” (xiv) and the attack on Iraq in 1991 under the name of freedom is the best example.

What is not very imperceptible to deduce, is the use of the same strategies and colonial techniques of civilisation missions previously launched by great conquering countries during the nineteenth century as Holland, England and France. E.W.Said added that “from the very same directorate of paid professional scholars” enlisted by the Dutch, the British armies, the French armies, “came the American advisers to the Pentagon and the White House, using the same clichés, the same demeaning stereotypes, the same justifications of power and violence” (Said, 2003: xv). In other words, US agents use the traditional European orientalism to reach a total American world monopoly in late twentieth century.

The similarity is not limited to the scope of strategies and techniques but extends to objectives, as well. They are colonial and, even more, purely imperial, to hold Iraq’s territorial, historical and most importantly, industrial wealth. The US army as Said called them “of private contractors and eager entrepreneurs” that joined Iraq are “confined everything from the writing of textbooks and the constitution to the refashioning and privatisation of Iraqi political life and oil industry” (Said, 2003: xvi).

The British support to the publication in 1990 of ***David Livingstone Letters and Documents 1841-1872*** aims to confirm the return of such influencing and nineteenth century history marking figures such as Livingstone during the twentieth century. It is to

give an explanation of the changing current of events in the world by simply evoking similar occurrences by broadly known figure under the flag of Great Britain. In other words, what USA is doing is the rehabilitation of Livingstone pre-colonial theory letting the world watching “the destruction and the misery and the death brought by the latest *mission civilizatrice*”(Ibid).

Bibliography

- Primary sources

Conrad, Joseph. *Heart of Darkness and Other Tales*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990

Holmes, Timothy. ed. *DAVID LIVINGSTONE Letters & Documents 1841-1872. The
Zambian Collection at The Livingstone Museum containing a wealth of restored
previously unknown or unpublished texts*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana
University Press, 1990.

- Secondary sources

Adams, Richard. *Penguin Critical Studies. Joseph Conrad, Heart of Darkness*, London:
Penguin Books, 1991.

Ashcroft, Bill and Ahluwalia Pal. Eds. *Edward Said*. London and New York: Routledge,
2001.

Boahen. A, Adu. *General History of Africa VII, Africa Under Colonial Domination
1880- 1935*. California: James Currey, 1990.

Brantlinger, Patrick. *Victorians and Africans: The Genealogy of Myth of the Dark
Continent in Race, Nations and Difference*. Gate Henry Louis Jr. Ed. Chicago:
Chicago University Press, 1986.

Briggs, Asa. *The Age of Improvement 1783-1867*. New York: Longman Paperback, 1979.

Briggs, Asa. *Victorian People: A Reassessment of Persons and Themes 1851-67*.
London: Penguin Books, 1990.

Briggs, Asa. *Social History of England*. London: Penguin Books, 1991

Coote, Stephen. *Penguin Critical Studies. T.S.Eliot, The Waste Land*. London: Penguin
Books, 1988

Darwin, Charles. *On The Origin of Species By Means Of Natural Selection, or the
Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life in The Victorian Age*.

- Guy, Josephine.M. London and New York: Routeledge,1998.
- Duranti, Alessandro. *Linguistic Anthropology*. Cambridge :Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Freud, Sigmund. *The Interpretation of Dreams*. Avon: Discus Books, 1953
- Freud, Sigmund. *Civilization and Its Discontents*. New York: W.W. Norton Company. INC, 1962.
- Gill, Roma.ed. *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlow. Volume II: Dr Faustus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press,1990
- Graves, Robert. *The Greek Myths*. London: Penguin books,1992
- Hena, Maes – Jelinek. *New York Advanced, Heart of Darkness*. London: York Press, 1998.
- Hobsbawm,E.J. *Industry and Empire From 1750 to the Present Day*. London: Penguin Books, 1990.
- Knowles, Owen. *Conrad's life in The British Companion to Joseph Conrad*. Stape. J. H. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Miller, Christopher. *Theories of Africans: The Question of Literary Anthropology in Race, Nations and Difference*. Gate, Henry Louis Jr. Ed. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1986.
- Mills, Sara. *Discourses of Difference: An analysis of women's travel writing and colonialism*. London and New York: Routeledge,1991.
- Mudimbe, V.Y. *The Idea of Africa*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Musa, Mark.ed. *The Portable Dante*. London: Penguin Books, 1995.
- Novak, Philip. *The Vision of Nietzsche*. Massachusetts: Element Books, 1996.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing And Transculturation*. London and New York: Routeledge, 1992.

Reader, John. *Africa*. London: Penguin Books, 1998.

Said, Edward. W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books, 2003.

Straus, Nina Pelikan. **The Exclusion of the Intended from Secret Sharing** in *Joseph Conrad*. Jordan, Elaine. ed. London: Mac Millan Press LTD, 1996

Watts, Cedric. *A Preface to Conrad*. London: Pearson Education Limited, 1993.

Watts, Cedric. 'Heart of Darkness' in *The British Companion to Joseph Conrad*. Stape. J. H. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Watts, Ian. **Ideological Perspectives: Kurtz and the Fate of Victorian Progress** in *The British Companion to Joseph Conrad*. Stape. J.H. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Young, Robert J.C. *Colonial Desire, Hybridity in Theory; Culture and Race*. . London and New York: Routledge, 1995.

Internet sources:

<http://www.google.fr> **Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia** (11-12-2007)

<http://www.hominides.com/html/ancetres/ancetres-homo-neanderthalis.html> (18-04-2008)

Gibb H. A. R. tr. and ed. Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*. Broadway House. London .1929. Loaded from: Internet Medieval Source Book

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.html> (23-06-2008)