『ソロモン王の洞窟』と『闇の奥』における

アフリカの部族社会表象の分析

バード ポール

An Analysis of Representations of African Tribal Society in King Solomon's Mines and Heart of Darkness

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Abstract During the late nineteenth century, Britain and her European competitors vied for supremacy over lands, resources, and people in continental Africa. In the north and south of the continent, the British were particularly active while Belgian imperial interests devoted their resources to central Africa. Henry Rider-Haggard and Joseph Conrad, writers whose lives almost overlap each other's, travelled to what is now South Africa and the Congo respectively. Upon their return to Britain, they wrote fiction based upon their African experiences working as civil servant and merchant sailor. This essay focuses upon the way both authors represent concepts of civilized and civilization in their texts, including characterizations, narrative discourse, and contemporary influences.

Keywords: Africa, Imperialism, Nineteenth-Century Fiction

The process of civilization, that is, in the terms I am defining, the imposition of Western cultural, religious, and economic values upon pre-industrial African societies, is a discourse which is embodied in the imperialist consciousness of the latter half of the 19th century. Born and raised during this period, authors Henry Rider Haggard (1856-1925) and Joseph Conrad (1857-1924), both found careers abroad on the African continent: Haggard as a junior civil servant for the British mission stationed in Natal, and Conrad as a merchant sailor despatched, amongst other places, to the Congo Free State on behalf of a Belgian trading company. The late 19th century, up until the First World War, was a period of high imperialism and competition between European states for the conquest of indigenous African lands, rapacious exploitation of resources, both material and human. In the south of the African continent, the British were established in and around Cape Town, and later were drawn into conflict with the native Zulus in Zululand and Natal, and separately with the European Boer settlers over much of the South African Republic's [Transvaal] gold, and diamond fields at Kimberly in the Cape Colony (Shigley). With such a wealth of precious metals and gemstones, in addition to the ivory trade, entrepreneurs and corporations moved quicky; setting up trading stations to organize the extraction and distribution of their treasure with scant regard for the environmental and human impact.

Joseph Conrad, himself a merchant sailor whose business took him to Africa, reflected upon his experience as a naval bystander found this predatory quest for personal gain not so much an opportunity for enrichment but highly problematic; consequently, themes associated with the dissolution of avarice and ambition present in his novella, Heart of Darkness. Likewise, Henry Rider Haggard, also a fellow traveller of the world, in his novel King Solomon's Mines, foregrounds the avarice of white imperialists, though perhaps in a more qualified sense - his narrator, Allan Quartermain, is an ivory trader cum treasure hunter who is nevertheless relatively poor and motivated by personal gain only when his personal well-being is at risk. As a white man settled in Durban to make his fortune, Quartermain is someone who treats his African companions rather more sympathetically than Conrad's traders do theirs. Of course, both King Solomon's Mines (1885) and Heart of Darkness (1899) can be read simply as adventure stories told by way of analepsis, or flashback. Both the novel and novella begin their respective stories with their protagonists aboard watercraft: Allan Quartermain is on the Dunkeld, a ferry to Durban from Cape Town; Conrad's unnamed narrator and chief protagonist, Marlow, are aboard the Nellie on the Thames, awaiting the tide. Conrad provides the reader with a "berth" on the Nellie, we are transported into the novella as companion of the narrator, as we listen to a man musing about a voyage which he undertook up the Congo River, as if he is recalling a particularly unpleasant dream. Haggard initiates his story by having Quartermain dictate his memoirs, in the form of a journal to us, with a qualifying metanarrative: somewhat reluctantly, and at the instigation of his friends, he is putting pen to paper and chronicling his adventures with his two fellow travellers, Captain John Good and Sir Henry Curtis. The effect is that Quartermain is narrating himself through a series of analepses. Both texts exploit analepses: Heart of Darkness is an extended flashback of Marlow's eventual voyage up the Congo River, presented as an old sailor's yarn told

to pass the time for passengers awaiting a change in tide. *King Solomon's Mines* contains flashbacks within flashbacks, for instance, as with *Darkness*, the main story is written as a retrospective account of an adventure, yet we learn about the existence of the mines, and the last known whereabouts of Sir Henry's brother George Neville, by means of additional flashbacks early in Quartermain's exposition.

Conrad's African voyages in the merchant navy took him to the Congo (then colonial possession of Belgium) where he witnessed first-hand the deeply unpleasant commercial activities of the Belgian traders. Following this disturbing experience, Conrad was prompted to articulate, in semi-autobiographical style, the problematic issues extending from the exploitative capitalist and imperialist activities he witnessed during the period he was employed in the Congo. In the latter decades of the 19th century, the liberal voice objecting to imperial conquest was growing considerably in Europe, and particularly Britain, though the Atlantic slave trade had been abolished in 1807 (Parliament and the British Slave Trade), wider slavery had yet to be, and this is soon evoked by Marlow when he witnesses a chain gang building a railway line: "...each had a collar around his neck, and all were connected with an iron chain whose bights swung between them, rhythmically clinking." (Conrad). This contemporary, urban thinking towards social exploitation is in keeping with the Victorian age: domestic affairs which saw the adoption of the New Poor Law in 1834 under Edwin Chadwick (Poor Law Reform) and associated legislation allowing greater freedom and a better lifestyle for the industrialised working class. Conrad was spiritually part of this liberal voice and his novella Heart of Darkness sought to foreground injustice, but with the novella's focus being on Belgian imperial interests in central Africa rather than British who were present elsewhere on that continent (Belgian imperialism being Conrad's area of specialism, so to speak). As such, Haggard and his protagonist, Quartermain, can be juxtaposed alongside Conrad and Marlow insofar as they found imperial attitudes towards Africans, problematic, but unlike, Marlow, who is traumatized by his sense of disgust, Quartermain represents a paternalistic interpretation of imperialistic ideals: those are beliefs which consider the Africans culturally and materially inferior, and therefore need the benevolent guidance of Europeans (i.e. British).

The contrasting themes of civilization and of being civilized are foregrounded within both novel and novella, raising the possibility that one does not necessarily follow the other. This is most strikingly presented in Quartermain's monologue where he questions whether he is a gentleman. Being a gentleman carries several connotations: most obviously of being of noble birth – born of landed wealth – and of moral and aesthetic components embodied by notions honour and chivalry. Quartermain is clearly

aware that one can nominally be a gentleman by status of birth and yet in contrast, not a gentleman by custom and deed, and perhaps this reflects the fault lines between the idealism of late Victorian imperialism and its practical realities "on the ground" in Southern Africa. Indeed, Quartermain has the self-awareness to remark that he had met Africans who were gentlemen, and whites who, despite noble birth, were not. Nevertheless, Haggard and Conrad differ in their understanding of the concept of civilization. The word "civilized" while ostensibly a positive observation of a people or culture, becomes problematic once we realize that in order to be "civilized", there is, by implication, something or someone which is uncivilized, or worse, savage. I would argue that considering Marlow's exposition his African journey up the Congo River in Heart of Darkness, "civilized" and "civilization" become increasingly difficult to distinguish from their antonyms. Additionally, concepts of civilization and civilized involve judgement and thus reflect the protagonists' own partiality. It could be suggested that, by way of Haggard and Conrad's protagonists, the narratives make best use of representation and understanding. For example, ostensibly, Allan Quartermain can be seen as the personification of the insatiable imperialistic need for material acquisition, as demonstrated in his quest to find King Solomon's mines. This is nevertheless a somewhat simplistic analysis because the novel's principal narrative is not actually a treasure hunt, but a hunt for a missing person: Sir Henry's brother George Neville. Indeed, the ambiguity is furthered by Quartermain's decision, initially, to decline Sir Henry's request that he join his expedition to find his brother, even when effectively bribed by Sir Henry with the prospect of keeping any plunder they may happen upon. We learn that Quartermain's real motivation for joining Sir Henry's quest is his spirit of adventure and the camaraderie of being with Sir Henry and Captain Good: "And now that I have made my terms I will tell you my reasons for making up my mind to go... I have been observing you both for the last few days, and if you will not think me impertinent, I will say that I like you, and think that we shall come up well in the yoke together." (Rider Haggard). Indeed, the prospect of making away with untold riches is almost incidental to the plot; Quartermain is content simply to know that his medical student son, Harry, will be provided for throughout the duration of his studies by the largess of Sir Henry (as earlier dictated by his terms). We discover, ironically, that the characters who are genuinely interested in claiming the treasure: Portuguese explorers José da Silvestra, his descendant José Silvestre, and Neville, either died of exposure or are missing, whereabouts unknown. Neville has been left without an inheritance due to his and Sir Henry's father dying intestate, and having argued with his brother, goes to Southern Africa to recover his wealth (i.e., his lost inheritance). Since he is remedying an injustice rather than acting

out of wanton greed, Neville is spared the punishment of the Portuguese explorers, whom it is implied are motivated exclusively at the prospect of acquiring supreme riches, though Neville is nevertheless seriously injured and left stranded in an oasis resembling a nineteenth century desert-faring Robinson Crusoe before being rescued by Quartermain and his comrades at the last. The lesson here must therefore be that plundering Africa is not without its risks, even if one's motivations are restorative rather than exploitative. As we can see, Quartermain is not the cold, merciless figure of imperial avarice and corporate exploitation; the alternative is depicted in Conrad's novella when on his voyage up the Congo River, Marlow reaches the central station and meets the station manager whom he describes as "His eyes, of the usual blue, were perhaps remarkably cold... He inspired uneasiness." (Conrad). The manager, like many of Conrad's characters, is unnamed (the characters are named according to their occupation "Bricklayer", "Pilgrims" or nationality "the Russian"; only Marlow, his dead predecessor Fresleven, and the soon-to-be dead Kurtz are explicitly nominated). He is a small-time, though seemingly ineffective trader whose robust constitution and intrepidity embody empty ambition, ambiguity, and callousness. Returning to King Solomon's Mines, Quartermain, like Haggard himself who supported Zulu interests in Natal, expresses an admiration for his African companion: "He was certainly a magnificent-looking man... he was broad in proportion and very shapely." (Rider Haggard) he remarks upon his soon-to-be comrade, Umbopa (Ignosi). This personal interest in his characters is what distinguishes Haggard from Conrad's indifferent and ambiguous treatment of his characters.

Marlow, the chief protagonist in Heart of Darkness, has one trait in common with Quartermain, and that is of central concern to European imperial ideology of the day. Marlow is an Englishman driven from an early age to join the merchant navy by a curiosity to see the world for himself, and who finds himself drawn to the ambiguity of the African continent. Quartermain, though a relatively modest ivory trader by vocation (and thus a figure of exploitation), is likewise motivated by this spirit of adventure, as previously noted. Neither man is willing to concede that he is a functioning part of a system that exploits African people and African resources, even if neither particularly advocate the system that produced them. To this extent, both men are passengers in their own narrative; just as Marlowe is spirited from outer to inner station by a steamboat on the Congo River, Quartermain's narrative is driven by the quest to find Neville, and later the intrigue and battle to install Ignosi as the rightful king of Kukuanaland, and finally by the witch Gagool's intrigue once the party finally reach the mines. If not quite victims of circumstance,

both men, having agreed to participate in the employ of a Belgian corporation and Sir Henry respectively, find themselves being propelled by events, powerless in an exotic and dark continent far from home. We can also detect a sense of heightened mortality in Marlow's tale, as there is in Quartermain's experiences. Marlow's employment both begins and ends with death: he replaces Fresleven, killed during a quarrel with an African tribal leader, and later with the passing of Kurtz on the steamboat, from some unspecified illness, implied to be insanity. Continuing the theme of death and futility, in King Solomon's Mines, native hunter Khiva is killed grotesquely by an enraged elephant which had been mortally wounded by Captain Good, and the tracker Ventvögel, succumbs to exposure in da Silvestra's cave upon the mountains known as Sheba's Breasts. One suspects, that in contrast to Conrad, the death of Quartermain's two fellow travellers functions to advance the story: Khiva and Ventvögel in effect outlive their narrative usefulness and are excised during the journey to Kukuanaland in order generate drama and "tidy up" the narrative in preparation for the next stage in the plot (that being the intrigue, preparation, and battle between good and evil). Throughout both novels, killing reoccurs: Kurtz orders the native African tribe with whom he is ensconced to kill Marlow and his fellow steamboat passengers in order to prevent Kurtz' return to the central station. The pilgrims then retaliate and shoot joyfully into the bush at their assailants, once again an evocative act of futility since they aim to high and miss their marks, thus repeating the motif established earlier in the novella by the French man-of-war firing its cannons wildly into the jungle. Quartermain's battle is for the most part an internecine fight between rival African factions, with Quartermain and company siding with the "good" party. Thus, this sense of futility is not replicated: Quartermain's "cause" has a clear and defined purpose, one between good (King-in-waiting Ignosi) and evil (King Twala and Gagool). However, we can distinguish Marlow from his fellow Europeans because he does not feel inclined to violence, like the French and Belgian traders and Congo River pilgrims. He is in Africa educate himself about the world and, like Neville who is spared from death by his - modestly honourable intentions, he is permitted to retain his sanity in whilst others, venal and rapacious, are either hollow men or descend into madness (the central station manager, Kurtz, and the Russian "harlequin"). Marlow's depiction of the native Africans is largely sympathetic: "They wanted no excuse for being there. They were a great comfort to look at" (Conrad). In doing so, Conrad questions the definition of civilization; it is, in Conrad's view part of an imperial ideology to dominate and appropriate the natives. The European concept of civilization is a self-serving and cynical excuse for their activities in Africa, permitting them a modicum of moral justification for what would, at home in Europe, be quite

unacceptable. Surely Marlow threatens the belief in the supremacy of white society (which is represented paternalistically in King Solomon's Mines), he is viewing Africans with a admiration because he perceives them to be honest, uncomplicated and absent of duplicity. In Europe, the "Sepulchral City" - Brussels - in his naivety he embraces the opportunities afforded to him by Belgian imperialism. He initially considers Africa as an exotic mystery, but upon arrival he looks upon the natives as an embodiment of innocence resulting from their perceived lack of ruthless ambition and inner conflict, in contrast to the representatives of the Belgian trading agency. Through this narrative there is the symbiotic pairing of master and mastered. Thus, by way of Marlow, Conrad interrogates the motives and ideology behind imperial interests, revealing a European power which conscripts natives as slave labour, to work the steamboats, and hunt for ivory. This imperial machine works hapless African to the death as a sacrifice to the capitalistic Moloch of profit, can paradoxically define itself more "civilized" than savages - in name if nothing more - of Africa. In the broader context, in Europe, it must be unsurprising, that those nations including Britain, which employed its own poor as slave labour in the workhouses, would have little compunction to exploiting the "inferior" black Africans. The natives in Heart of Darkness are illustrated as merely minding their own business, the malevolent forces which so trouble the Europeans are merely a product of some inner conflict, which is sublimated in the imperial conquest and civilizing missions. When the beliefs in conquest and civilization fall victim of their own successes and failures, the frustration and violence is displaced onto the Africans. McClure argues if there is a moral failure on the part of the imperialists, like Kurtz, then it is because he has "gone native" and been corrupted by the people he succeeded in ruling (McClure).

But surely this analysis is simplistic. Except for his helmsman whom he regards with contempt "He was the most unstable kind of fool I had ever seen. He steered with no end of swagger while you were by; but if he lost sight of you he became instantly the prey of an abject funk..." (Conrad), Marlow barely communicates with Africans, let alone tribesmen, and an obvious opportunity for providing the Africans with an authentic voice – the "barbarous and superb" (Conrad) tribal woman who has been Kurtz's companion and lover – is presented and admired in form but denied any discourse. In this sense, Marlow's is the passive gaze of the observer, or unadventurous tourist, taking in the scenery but not getting too involved lest his own perceptions be challenged. Conrad's narrative thus makes scant effort to foreground Africans as peoples, instead portraying them either as victims, aggressors, or merely inscrutable plot devices.

Returning to Kurtz, McClure's argument implies that we are denying Kurtz the opportunity to take responsibility for his

actions. Kurtz's avarice, his appetite for wealth (specifically ivory) and need to control (depicted in the novella by his total domination of the Russian's will) is his hamartia, or tragic flaw, which in turn represents the Europeans' unfaltering yet fateful conquest of Africa.

In *Heart of Darkness* Marlow, on his journey to the outer station witnesses a French man-of-war shelling the bush with no apparent reason. This can be considered a metaphor for one continent's embroilment in futile battle with another for a cause that no European really conceptualizes (there is no obvious enemy to which the man-of-war engages) yet is prepared to blindly fight for. As for the nationalities of the represented, Marlow is English, Fresleven the erstwhile and now deceased steamboat captain was Danish, the French have warships shelling the continent, a Swede pilots Marlow to the company's station, which is of course, Belgian. Thus, the conquest of Africa is an international effort.

What Conrad is emphasising is that there is a hotchpotch of European nations who regard themselves as civilized, are attempting to carve up a continent for themselves in a most uncivilized manner. The desire for the African continent is purely for commercial supremacy; neither Kurtz nor Marlow depict any altruistic interest on behalf of the Belgian company and possess no desire to offer the native Africans something in exchange for their pains. "She talked about 'weaning those ignorant millions from their horrid ways'...I ventured to hint that the Company was run for profit" (Conrad) remarks Marlow to his aunt, who ascribes colonialism to a higher purpose. Haggard, more honestly, illustrates the money motive well in King Solomon's Mines, whereby King Ignosi remarks to Quartermain: "Ye have the stones [diamonds]...and sell them, and be rich, as it is the desire of a white man's heart to be." (Rider Haggard). The story in King Solomon's Mines is a predominantly a matter concerning British and Zulus. Whilst Conrad treats Africa and its subjects as a tapestry upon which to weave the narrative, the characters remain quite archetypal: they are either victims and enslaved, violent tribesmen, or cannibals. In contrast, Haggard gives his numerous African characters agency: from Ignosi the rightful king, who speaks Zulu and English (as does Quartermain); the cunning elderly native in Sitanda's Kraal who is impressed into being caretaker for Quartermain's weapons; assistants Khiva and Ventvögel, hunter and tracker, and of course the central antagonists Gagool and King Twala. Haggard nevertheless depicts a well-defined division between whites and blacks, indeed, Quartermain can be pompous and supercilious in his intercourse with Africans, especially Ignosi, though he is effectively forced into "eating his words" when he realizes Ignosi is, in fact, a noble(gentle)man. I would suggest that Haggard's grasp of civilization is less problematic and more nuanced than Conrad's. Haggard understands civilization (bound in the chivalric and honour-based notions of being a gentleman) to be a concept which is not necessarily European, as evidenced by Quartermain's musing on what qualities constitute a gentleman: "What is a gentleman? I don't quite know ... I've known natives who are ... and I have known mean whites ... who ain't." (Rider Haggard). Quartermain's transition from pomposity to revelation begins while he is accompanying Captain Good, and Sir Henry in Kukuanaland. They discover King Solomon's Road and Quartermain ascertains by the architecture that the road was built by a civilisation preceding the Kukuanas and is possibly of Phoenician origin. He remarks that the architecture could not have been built by the Kukuanas on account of its style and age, suggestive that African tribes are not capable of such feats of engineering, though this does not extend to Kukuana society as Quartermain is impressed by its martial capability as represented by Ignosi's uncle, Infadoos.

In contrast, Marlow's depiction of the tribesmen sees them wholly dehumanised by the European presence; it is almost a direct inversion of the concept of civilization in nineteenth century Europe. The savagery no longer lies with the "savages", but with the "civilised" and insatiable European appetite for money and power. Native society is comparatively underdeveloped, and they have no great works of literature or architecture. For this reason, the absence of perceived culture and achievement, it is therefore the right of the European colonial powers to conquer and rule these "savages" in order to enlighten them to the benefits of civilization (per Marlow's aunt). Nevertheless, one must bear in mind that Quartermain and his fellow travellers are not negotiating the harsh African deserts for the philanthropic experience, their principal motive is, and after recovering Sir Henry's brother, much like Kurtz or the central station manager, to uncover wealth.

I would argue that Quartermain, like Marlow, has as kind of benevolence towards the Africans which he regards them with, though unlike Marlow he regards some of them as individual people rather than a collective, even if the representations are unflattering. "I told him [elderly native] that if... one of those things was missing I would kill him and all his people by witchcraft." (Rider Haggard). Except for the battle for the kingdom of Kukuanaland, Quartermain expressly and self-admittedly avoids armed conflict, unless that is as part of a hunt. This contrasts with his representation of Sir Henry as a warrior figure (of Norse descent - a white "Zulu") with a keen desire for battle. In keeping with the motif of legends and warriors, the narrative arc involving the usurping of King Twala and the installation of Ignosi as rightful king is positively Shakespearean in its execution. Specifically, this narrative resembles, superficially at least, the play Macbeth set in Africa instead of Scotland. To illustrate, the roles of the

Shakespearean characters are thus replicated: Macbeth, assassin of King Duncan is represented by Twala, who murders his brother, the king; Malcolm, Duncan's son and rightful heir is represented by Ignosi; Gagool, a composite of the witches; and Sir Henry as Macduff, slayer of Macbeth/Twala. Kukuanaland as a geographical entity can be juxtaposed against contemporary European history: Ignosi's uncle, Infadoos, is the leader of the veteran company nominated as the Greys by Quartermain (the Greys being an elite Scottish regiment). In addition, the battle of Loo evokes Waterloo, the famous battle between the armies of the Duke of Wellington and Napoleon Bonaparte, a metaphor for a [European] civil war. In contrast to Conrad, we are never in doubt as to who the "good guys" are. Conrad, through his frame narrator and Marlow, depicts suffering in tribal Africa as a result of outside intervention and intrusion. King Solomon's Mines instead depicts brutality being a largely domestic affair, being inflicted by the African tribesmen on each other. Yet it is the intervention of the Europeans: Quartermain, Good and Sir Henry, however just, which initiates the deaths of several thousands of Kukuanas in a civil war. It is the good cause (to crown Ignosi as the rightful king of Kukuanaland) and the intrepid European explorers are allies of the Kukuanas, however, their arrival precipitated much bloodshed. A cynical interpretation of the Kukuanas' civil war would argue that Quartermain and company are agents facilitating a coup d'état in order to install a European puppet king in Kukuanaland. Perhaps this interpretation is a little far-fetched, but the typically paternalistic Quartermain does indeed urge Ignosi to adopt some European values regarding justice: he pleads with Ignosi not to execute any man without trial.

Nevertheless, Conrad's central figure of imperialism is Kurtz, whose apparent capability as a trader is contrasted by his psyche collapsing in on itself. Kurtz represents a figure of realization and awakening; an egocentric power monger whose zeal for the Belgian company's interests cause has been shattered by his own selfish desires. Kurtz appropriates the worst of both European and tribal society since the company has enabled his rapacity by permitting him control of the inner station, and the quantity of white gold, ivory, it exports downstream. But Kurtz desires total and absolute power, and the subjugation of the Russian and tribesmen under his will has allowed him this allconsuming power. The tribesmen both fear and adore Kurtz, and this idol worship (the inner station is surrounded by human skills - idols) finally ushers him into being consumed by his own depravity and madness. Marlow's depiction of the tribesmen sees them wholly dehumanised by the European presence; it is almost a direct inversion of the concept of civilisation in 19th century Europe. At this point in the novella, the savagery ultimately no longer lies with the savages, but with the "civilized" and insatiable

European appetite for money and power.

Conrad and Haggard understand civilization from two different perspectives, and this is reflected in their representation of the tribesmen and the Europeans. What is common to both Conrad and Haggard is the separation between Africans and Europeans. They represent the tribesmen and the colonialists in different ways; for Haggard one tends to perceive that there is always a clear-cut division between black and white, bad, and good, savagery and civilized. His representation of the African tribes includes defining the noble savage that is Ignosi, and there is a combination of exoticism, desire, and othering in his writing which reflects Haggard's own views on Africa. His understanding of civilization lies heavily in British paternalism, and like Marlow's aunt's aspirations, the Europeans are in Africa to raise the Africans to civilized status. I would argue that Conrad's understanding of civilization is confused and problematic. His representations of the tribesmen are not savage; the only time they commit aggressive action is when they are ordered to attack the steamer by Kurtz. Conrad views the powerful, all-consuming desires which Kurtz personifies as being savage; it is the company and his own selfish ambitions which have driven him over the edge of his sanity into madness and brutality. None of the tribesmen are depicted as insane. In fact, we see restraint in the tribesmen which Kurtz never had, and Marlow recognises this when the tribesmen on his steamer are starving: "Why in the name of all the gnawing devils of hunger they didn't go for us - they were thirty to five and have a good tuck in at once, amazes me now when I think of it." (Conrad). Conrad sees the sprawling debauched nature of European imperial conquest as something unnatural - Kurtz is distinctly bestial - and yet the tribesmen show a restraint from something perfectly natural, to relieve one's hunger. In my view, Heart of Darkness, Marlow and thus Conrad cannot settle upon a true definition of what civilization is. One gains the suspicion that this civilizing enterprise by the Europeans is merely a foil for their own material gain; that the concept of civilization, is "something you can set up, and bow down before, and offer a sacrifice to ... " (Conrad).

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