

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



*Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
For the Degree of Magister in English*

**Speciality: English**

**Option: Literature**

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**Subject:**

**Rudyard Kipling and Louis Bertrand: Their Ideas on British-  
India (ns) and French-Algeria (ns) in Kim and Le Sang des Races**

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**Academic Year:**

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**Abstract:**

It is the purpose of the present dissertation to study the imperialist ideas and stances of two representative European writers of the nineteenth century, the British Rudyard Kipling and the French Louis Bertrand. Their respective perception of the Anglo-Indians and French-Algerians as the true or the real countrymen of Anglo-India and French-Algeria is the focal point of this study. To attain this goal, a recourse to New Historicist and Cultural Materialist theories is perceived as necessary to explore the historical and ideological underpinnings of the novels upon which this study will revolve, namely Kipling's *Kim* (1901) and Bertrand's *Le Sang des Races* (1899).

Four chapters are thus conceived to analyse the novels from a vantage point that both writers share the same beliefs or rather philosophies about the insiders and outsiders of the colonies. The first chapter is exclusively devoted to explore the historical context which nurtured and fostered the elaboration of the writers' doctrines and with which the novels are embedded. The second chapter is set to analyse how the writers represent, in the case of Kipling the Anglo-Indian and through the character of Kim as the legitimate master and countryman of Anglo-India and in the case of Bertrand, the French-Algerian through the character of Rafael as the genuine and rightful son of French-Algeria. In the third chapter, the perception or the representation of the natives is at stake. Through it I shall endeavour to underlie the discourse of subversion which is part and parcel of the discourse of power vehicled in both novels. In the last chapter, the study of the representation of Anglo-India and French-Algeria as "imagined communities" wherein the writers' fantasies are infused and projected is to be emphasized.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Bouteldja Riche for his continuous guidance and help also for his constant encouragement and valuable suggestions. I was lucky to have such a supportive and devoted adviser who expected nothing but the best from me and whose solid advice has made this dissertation. I confess that without him this dissertation would not have been possible. I am also grateful to all the staff of the English Department mainly Mr. Bia and Mr. Hami without forgetting the members of the jury who accepted to examine this modest work.

**To my dearest parents, brother and sisters.**

**To all my friends especially H. Mâacha for  
his kindness and support.**

## **Introduction:**

Colonialism reshaped and refashioned existing structures of human knowledge. No branch of learning was indeed left untouched by the colonial practice and experience. A crucial aspect of this process was the gathering, generating and ordering of images and ideas about the lands and people subject to the colonial power, a fact which was not really devoid of racist prejudice and bias.

In the Western world, mainly Europe, colonialism was accompanied with the imperialist discourse which prevailed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a result of expansion to the non-Western lands of Africa, Asia and South America. As a matter of fact, the era was held to be teeming with stunning ideological and anthropological works of which the sole aim was to convey and preach the colonialist's racist assumptions about the colonised. The imperial idea was part and parcel of the 'White Man's Burden', 'the God's blessed' mission of Europe to civilize the backward parts of the world. In fact, the civilizing mission of Europe entailed the production of stereotypical and 'clichéd' concepts and images of unprecedented scale whereby the non-European (the colonized) was viewed through the lenses of inferiority and backwardness, likely to legitimize the imperial attacks and to justify the colonial practices. It seemed almost an ideological necessity of the colonialist forces to create a new perceptual framework that provided a justification for the colonial experience and refashioned it as a noble promethean mission of bringing light to the dark areas of the globe, what became possible to call "the rest of the world".

The prevalence of the imperialist policy and rhetoric with its insistence on the supremacy of the Western civilisation had paved the way to Spain, Britain, Holland and France to spread their hegemony on many overseas countries. Britain and France took the lion's share, for they managed to build powerful colonies almost in the four corners of the globe. Britain maintained its monopoly on North America, the Caribbean, Australia, South Africa, the West

Indies, winning the fame of “ the Empire on Which the Sun Never Sets” and “the Mistress of the Seas”. France controlled African and South American jungles, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, vast expanses of Saharan desert and Antarctic ice, enormous colonies such as Indochina and Madagascar...what some called “greater France”( la plus grande France).

India and Algeria are two countries that were parts of the British and French Empires respectively. India, the largest of Britain’s imperial possessions which was called “the jewel in the Crown”, became part of the British Empire in 1773 when the government decided that it had to take over its rule from a private corporation, the East India Company which had been in India since 1600 searching for raw materials in order to provide real or potential markets for British manufactures. The zenith of the imperial action can be seen in Queen Victoria’s crowning as Empress of India in 1876, asserting by this the British control of India by providing a personal link, especially effective as a warning to the Russians that the Empire was there to stay. Indeed, the end of the nineteenth century knew the emergence of the New Imperialism which was marked by the apparition of new imperial powers which intensified and complicated the struggle for “geography”. Britain’s possessions became flashpoints of dispute and intense rivalry. In addition to Britain, France and Germany, other powers like Russia and the United States emerged as important powers, each being remarkably eager to extend its territories to other geographical areas. All these powers had a craving for more possessions, but the European ones dominated the international scene because the United States was following its ‘manifest destiny’ of annexing all the Western Hemisphere. Concerning the Eastern Hemisphere, in India, Russia was the nearest threat to Britain because it was mainly extending eastward, hence its interest in the Indian subcontinent.

Algeria, Algérie – a name which is itself a result of the French conquest, having been forged in 1838 to replace El Djezair -- became a French colony through direct conquest starting from July 1830 when the French forces landed in the bay of Sidi Fredj. The military

conquest was forged ahead by colonization of the country after the fall of the main Algerian towns: Algiers in (1830), Oran in (1831), Bone (Annaba) in (1832), Constantine in (1837), Tlemcen in (1844)... under the French grip of power. The French colonization in Algeria was mainly strengthened by the enactment of such rules as that of the senatus-consult of 1863 and 1865 but also Warnier project of 1873 which worked to expropriate the colonized and deny them subject status. A fact reinforced chiefly after the Prussian War and the defeat of El Mokrani, which set the pattern for Algeria to become a 'colonie de peuplement'. Colonial property was offered to French settlers from the departments of Alsace and Lorraine, which were lost to Germany also to settlers from Spain, Italy, Malta, Minorca...

Two representative writers who helped to fuel and to forge jingoistic imperialism in India and Algeria are the British, Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) and the French, Louis Bertrand (1866-1941). Rudyard Kipling is an "Anglo-Indian" – anyone with British heritage born in India – poet novelist and short story writer. He is one of the most popular novelists of the Victorian era and the first English writer to be awarded the Noble Prize in literature in 1907. Kipling's works remain among the best illustrations of the British colonial experience in India. Therefore, he is considered the artist and prophet of British imperialism. Kipling was born and raised in India; he lived in India for the first six years of his life, and for six more years as a young man when he served as a journalist in *The Civil and Military Gazette*. He was only twenty three when he left India and began publishing the books that have given one view of the country in its permanent form. At first, he wrote about the civil servants, the army, and the government of India as in *The Plain Tales of the Hills* (1888), *Soldier Three* (1888), *The Phantom Richshow* (1889), *The Jungle Book* (1894)... Then in *Kim* (1901), which was more or less his farewell to writing about India, he wrote about the Indians as well as the Anglo-Indians. He tried to paint a picture that brought together the Indians of the north-west and the educated Indian of the Bengal, and the British boy who had grown up in India, with

the Indian population and landscape as well as the background. It is a novel of northern India from Lahore to Benares that took British rule for granted and paid no attention to ideas of internal change.

Louis Bertrand is a French novelist and essayist. He is an outstanding ideologist and man of letters whose imperialist theory of 'Afrique Latine' largely influenced the 'Algerianist' movement of the 1920s and made his fame as the fervent promoter and supporter of the French Empire in Africa. Bertrand's prolific writings owed him a seat in the *Académie Française* to which he was elected in 1925. Bertrand was born and raised in Lorraine that destined to influence to an unusual degree his personality and world view. To the German invader, the critic Clark Cabeen asserted, Bertrand owed a sort of sub-conscious hostility to whatever is not French. A feeling which is manifest in his works like the essay "*Le Sens de l'Ennemi*" (1917). In his *The African Novels of Louis Bertrand: A Phase of the Renaissance of National Energy in France*, Cabeen asserted:

The ever present menace of the enemy caused the people of Lorraine a uniformity of thought and a rigorous discipline which threatened to stifle the delicate parts of the soul, learning only the combative virtue (Cabeen, 1922:25).

As a student, Bertrand distinguished himself in literature and classical studies, and after graduating from the *Ecole Normale Supérieure*, he was sent to teach in Algeria. During his years there (from 1891 to 1900) Bertrand formulated his signature concept, the vision of French Algeria as an essential element in a 'Latin Mediterranean' of which France was to be the spiritual centre. This notion of 'Latin Africa' would suffice for an *oeuvre* of nearly a dozen books of which we can mention some novels and essays: *Le Sang des Races* (1899), *La Cina* (1901), *Livre de la Méditerranée* (1910) *Le Sens de l'Ennemi* (1917) and *Devant l'Islam* (1926), to cite but few of his major works which are focal to his creed. Bertrand restated his claim to the discovery of *l'Afrique latine* in the prefaces of each of his Algerian works:

Je crois avoir introduit dans la littérature Romanesque l'idée d'une Afrique latine toute contemporaine, que personne, auparavant, ne

daignait voir. J'ai écarté le décor islamique et pseudo- arabe qui fascinait des regards superficiels, et j'ai montré, derrière cette vaine figuration, une Afrique vivante qui se différencie à peine des autres pays latins de la Méditerranée. Le reste n'est que mort et que décrépitude, et c'est dans le cadres de cette Afrique neuve que devront entrer tous les Africains,- quels qu'ils soient,- qui veulent vivre de la vie modern.

[I believe I introduced into novelistic literature the idea of a wholly contemporary Latin Africa which no one had deigned to see before. I pushed aside the Islamic and pseudo-Arab decor which fascinated superficial viewers, and showed, behind these sham appearances, a living Mediterranean. The rest is only death and decrepitude, and all Africans who wish to live modern life—whoever they are—will have to enter into the framework of this new Africa] (quoted in Graebner, 2007: 32-33).

Despite their belonging to two different countries, Kipling and Bertrand are similar in many respects. Both of them were influenced by nineteenth century writers, philosophers and political thinkers. Both visualized – under the impact of Thomas Carlyle and Charles Darwin –a theory of life in which the doctrine of experience and the doctrine of action play a vital part. Indeed, the values of hard work, enhancing vitality and personal creativity were deeply immersed in their works. The characters of their novels are men of action who are obsessed by the desire to conquer and to dominate others. The ideal of these men is strength and energy because for both Kipling and Bertrand only the strong and the energetic have the right to represent and develop the human race. Thus, both of them wrote under the sway of imperialist literature and both of them adhere and sustain ardently the idea of the Empire building founded on the mythical assumption and ideological bias of racial and intellectual superiority of the European. In the case of Kipling, his key concept of the “White man’s burden” is directly linked to the colonial ideology of the British Empire which became a moral and cultural attendant of the political value of the Empire. Bertrand’s myth of “Latin Algeria” is ultimately an instrument of imperial creed which works to consolidate the hegemonic powers of a declining France in late nineteenth century Europe. Rudyard Kipling gained the fame of being “the icon of British imperialism” (in the words of Keith Booker) in the same way as Bertrand was considered as “le créateur et le prophète d’un imperialism africain” (in the words

of Maurice Barrès). And both consider the British-Indians (Anglo-Indians) and the French-Algerians (respectively) the real countrymen, the true founding fathers and the first citizens of India and Algeria. Indeed, this imperialist stance is the focal point of my research.

### **The Review of Literature about the authors and their works:**

Rudyard Kipling's and Louis Bertrand's works have received a large bulk of criticism since their publication. Some of the most representative critics of these writers focused on such works as Kipling's *Kim* (1901) and Bertrand's *Le Sang des Races* (1899), whose title is quite suggestive of the racist bias underlying the work.

As it had been mentioned above, of all Kipling's fiction, *Kim* is the most critically acclaimed. Philip Masson has called *Kim* "a series of clearly sketched figures moving against brilliant scenes from the India that Kipling remembered." (Masson, 1957: 8) while Edward Shanks praises it as a novel about "the infinite and joyous variety of India from him who has eyes to see it and the heart to rejoice in it" (Shanks, 1940: 61). In addition, J. M. S Tompkins asserts that *Kim* is a testimony to Kipling's masterful "appeal to the aural imagination", the charm of the pictures", the representation of 'contrasts' reflecting the "depth of memory and delight from which it was drawn" (Tompkins, 1959: 26). *Kim* bears testimony to a varied literary heritage, the conventions of romance, adventure tales, the picaresque and the spy-thriller all inform its narrative structure. Its panoramic view of the Indian landscape, cultures and peoples leads many critics to place this novel above all others as generous in 'wisdom and humanity'.

Contemporary critical reception alludes to Kipling's distinctive ability to cross cultures and spin stories of strange and exciting societies for British audiences. Kipling received even more acclaim, Lang speaks of an "Indian story-teller" and praises the author's freshness, wit, and knowledge of things little known- the dreams of opium smokers... the passions of Pathans and wild Border tribes, the magic which is yet a living force in India" (quoted in Low,

1996:5). Kipling's tales will keep "the English reader awake and excited" (Green, 1971:48). Kay Robinson's fellow journalist commends his insights into the "strangely mixed manners of life and thought of the natives of India" (quoted in Low, 1996: 5)

*Kim* has also been considered as a psychological novel which traces the hero's inner growth from childhood to adulthood. Vasant Shahane asserts that: "the basic concern of the novel ... is to indicate the different phases of Kim's growth to complete selfhood" (Shahane, 1987: 19). This means that *Kim* expresses the hero's progress from infancy to maturity.

Most recently, a host of criticism has also been carried under the imperialist stance. Many critics have claimed that *Kim* embodies a fantasy of British Imperialism and represents more fully the imperialistic assumptions about the intrinsic inferiority of the colonised. Martin Green is a representative critic whose book *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (1978) provides important insights into Imperialism in British fiction. Green deals with the British adventure tales as the "energizing myth of English imperialism" (Green, 1979:3). He considers Kipling as "a celebrant of overt imperialism and subvert of literature-as-a-system that supports the empire" (Ibid. p.264). The Great Game, the Lama's journey with Kim and the latter's training are such elements that evoke empire and imperialism. For instance, the journey and the actions it involves – climbing and – walking symbolise geography, which has become a sort of "heraldry of imperialism" during the Victorian Era. (Ibid. p.270)

Another eminent critic who has made reference to Kipling's imperialist standpoint is Daphne M. Kutzer. In her book entitled *Empire's Children: Empire and Imperialism in Classic British Children's Books* (2000), the critic examines Kim and other children books in their engagement with imperialism. Kutzer focuses on the fact that a text such as *Kim* supports "the ethos that both produces imperialism and is engendered by imperialism" (Kutzer. 2000: xv). This is reflected in *Kim*, where Kipling suggests that British rule over

India is a beneficial thing in the sense that it brought a decent government and technical facilities to the land.

Louis Bertrand on his turn received a great critical recognition. *Afrique* -- a literary forum founded by the *Association des Ecrivains Algèriens* in 1924 in order to further the notion of an Algerian specificity-- repeatedly heaped fulsome praise as ‘the initiator of Algerianism’, ‘the Primate of African literature’, ‘the promoter of the formula and the model’, ‘the great precursor’ (quoted in Dunwoodie, 1998:162). The Father from whom legitimacy descends, the initiator of a brave new world of Algerian literature through which to forge an identity, but also the Father whose approval is necessary to justify the validity of the enterprise, a bridge between the colony (unappreciated or derided as *Afrique* frequently admits) and Paris (sole seal of approval for colonial artists and intellectuals) (Ibid. p.164)

When Bertrand followed Barrès into the Académie Française, the *Algèrianist* novelists could finally bask in the reflected respectability. “With Bertrand the colonial novel and, to adopt M. A. Leblond’s forceful phrase, “la plus grande France” are – finally – granted recognition by the Académie, and their rightful place within the ancient microcosm of French literature” (quoted in Dunwoodie, 1998: 165). Indeed, the *Algèrianists* approved of Louis Bertrand as their “maitre à penser”, or as: “the representative of a superior civilization, [the Frenchman] defends it in the face of inferior or backward peoples, and strive to bring them the benefits thereof...Colonial literature is essentially the literature of Masters, and I might add, of good Masters wherever possible” (Ibid.p.163).

As a matter of fact, the works of Louis Bertrand which are grounded on a mythical founding of ‘Latin Africa’ received a large balk of criticism. Many critics held that the exoticism of the ‘littérature d’èscale’ (stopover literature) came to an abrupt end with the publication of Bertrand’s *Le Sang des Races* in 1899. This novel, whose title proclaims the twin pillars of the myth of racial purity and vigour in which the settler self-representation was

to be grounded, was the focus of many critical essays. A. Pellegrin in *La Kahèna* (1920) asserted:

This book is a turning point in the literary history of North Africa and, especially, of Algeria. It represented at the time, and for its times, a unique initiation, a striking and permanent example. It put an end, as it were, to the artificial and to conventional orientalism, and it introduced life, movement, the dynamism of reality (quoted in Dunwoodie, 1998: 133).

Louis Bertrand wrote in open opposition to the orientaling production of Fromentin, Gautier, or Loti and locate ‘Algerian’ production within the colonial literature popular in France at the turn of the century as part of France’s imperialist drive and as a product of colonization which, as Bernard Mouralis explained in *Littérature et Développement* “is characterized...by the colonial wish to impose not his own culture but a specific culture we can term colonial culture and which had no equivalent in the metropole” (quoted in Graebner, 2007: 55). In this context, in his book *Writing French Algeria*, Peter Dunwoodie asserted: “With Bertrand, the passéiste and romantic preoccupation with an Orientalism focused on a disappearing and naively exotic world is disdainfully cast aside in the name of aggressive realism which actually masks a fundamentally colonialist project” (Dunwoodie, 1998: 56).

*Le Sang des Races* (*The Blood of the Races*) 1899 recounts the adventures of Rafael, son of Spanish immigrants to Algeria. Rafael works in the profession Bertrand would idolize throughout his Algerian cycle, the carter and caravan driver in the South; his roadside adventures constitute a long series of street fights won, lost, and avenged and women loved, seduced, and abandoned.

Strongly condescending and racist, *Le Sang des Races* presents the Arab as an outsider amongst the newcomers, the Western settlers (‘la nouvelle race’), incarnating a barbarian character. He is cast either as an agent of violence or as a subject of attraction in the underground city of Arab prostitutes.

Amazigh and Arab writers understood very well the implications and subtext of Latin Africa, and criticisms of Bertrand appeared repeatedly in their press. Ferhat Abbas the proto-nationalist political leader responded with a denunciation of French historical pretensions in general and Bertrand's conception of North Africa in particular:

Lorsque l'Occidental, déjà d'une mentalité si différente de la notre, est un Louis Bertrand qui n'a jamais rien compris à l'Islam, sa prétention de vouloir enseigner aux peuples leur propre histoire et à dicter à l'humanité son code et sa loi devient d'un comique violent.

[When the Westerners, who already has a mentality very different from ours, is someone like Louis Bertrand who has never understood a thing about Islam, his pretension to teach a people its own history and to dictate his code and law to humanity become wrenchingly comical] (quoted in Graebner, 2007: 51).

A few years earlier he declared that:

Evidemment les collaborateurs de M. Louis Bertrand sont des gens fort habiles. Il semble donc malaisé de contredire en eux cette vieille culture Greco-Latine. Cependant je le fais. La vérité n'a pas de patrie et n'a jamais eu besoin, en effet de tant de littérature pour s'imposer, car le beau langage n'abuse que les imbéciles et les niais.

[Obviously M. Louis Bertrand's collaborators are very clever people. It would thus seem difficult to contradict them about this old Greco-Latin culture. Nonetheless, I do. The truth has no country, and has indeed never needed so much literature in order to establish itself, since fancy language deceives only imbeciles and dolts] (Ibid. p. 51).

Abbas's arguments show his recognition of the political nature of Bertrand's project, and his realization that it demanded above all political dismissal.

Indeed, apart from the *Algérianists* who hailed and adopted Bertrand's ideology of race, many literary figures and critics such as those of *Ecole d'Alger* including Albert Camus had openly dismissed the Bertrandian construct, in favour of hybridity, diversity, and energy. Racial purity, the underlying fear of miscegenation and the ethos of exclusion it fostered were rejected as fallacious. Gabriel Audisio, for example, in his *Le Sel de la mer* condemned 'Latin genius' celebrated in Bertrand's works as emblematic of colonial ideals and Western tyranny. He drew a parallel between fascist worshippers of power in Germany or Italy and the admirers of Latin fetish and argued that a pro-fascist tendency manifests itself when the French

Algerians and the French had taken side of Latinity. The critic Daniel-Henri Pageaux also held that there can be no doubt about Bertrand's Nazi leanings (quoted in Déjeux, 1985: 37).

**Hypothesis and issue:**

It follows from the review of the literature devoted to Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* and Louis Bertrand's *Le Sang des Races* that these works have been dealt with separately. To my best knowledge, the writers and their works have not been put into perspective altogether. The critics have managed to study some points but not others like Kipling's and Bertrand's Eurocentric attitudes towards the colonies as being "imaginative communities" wherein the settlers are considered as the real countrymen and the first citizens.

The purpose of the present research is thus to study Kipling's and Bertrand's involvement with a philosophy that sustains and maintains the British and the French colonialist projects. Namely that of considering or more accurately of making (in the case of Kipling) the Anglo-Indian or the Indian- raised white man perform as a founding father and first citizen, a true insider of a colony named India while relegating the natives (the Indians) to the status of outsiders. The same goes with Bertrand who considered the European settlers, "the colons" or what he termed the "*néo - Français*" as the first inhabitants and the genuine '*filis de sol*' of Algeria. It is the aim of the following dissertation to study more fully these imperialist stances and viewpoints.

It follows that I have the intention to emphasize the influence of "Euro-centrism" on the writings of Kipling and Louis Bertrand. I hope to show the extent to which both writers support the domination of the European nations via racist discourses expanding ideas susceptible of legitimizing the colonial policies and practices and how they adhere to the Western episteme which held the superiority of the European race and the inferiority of its African, Asian and South American "other".

Concerning Kipling, I intend to research the extent to which *Kim* embodies and examines the bar, or the hyphen that simultaneously couples and uncouples the Anglo and the Indian and that establishes both as hyper real identities. I hope to probe the ways in which a colony is figured as an “imagined community”, so that the Anglo-Indian (who is carefully distinguished from the “foreign” Englishman) can act as founding father and first citizen, displacing or placing under erasure the Indian whose “backwardness and primitiveness” necessitates the ever presence of a superior race to govern them.

As far as Louis Bertrand is concerned, the study will be as mentioned earlier upon his archetypal novel *Le Sang des Races*. The analysis of the imperial idea as it is expounded in this novel will revolve around the hypothesis that Bertrand’s myth of ‘Latin Africa’ forged for the settlers a cultural and historical past which salved their rootlessness also captured the attitude of the imperialist school which thought that France’s greatness was to depend on its foundation of a powerful Mediterranean empire in which Algeria would be the pivot for France’s expansion in North Africa. I am set to explain that by devise this idea, Bertrand sought to provide a historical legitimacy, a letter- patent for the European settlers of the Mediterranean basin in Algeria and in reconfiguring the Arab as intruder and impostor, he justified the well-established political and economic practice of pushing them to the margins. Also, I am resolved to prove that Bertrand’s myth functioned as a mobilizing force for colonist ideology as it operated within a accompanying economy which excluded the colonized by considering them as a pure addition and which put the history of the colonized out of commission .

### **Method and Materials:**

It has so far been clear that the materials selected to deal with the imperial stances of Kipling and Bertrand towards the Anglo- Indians and the French-Algerians concern the writers’ respective works *Kim* and *Le Sang des Races*. As for methodology, it is relevant to

study both texts in the light of New Historicism and Cultural Materialism. These post-modern theories which were developed in the 1980s by Stephen Greenblatt- regarded as the guru of New Historicism- and Raymond Williams are central to approach the topic I intend to study.

The relevance of these theories on the following research is based on different grounds. First, it is of great relevance to read both works as intimately connected to their historical and social contexts. Indeed, the writer as a social being cannot free himself from the different historical, political and social factors which shape his outlook, and have an impact on his writings. Being produced by writers who belong to the most powerful imperialist countries—England and France and whose lives and existences were permeated with the prevailed imperialist discourse, I ‘think’ that *Kim* and *Le Sang des Races* are thoroughly obedient to the imperial orthodoxy also to the subversive force of the era in which they were produced (eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe).

The analysis— as it has been mentioned above— relies on New Historicism and Cultural Materialism. These theories reject the New Critical precept that texts are autonomous units that should be examined without bringing in what New Critics termed the “intentional fallacy” (i.e. biographical criticism) or the “historical fallacy”. Literature for the New Historicists does not occupy a “trans-historical” aesthetic realm which is independent of economic, social, and political conditions. Instead, a literary text is simply one of many kinds of texts- religious, philosophical, legal, scientific, and so on- all of which are subject to the particular conditions of a time and place.

In “*Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture*”, Louis Montrose defends New Historicism as a practice that recognizes “**the historicity of texts and the textuality of history**” (quoted in Veese, 1989: 37). He further defines it as follows:

This historical mode is grounded on the concepts that history itself is not a set of fixed, objective facts but, like the literature with which it interacts, a text which needs to be interpreted; that a text, whether literary or historical, is a **discourse** which, although it may seem to present, or reflect, an external reality, in fact consists of what are called **representations**—that is, verbal formations which are the “ideological products” or “cultural constructs” of a particular era; and these cultural and ideological representations in texts serve mainly to produce, confirm, and propagate the power-structures of domination and subordination which characterize a given society (quoted in Abrams, 1993: 250).

Moreover, New Historicist thinkers adhere to the idea that a literary text is “embedded” in its context, as an interactive component within the network of institutions, beliefs, and cultural power-relations, practices, and products that, in their ensemble, constitute what we call history. They commonly regard even the conceptual “boundaries” by which we currently discriminate between literature and non-literary texts to be a product of post-Renaissance ideological formations.

Furthermore, it is appropriate to refer to Cultural Materialism with its interest in the **political significance**, and especially the subversive aspects and effects, of a literary text because this is susceptible to elucidate and to clarify better the political and the historical conducts underpinning the works under study. Indeed, the phrase “Cultural Materialism”—Terry Eagleton held—had been coined in the 1980s by Britain’s premier socialist critic, Raymond Williams, to describe a form of analysis which examined culture as a material formation, complete with its own modes of production, power-effect, social relation, identifiable audiences, and historically conditioned thought forms (Ibid.p. 251).

Much attention is thus to be devoted to the way *Kim* and *Le Sang des Races* express power relations at work with the social, political and historical contexts in which they were produced. Also to the way Kipling and Bertrand were engaged, in their imperial texts, to present or rather to spread a discourse which is pregnant with ideological tropes of power and hegemony. A discourse which is also quite responsive to the milieu and contexts of its production.

Accordingly, Kipling's *Kim* is to be read in relation to the historical and political circumstances of Britain and India in the 1880s and 90s since the work is set in that period. Bertrand's *Le Sang des Races* is also to be read and interpreted in relation to the conditions which nurtured and fostered its production in the era between the 1870's and 1900's of the French presence in Algeria (I shall supply a more or less detailed historical background to understand more fully the ideological implications of certain segregating laws about the colonised subject- status). In both works, I shall link 'the textual real' to the 'historical real' denoting a source and a referent which is history itself using Eagleton's words.

This present research will be divided into three main chapters, each dealing with one writer and his own conception of the real countrymen of India and Algeria respectively. Also the perception of the writers of Anglo-India and French-Algeria as "imagined communities." The study will be based as mentioned before on a parallel reading of the text and its context. I shall thus provide a detailed and profound analysis of the works in relation to the issue.

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**CHAPTER ONE:**

**THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS OF ANGLO- INDIA AND FRENCH-  
ALGERIA (1880-1900).**

## **The historial backgrounds:**

### **The historical background of India between 1880 and 1900:**

Kipling's *Kim* is produced by the larger historical strains of late nineteenth century British Empire as it reacted with increasing authoritarianism to post-Mutiny (1857) fears of its own expulsion from India, the land which was called "the jewel in the Crown". Though the novel presents the events of 1857 as a time out of legend and ignores the enormous exacerbation of racial tension that followed. And though the novel is nominally set in British-India of the 1880s and 1890s, when in his newspaper articles Kipling often satirized the fledging Indian National Congress, *Kim* does not even glance at either Congress or the issues it addressed, presenting instead an image of India that corresponds to the illusion of permanence that surrounded British rule.

Indeed, 1883 was a critical year for British- India and for its Viceroy. After Gladstone replaced Lord Lytton as viceroy with Lord Ripon in 1880, there were no more Conservative viceroys until the end of the century. Lord Ripon wanted to "raise the people of this country politically and socially...and make the educated natives the friends instead of the enemies of our rule" (Ripon to W.E. Foster, 19 May 1883, quoted in Gopal, 1953: 84). Almost as soon as he arrived he had abolished the import duties, especially those on cotton goods; he had replaced the legislation by which Lytton had set up a system of censorship of the vernacular (Indian language) newspapers, and in 1882 he had set up local boards which gave well-educated and prominent Indians an opportunity to run some of their own affairs at the level of county or municipal councils. The Liberal viceroys attempted to satisfy the 'legitimate aspirations' of Indians. The phrase is that of Sir Courtenay Ilbert whose reform of judicial procedure would have allowed Indian judges in

the *mofussil*, the country outside the Presidency districts (of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta), to try European British subjects.

The Ilbert Bill proposed to eliminate an anomaly introduced into the Indian Criminal Procedure Code in 1872. Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, the Council's law member had then constructed and carried a clause that gave European British citizens who lived in the *Mofussil* the right to trial before a European British judge. He did so as a compromise, for another part of his revision took away their right to be tried only in a High Court, which had become impractical as more Britons had come to work and live far away from those courts. But the result was that Indian magistrates, who routinely tried European British citizens in Calcutta or Madras, lost their right to do so on being transferred to the *mofussil*. So the Ilbert Bill gave Indian magistrates of a certain rank the power to try Britons without a jury for some crimes. The Viceroy and his Council were surprised by the vehemence of the opposition to the Bill. The proposal was greeted with a howl of outrage by the British community in India, and businessmen and journalists, who were not restrained by being employed by the government, went to extraordinary lengths in denouncing it. Gopal suggests that, for a variety of reasons,

by 1883 Ripon was intensely disliked by every section of the Anglo-Indian community which was centred in Calcutta...The situation was alive; it only awaited an occasion to which it could respond. What was needed was a *casus belli* powerful enough to knit together the various elements of Anglo-Indian opposition... [and ]the leaders of the Anglo-Indian community received unexpected assistance from the Viceroy (Ibid.p.121-122).

Edwin Hirschman in White Mutiny also argues that the ultimate motive for the campaign against the bill was “fear and resentment of educated Indians...whose claims to fair and equitable treatment challenged the Anglo- Indian world view and thus the basis of Empire” (Hirschman, 1980:115-116).

Indeed, the protest succeeded, the Bill was amended in January 1884 and had been deprived of its original force for the Indians would be allowed to judge Englishmen, but only with the aid of a jury half of whom were British. It was made quite clear that the British community did not trust Indians to judge them fairly, and it was also made clear that a really determined agitation could make the government go back on a policy to which it had committed itself.

The 1880s saw also the rise of the Indian nationalist movement by the educated Indians who founded societies in the great coastal cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. In December 1885 the first meeting of the Indian Nationalist Congress was held in Bombay. The meeting had been encouraged by a few members of the Indian Civil Service who received approval by the new Viceroy Lord Dufferin. This latter was also in favour of Congress. At this point there was no idea that Congress would act as a political opposition; it was intended by its founders and by the Viceroy to be the recognized pressure group for Indians who were so educated and westernized that they might have attempted to enter the Civil Service and had gone on to careers in teaching, law, and business. The meetings were held in English, which was a sign of the high level of education of the members, and also of their wide distribution over the country.

The Viceroy could see that it was his business to know what Congress people thought and to find how the system could be adjusted to fit their needs without causing any trouble. Dufferin's attitude was that Congress is simply a body of people who wanted to get inside the system of government and join in ruling India. This view was not shared by many Englishmen in India who were convinced that it was bound to develop a spirit of nationalism that would make its members want to be the sole rulers of India.

In 1885 the government took its third and final step towards expansion of British India and bring the kingdoms of Burma completely under British rule, and when Dufferin was

raised a step in the peerage he became Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, because he added the name of the Burmese city to his title. The Burmese king Thibaw ruled his subjects brutally enough for British opinion to feel that suppressing him and merging Burma into the Indian empire would be a human policy, but it was most unlikely that the secretary of State for India would have reckoned that decisive intervention would be popular if Thibaw had not also been making life difficult for a British company trying to carry on business in his kingdom and if the French a little further east had not looked intent on expansion.

The northwest frontiers of India, situated far from the seat of imperial governance and considered vulnerable, become flashpoints of dispute and intense rivalry, needing constant surveillance. In contrast to the relative stability that the imperial government had imposed on the semi-autonomous princely states within the Indian empire, the frontiers seemed vulnerable to foreign infiltration whenever European political alignments shifted. For example, threatened by Russia, Britain had secured India as well as safeguarded her routes of communication, which initiated the border wars in Afghanistan in 1885.

In 1886 a Public Service Commission was appointed and recommended that the rules of 1879 which empowered the authorities in India to nominate natives to the higher administrative posts should be annulled and a new service of higher native officials in the Executive and Judicial services constituted, to be called the Provincial Civil Service, to which about one-sixth of the appointments usually held by the Covenanted Civil Service should open. Of the 824 ordinary appointments held by members of the Covenanted Civil Service 93 were thrown open in 1892-3 to select native officers of the Provincial Service (Watson, 1896: 370). On June 1893, the House of Commons passed a resolution that “all open competitive examinations heretofore held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Service of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously in India and England, such examinations in both countries being identical in their nature, and all who compete were

finally classified in one list according to merit” (quoted in Anindyo, 2005: 51). The Government of India, to whom this resolution was referred, pointed out to the Home Government the danger of lowering the present number—some 731—of higher European officials now employed in governing of populace of 217 ½ millions of natives (Watson, 1896: 371). It urged that these Covenanted Civilians:

represent the British Government in India. In the eyes of the people they are the British Government. It is to their personal influence, their impartiality, justice, and efficiency, their physical and moral fitness, that the due administration of the Empire is entrusted. Upon them, and not immediately upon military force, our strength rests. Any weakening of their influence or deterioration of their efficiency would imply a relaxation of the restraint of Government, and a reversion *pro tanto* to the condition from which the country emerged only when it came into British possession (Ibid.371).

In the closing years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the British in India were developing an attitude of hostility to educated Indians. The title ‘babu’, which was one of some prestige among Indians, was picked up by the British and applied to members of the rising educated class with an implication that they were subtle and untrustworthy and cowardly. The less educated people of the Punjab were thought more worthy of respect—more violent, it might be, but certainly more straightforward. The British rulers had grown to see themselves as defenders of the great Indian peasant majority, and now saw themselves as resisting two dangers to their charges. There was still the need to maintain peace and security, expressed by H.G. Wells in his reference to the native ruler in the north-west who said that if the British left India “in six months not a rupee or a virgin would be left in Lower Bengal” (quoted in Lloyd, 1989: 234). At the same time there was a fear that simply maintaining the peace would mean that the peasants would fall into the hands of lawyers and moneylenders, and there was some foundation for this fear. During the eighteenth century anarchy in India loans had not been secure and under Indian customary law land was very hard to mortgage, so the riskiness of lending may have justified interest rates of 48 per cent and more (Watson, 1896: 372). British law and order made money-lending

much safer in the nineteenth century, but interest rates did not drop, and one result of this situation was a notable breach in the barriers of caste: the money-lending caste quadrupled in numbers in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. The Civil Service saw the danger that peasants would run into financial difficulties and forfeit their land as one of the results of the rise of the educated Indians, and it was clear enough that, of the two threats to the Indian peasants, many of the British felt less hostility to the men of the frontier than to the educated men of the city.

In his novel Kim, Kipling tried to paint a picture of northern India from Lahore to Benares that took British rule for granted and paid no attention to ideas of internal change that shackled and shattered the British colonial complacency at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century following the Indian mutiny of the 1857. This anxiety was apparent in his erasure or rather denial of any reference to the event characterising British-India of the 1880s and 1890s mostly the nascent national movement, a fact I shall try to further with more explanation in the following chapters of this dissertation.

## **2-The historical background of Algeria between 1870 and 1900:**

According to A. Tocqueville, “there are two ways to conquer a country. The first is to submit its inhabitants to dependency and rule over them directly or indirectly; such is the English rule in India. The second is to place the indigenous people by the conquering race” (quoted in Haddour, 2000: 5). In fact, France opted for the latter in its colonial conquest of Algeria. The doctrine of assimilation intended to replace the colonized with European settlers by expropriating the colonized property. Without such expropriation, colonial settlements in Algeria would not have been possible. Many historians agree that the ‘pied-noir’ society owed its existence to the ideological manoeuvre of this doctrine.

Indeed, until the 1870’s, Algeria was a department of the Ministry of War governed by military personal. Created in 1841, the Bureau Arabe helped the military enact three strategies: the *cantonnement*, the *resserrement* and the *refoulement*. Not only did these repressive strategies work to expropriate land and push the indigenous tribes into segregated areas, but they allowed Algeria to be parcelled into three distinct zones: civil, mixed and military. The civil zone comprised all of the ‘*communes de plein exercice*’ which were endowed with French civil institutions and were chiefly inhabited by European settlers. The ‘*communes mixtes*’ were predominantly inhabited by the indigenous population and were policed by colonial administrators. The military zone was confined to the *territoires du sud*. The *indigénat*, a regime of exception, was first introduced into Kabylia after the Mokrani rebellion in 1874; it was implemented in the *territoires du sud* in 1878, and was then extended to the rest of the country. Ratified by the 1880 law, the *indigénat* came to be known as the *code algérien de l’indigénat*, an exorbitant code in complete contradiction with the practices of French civil institutions and common law in that it invested colonial administration—i.e., agents of colonial repression, military and

police personnel—with judicial and disciplinary power. This meant the concentration of power in the authority of these administrators. Consequently, the colonized could not have recourse to justice which was abused by these administrators.

Louis Bertrand's mythic representation of '*l'Afrique Latine*' embodies the French assimilationist doctrine as stipulated by the senatus-consult of the 1863 and of 1865 but also Warnier project of 1873 which worked to expropriate the colonized and deny them subject status. The senatus-consult of 22 April 1863 intended to put an end to the political abuses of the *cantonnement* and protect what remained of the property of the native tribes. It declared that this property was inalienable, and a new administrative district, the *douar*, was created in order to break the social structures of society. The senatus-consult aimed at indexing the property of each tribe, and at turning the communal ownership of this property into individual privatized property. In fact, two grim consequences emerged. Firstly, the administrative reforms accelerated the disorganization of the social structures of traditional life and the collapse of its political economy. Secondly, the senatus-consult facilitated the expropriation of seven hectares of the most fertile land. Under the pretext of delimiting the public domain, it implemented spoliation on a massive scale. The Loi Warnier 1873 'Frenchified' what remained of the landed property by handing the *fellah* over to unscrupulous speculators (Nora, 1961:89) Indeed, French laws succeeded only in expropriating and ruining the *fellahs*.

The second senatus-consult of July 1865 stipulated that the Arabs and Berbers were subjects; it allowed them to apply for French citizenship, with the proviso or the condition that they follow the French code and renounce their 'personal status', namely their Muslim identity. In reality, the offer of citizenship amounted to nothing: the Muslims would not renounce their cultural identity; moreover, the applications for citizenship met with an unfriendly reception and hostile response from the colonial administrators. The debates in

the corps legislative of 1870 favoured the institution of a civil regime because it seemed to be in the best interests of the European settlers and the indigenous people (Confer, 1960:6). But while the decree of June 1870 provided that the *conseils généraux* would be selected by Europeans, Jews, Arabs and Berbers, suffrage for the latter two categories of people was in fact repealed by the decree of 28 December 1870, on the basis that it violated “the principle of public law by conferring the right of suffrage and candidature upon persons who were not native-born or naturalized French citizens” (Ibid.p.7). The same government, however, passed the Crémieux laws of 24 October 1870 granting full citizenship to the Algerian-born Jews. What is important to stress here is that “at the fall of the second Empire, the Muslim majority in Algeria remained only French subjects under the *senatus-consulte* of 14 July 1865, and acquired neither citizenship nor most of the civil rights that pertained to that status” (Ibid.p.7). The Muslims and the Jews were subjected to different treatment. The Jews were considered as more ‘assimilable’ than the Muslims. The Jews, unlike the Muslims, had not to renounce their religious laws to obtain legal citizenship. A fact which was interpreted as a stratagem working in effect to prevent the Muslim’s naturalization viewed as a political threat to colonization and its political economy.

The involvement of the *senatus-consult* of 1863 and 1865 in furthering and enhancing the French colonial settlement and its establishment in Algeria by expropriating the colonized property must be emphasized. Azzedine Haddour in his book Colonial Myths: History and Narrative pointed to the fact that:

to conceive of these laws as ‘failed’ projects is to obscure the fact that they were never intended to achieve their announced political target. They purported neither to protect the property of the colonized nor to grant them citizenship. In fact, they were very effective politically: both laws succeeded in denying the colonized subject status; both worked to implement the assimilation of the land and the exclusion of its colonized proprietors (Haddour,2000:6).

In the 1870s, after the Prussian War and the defeat of Mokrani, colonial property was offered to French settlers from the two French departments Alsace and Lorraine, which were lost to Germany but also to settlers from Spain, Italy, Malta, Minorca... Indeed, these events set the pattern for the long-term French colonization of Algeria that was to become a 'colonie de peuplement'. The 1884 law automatically naturalized all children of European origin born in Algeria, thus creating the so-called 'French Algerian' community (Nora, 1961: 83). The doctrine of assimilation (naturalization) provided an ideology both to cement over national and cultural differences within the conquering race and to define its identity. Secondly, according to the 1891 census, there were: 271,100 French, 218,301 Europeans, 47,564 Jews and 3,554,067 Arabs and Berbers (Gourdon et al, 1974:34). The demographic growth of the indigenous people signalled for the first time a political reality the settlers could no longer ignore (Ibid.p.38). France's colonial calculus in Algeria did not add up, and the politicians felt for the first time that significant political concessions to the natives could no longer be delayed if France were to maintain its political influence in Algeria.

Up to 1870, ethnography as a mode of knowledge was predominant in colonial Algeria, for it was the instrument by and through which tribes could be located politically, geographically, and socially. The ethnography of the Arab Bureau entertained a dialectical relationship to its politics. On the one hand, it intended to order the colonial condition, to rule in a certain way that would assure a dominion that was not only less onerous but even more profitable to the colonial enterprise. On the other hand, it reproduced a representation of the Berber as a primitive European, opposed—like the Christian European—to the Arab by his race, his religion, and his culture. The scholarship of the Arab Bureau, not only its ethnography, was noticeably statistical and greatly concerned with taking inventories and categorizing native people and their land in an attempt to order what was then an unknown

world for the French. This effort reflects the concern of the colonial state investigating its new territory, intending to open it up to colonization. Yet by 1871, following the crushed Kabyle uprising, there was a sense that ethnographic knowledge failed. It had always depicted the Kabyle as a close ally, when in fact he was no different from the Arab in his so-called hostility to the French. As many historians argued, the crushing of the Kabyle uprising, the fall of the Second Empire, and the rise of a civilian regime gave free rein to the champions of the “Frenchification” of Algeria.

The event of 1871, which consisted of a serious uprising against the French presence in Algeria, became the marker of a new phase of politics, policies, and epistemology. Before 1871, Algeria was inhabited by Arabs and Berbers whose reality was constructed mostly—but not exclusively—by ethnographic work. After 1871, there was a need not only to historically rethink the opposition, but also to make a historical place for the settlers in Algeria. In other words, Algeria was Arab and Berber, and both were in subordination to more politically important actors—the settlers. From 1871, what became most important for French civilian administrators, scholars, and their sympathizers was history as the means of generating a new understanding of what Algeria was and how its inhabitants were created. The settlers needed to find themselves in a past that seemed only Arab and Berber. More importantly, if the settlers championed a policy of colonization—that is, of settling the land—there was the need to make this settlement legitimate and real.

In any event, after the great uprising of 1871, the civil regime soon developed its own institutions and produced its own intellectual authorities to make a narrative that explained, ordered, and accounted for the colonial situation. It was within one of the most respected, the most productive of these institutions that the project of transforming *L'Histoire des Berbères* into another colonial narrative was carried out to produce a version that was supposedly more accurate about Algeria and its inhabitants (in Hannoum, 2008: 93). This

institution was the *Société archéologique de Constantine*. Founded in 1853, it was initially under military control but gradually came to be dominated by civilians. Its motto was *Collecter, Présérvé, Décrire* (to gather, to preserve, to describe). But what the society intended to gather, preserve, and describe were the Roman characteristics of North Africa. It intended to make North Africa, historically, a European territory. The institutional organ of this society was devoted more to historical writings than to ethnographic research, and more to the Roman antiquity of Africa than to its Arab or Turkish past. Whereas almost 80 per cent of the society's production was devoted to antiquity, especially Roman, only 10 per cent was devoted to the so-called indigenous population (Ibid: 94).

In fact, to have a civilian regime meant that the land (not the people) was an extended part of France. Whereas, for the military regime, Algeria was seen as a colony—with a population to reckon with, control, rule, but also protect against the avidity of the settlers and, if necessary, against itself—the civilian regime saw Algeria as a French territory: not a colony, not an Arab kingdom, but rather an inseparable part of France. The conquest gave France this right, but so also did history. This is why history became—with the establishment of the civilian regime—an important means by which to build a colonial state. As Bernard Cohn puts it, “the establishment and maintenance of these colonial nation states depended upon determining, codifying, controlling, and representing the past” (Cohn, 1996:3). Indeed, the goal of the civilian colonial administration was not only to know the region, to proceed by inventory, and categorize its peoples and its goods, but also to dismiss the idea—so resented and resisted—of Algeria as an Arab kingdom, and replace it with the idea of a Roman—and therefore a European, and more specifically a French—North Africa. The point was to show, or rather to let the past show, that Algeria, and by extension North Africa, was neither Arab nor foreign to France. It was part and parcel of French history and territory precisely because it was Roman. The historiography of the

civilian regime was indeed articulated to conform to the need of the new colonial policy. It was the strongest means by which Algeria was integrated into France. Yet, talk of such integration was meant for the land. As for its people, the policy of integrating Algeria into France also employed techniques of exclusion. For while the land was made French, its local populations were set apart by their different relations to France—the Arab in relation to enmity, and the Berber in relation to subordination and inferiority.

Indeed, the French laws assigned to the colonized the subject position of a subaltern, an add-on to be excluded. The first settlers established a specific definition of assimilation which never meant the assimilation of the colonized people but the expropriation of land. The ‘*colons*’ tried to alter or ‘congeal’ history for their benefit by denying the colonized the subject status and by compartmentalizing and segregating the nation into a French Algeria which enjoyed the rights of political citizenship and a native Algeria to which these rights were denied.

Indeed, from 1900 onwards, two doctrines came to determine the political future of colonial Algeria. Firstly, the doctrine of assimilation meant the ‘desegregation’ and ‘naturalization’ of the colonized, that is to say, the ‘neutralization’ of their originary, cultural and ethnic differences and their ‘integration’ into French culture. Secondly, the doctrine of association promoted the principle of different, segregated people working together in mutual respect of their cultural differences. These two doctrines which were often confused and used interchangeably, provided an ideology both to cement over national and cultural differences within the conquering race and to define its identity.

Indeed, Bertrand’s work *Le Sang des Races* with its racially indorsed discourse which viewed the French Algerians, what was termed the ‘pieds noirs’ or ‘néo-Français’ by many historians, as the ‘véritable fils du pays’ is the outcome, the result of these changes which occurred in Algeria from the 1850’s onwards.

Anglo-India and French-Algeria at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were characterized, as shown above, with instability. Indeed, the colonies witnessed events which necessitated the imperial powers i.e. Britain and France to redefine their relationships towards them. The Sepoy Mutiny and the El Mokrani's rebellion shacked the complacency of the British and French imperial powers and made them to change their policies to be more authoritarian. The set of laws which followed aimed to undermine the native population and to deny them the subject status but mostly to consider the settlers as the legitimate natives and the rightful citizens. Accordingly, Kipling's Kim and Bertrand's Le Sang des Races are to be read as documents which chronicled the period. The understanding of which necessitates a parallel and an overall analysis I propose to carry in the following chapters.

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**CHAPTER TWO:**

**ANGLO-INDIANS AND FRENCH-ALGERIANS AS THE NATIVES OF ANGLO-INDIA AND FRENCH-ALGERIA (THE CASE OF KIM AND LE SANG DES RACES).**

## **I-Anglo-Indians and French-Algerians as Natives of Anglo-India and French-Algeria:**

New historicism is held to be the most prominent indication of a return to history and politics in literary studies. It enables, critics maintain, to construct a political history out of literary texts for it provides a sense of how a text participates in sustaining the social order, and joins with other texts to form a discourse which contains **subversion** effectively by representing it, and controlling it within a defined and limited system of representation. In this sense, new historicism plays a vital role of **situating literary texts in a network of power relations revealing the political acts and historical functions of those texts.**

The idea of ‘imagined communities’ implies reinventing the colonial selves and identities which is one of the central assumptions and arguments of new historicist analysis. This theory embraces the conception that **identities are fictions which are formulated and adapted through narratives and performances, and that they are formulated and adapted in response to and as a way of interacting with prevailing historical conditions.** No identities are natural, unchanging or true, in other words, or, at least, as H. Aram Veesser described this point, “no discourse, imaginative or archival, gives access to unchanging truths nor expresses inalterable human nature” (Veesser, 1989: xi). Discourse, by which is meant all sign systems and generators of meaning, is the only material subject of study, and therefore the only route to the past, to self, to any form of knowledge. Indeed, this circularity of representations, literary and non-literary, textual, visual, architectural, and so on, is the object (as well as the medium).

In fact, the process of reinventing the colonial self is integral to the machinery and workings of empire at the end of the nineteenth century especially at a time when the “Other” no longer provides suitable locations of imaginative pleasure. “To maintain ‘an epistemic’ hold over empire”, it was held by Behadad, “one must continue to produce the colony as a site of continued regeneration, newness, and affect.” (Behadad, 1994: 75) Simultaneously, the men of the empire also need to be constantly marked as distinct from their counterparts in the mother country, as a

kind of representational playing field on which Englishness or Frenchness as a characteristic can be measured, weathered, and reproduced.

As far as Europe is concerned, every period brought new ideas, social changes, new ways and outlooks of viewing and examining the world, all these resulted in new formations that directed the individual and shaped his/her behaviours. In the nineteenth century, especially in the second half of it, nationalism was a powerful issue. Norman Davies in his *Europe: A History* (1997) classifies Great Britain and France as the example of countries where a kind of nationalism labeled as “state nationalism” was favoured. For the adherents of “state nationalism” which was supported by the upper ruling classes the concept of “nationality” meant “citizenship”. This type of nationalism appeared in Great Britain when “the propagation of the dominant English culture, and the promotion of its loyal Protestant and English speaking servants, gradually consolidated a strong sense of overlaying British identity” (Davies, 1997: 813). In France, it acquired an extended meaning to enclose that feeling of belonging to a nation with a shared heritage of memories and the desire to live together as stipulated by Ernest Renan in his “*Qu’ est-ce-qu’ une nation?*” [ *What is a nation?* ] (1881).

This kind of feeling has its place in *Kim* and *Le Sang des Races* as well. In the former it is reflected in the identity of sahibs, and especially in the descriptions of people who have to solve the questions of their identity. Davies emphasized that government tried to support “state nationalism” by promoting the official culture. If one keeps this idea in mind, the identity of characters such as Kim gains peculiar features as it will be shown later. In the latter it is mainly apparent in the Mediterranean settlers’ identity as Néo-Français which implies the concept of a nation as having a spiritual soul developed by the possession of a heritage of memories and the will to live together.

Apart or besides state nationalism, there is another current that formed the concept of identity of Kipling’s characters as in Bertrand’s. In his essay, “*The World of Rudyard Kipling*”, George

Shepperson points to an amount of racist discourse present in Kipling's days marking his writing. And for Bertrand the "question of race [was] all important" (Bertrand, 1936: 61), according to him: "race is a spiritual and even a metaphysical entity, the originality of which is irreducible and resistant to all intermixing. When adulteration occurs, authority and power pass into other hands. Let us remain Latin to keep the Empire intact" (translation mine) (Ibid.p.218).

These characteristic factors appear in *Kim* through the depiction of Kim and Huree Babu. Both of them clearly display Kipling's understanding of state nationalism and race. In *Le Sang des Races* they are shown through Rafael and the natives' occlusion which reflect clearly Bertrand's concept of *le sang des races*. Each of them displays a conception of identity which obeys to the exigencies of the empire at a time which necessitated a redefinition of the relationships of the British and French Empires towards their colonies namely India and Algeria.

To start with Kipling's novel, indeed, the first image we are presented within *Kim* is that of Kim himself, consorting with all the small bazaar boys in 'perfect equality' plays a game with a young Hindu and a Muslim boy. He sits astride the cannon *Zam-Zammah* outside the Lahore Museum, playing a 'King-of-the-castle-game' with his native friends. This scene which is supposedly innocent of adult politics relies on knowledge of British rule in India to activate another level of signification, "who holds the *Zam-Zammah*... holds the Punjab...for it was the first of the conqueror's loot" (Kipling, 1994:1). The *Zam-Zammah* cannon, in fact, features in the historical struggles for dominion over the north of India. Used initially by the Afghans in 1701 to defeat the Hindu Mahratta army, the cannon was again used by the Afghans when Lahore was taken over by the Sikhs. When the Punjab was annexed in 1849, and the Sikhs defeated, the cannon passed into British hands.

The novel's presentation of Kim's game carries imperialist overtones referring to the historical realities of the empire: "there was some justification for Kim...*since the English held the Punjab and Kim was English*" (italics mine) (Ibid. p. 1). Kim overwhelms his friends and

kicks them as they fight for control of the old artillery. The narrator links the child's action with that of his historical and imperial counterparts. The implication is that Kim's ancestors did kick his friend's ancestors off the trunnion and it is the historical significance of such an action that the boy Kim learns as he moves from being a street-wise boy to an imperial spy. In this scene, Kim seems an unproblematic paragon of British triumphalism, his victory suggests his indomitable destiny as a member of the ruling, conquering, white race that does have control over India. He and the Indian boy may be equal boys, but Kim's white heritage makes him the Indian boy's superior.

In the opening paragraphs of the novel, Kim is depicted as little more than a body, a racial essence around which Kipling can begin the work of reconstructing Kim's English identity.

To assure the reader that the body is, in fact, white, the narrator obsessively traces Kim's genealogy. That plotting of genetic inheritance must, unfortunately, deviate through the complicating presence of a half-caste mother and a spendthrift Irish father. Kipling, however, dismisses the woman's claim over Kim and prompts the death of his father to disclose at last the presence of a birth certificate, a document that promises to erase any persistent willingness to read India not as a place in which the English cease to be. From this moment, the birth certificate, which Kim hangs as a fetish around his neck, will act less as a register of his existence than as the parent of his being. The birth certificate, as its eventual reader Mr. Bennett indicates stresses and confirms that Kim "is certainly white". Its paper, ink, archival genealogy, will make a man of him and, by providing Kim with a fixed, archival genealogy, will permit to redeem Englishness from the confusions of empire.

Indeed, white colonial identity is precisely what is at stake, without it neither Kim's unorthodox childhood nor his later occupation as a spy can be understood. For example, the second paragraph reads, "though he was 'burned black', though he spoke Urdu and English only as a second language, though he 'consorted on equal terms' with his native peers, 'Kim was *white*- a

poor white of the very poorest” (Italics mine) (Ibid. p. 1). The narrative accentuates one truth, which goes beyond everything including Kim’s appearance and behaviour, namely that of his belonging to a superior race and colour. In fact this special identity will later serve as a strong argument for his seemingly magical powers: his talents for acting and disguise; his unlimited resourcefulness; his command of verbal invective; his ability to summon up, ‘genie-like’, the protection of powerful others; and his irrepressible will. Kim’s abilities are meant to seem superhuman because the race to which he belongs accounts for this. They cause villagers to wonder about his “superman origins” (Ibid. p. 57), and the lama doubts whether he is “woman born” (Ibid. p. 97). When he resists Lurgan Sahib’s telepathic power, the astonished Lurgan tells him: “You are the first that ever saved himself. I wish I knew what it was that...But you are right. You should not tell that—not even to me” (Ibid. p.207 ). Shortly afterwards, Kim himself boasts of what he calls his “magical gifts”.

It is worth noting that, once Kim’s identity as a pure European is established, he has no problem negotiating the racial and class divide separating the “poor” European (which he is) from the native (both poor and rich) and from upper-class Anglo-Indians, such as Colonel Creighton. As Michael Gorra notes, it is Kim’s “Englishness that makes him at home throughout the subcontinent in a way that no Indian can be” (Gorra, 1997: 639).

Thanks to his ‘super-ethnic belonging’ and his perfect knowledge of the Indian cultural background Kim is deemed “the friend of all the World”, which means that he can adapt different identities according to situations and needs. Indeed, his thorough immersion in the Indian society and familiarity with the different castes, customs and cultural standards give him the capacity to cope with different situations met during his journey with Tresho Lama. This talent of resourcefulness and ability to behave according to the peculiarities and specificities of each caste procures him an exceptional power as a British subject over the natives. At one point, the lama exclaims proudly: “Said I not he was from the other world?” (Kipling, 1994: 51) later

on, it was also said of him that “Where a native have lain down, Kim’s white blood set him upon his feet” (Ibid. p. 65).

Kim’s talents also help him to fulfill the fantasies of infinite mobility that Edward Said has identified with the imperial imagination: the wish that one “do everything, be anything, go anywhere with impunity” (Said, 1987, 42). Said explicitly calls this kind of ambition a “fantasy of omnipotence.” It is worth noting that Kim’s mastery of Hindi language also plays an overriding role. It provides him with the ability to translate and overcome the tremendous handicap that colonial rulers felt in their inability to translate for which they had to depend on the “unreliable” natives. In this way, Kim’s ability to translate represents the colonizer’s acquisition of a highly useful device for the Empire.

It is also worth noting that Kim’s unlimited resourcefulness and ingenuity stem largely from his linguistic proficiency thanks to which he achieves a full understanding and knowledge of India and its cultural and social diversity. Later it serves him to be well versed in his career as a sahib as it provides him with the means of interacting with the natives to get a detailed and thorough knowledge of their ways of thinking, behaving and living and thus better commanding and controlling them.

The facility and the efficiency with which Kim uses the Hindu language is made apparent in his ability to use it in different contexts to serve specific ends like that of concealing his British identity which in turn serves to get information needed in his imperial mission. Also his linguistic skill is shown in his natural leaning to think and to quote proverbs as natives. One can discern the special relationship between civility and language in *Kim*, especially in—the way Kipling narrates Kim’s strategic relationship with two different languages—the master language, English, and the local Urdu dialect (the “vernacular”) he speaks in the company of his fellow Indians. Kim’s relationship with languages- and his bilingualism- becomes an important marker of his European civility, one guaranteed both by his remarkably effortless ability to pick up

English like a “Sahib” at a missionary school and by his hold over the local Urdu, a language he uses with a kind of playful dexterity.

Kipling constantly distinguishes the moments and marks the shifts between these languages, especially when he describes Kim speaking one language while “thinking” in another. For example, Kim when conversing with Lurgan Sahib shifts from thinking in Hindi (Urdu) to thinking in English:

So far Kim had been thinking in Hindi, but tremor came on him, and with efforts like that of a swimmer before sharks, who hurls himself half out of the water, his mind leaped up from a darkness that was swallowing it and look refuge in—the multiplication-table in English! (Ibid.pp.205-206)

Because of this talent, Kim is able consciously to choose between the two languages, and, despite the changing situations in which he finds himself, his fluency in the vernacular does not in any way diminish his ability to recognize standard English even when he avoids speaking it. Kim’s special European identity is also assured by the fact that, although he often embraces the vernacular—described as the language of the “native born, mixed with quaint reflections” - his efforts are always the result of his conscious decision to “translate” from it. Unlike the baboo’s inflated language, Kim’s translation is never dissonant; on the contrary this particular competence to “shift speech” endows him with an air of “authenticity” that he uses strategically to project the vernacular. Capable of “remember[ing] with both kinds of faces” (Ibid. p. 192), Kim is always in control of each shift in language as effectively as he can deploy the power of his civility to prove to the world that he is essentially a sahib.

From the very fact of Kim’s whiteness, Kipling attempts to argue, to reassert not precisely that Kim is English but, almost as valuably, that Kim is, or can be made into a sahib. Indeed, sahibdom emerges as the middle step in the passage from whiteness back to Englishness. If Kim is white, Kipling’s argument goes, then he can be turned into a sahib; and if he is turned into a sahib, then he can be made into an Englishman; and if he is done into English, then the text can at last answer the question with which it has been tormenting itself: “Who is Kim?” (Ibid.p. 248).

The text's question is met by a safety net which renders certain circularity in information: whiteness and sahibdom are the outstanding truth of race that account for one ultimate fact namely that of Englishness. In other words, one must be white in order that one may acquire the cultural behaviour of a Sahib, the 'residual' truth of Englishness.

The invention of Kim as a sahib begins at the moment in which the Chaplains of the Mavericks. Mr. Bennett and Father Victor read his birth certificate and deduce that this piece of writing, and not Kim's blackened skin or his vernacular discourse, encodes the true text of his identity. The documents found prove that Kim's white ancestry is beyond doubt, they confirm his status as a white man and indicate that he, unlike other brown boys, is worthy of priest's attention. As soon as Kim's ancestry is accepted, colour is invoked by Father Victor as the reality behind his appearance. Kim is revealed as truly white: "You see, Bennett, he's not very black" (Ibid. p. 117). Bennett who had formerly dismissed him with "little boys who steal are beaten", now alters his tone: "It is possible I have done the boy an injustice. He is certainly white...I am sure I must have bruised him" (Ibid. p. 118). Obviously, a racial truth determines all other truths of language, power and culture.

Kim is made the emblem of British authority and in order to avert a misconception of his identity because of his being culturally Indian and naturally British, the author stresses Kim's Englishness wherever possible. Subsequently, the narrative voice always intervenes to remind the reader about Kim's racial identity. According to the text Kim is instinctively British, despite his total lack of British fostering and so it is not surprising that because of the white blood in his veins "Kim felt all the European's lust for flesh-meat" (Ibid. p. 262) or that his horror of the serpent is represented as a typical western response: "I hate all snakes. No native training can quench the white man's horror of the serpent" (Ibid. p. 62). Narrative intervention also accounts for the humour of mistaken identities as Kim's restlessness in the heat of the afternoon prompts him to take a stroll. In this scene, a native escort's disgust at Kim's foolish behaviour prompts

him to remark: “Only the devils, and the English walk to and fro without reason” (Ibid. p. 107). The joke arising from the reader’s privileged information is that Kim is, of course, English. When Kim kisses the woman of Shamlegh, the author comments on the woman’s amazement saying: “Kissing is practically unknown among Asiatics, which may have been the reason that she leaned back with wide-open eyes and a face of panic” (Ibid. p. 352). By means of these statements Kipling makes it clear that one can become a sahib only by birth and that nothing can change this racial truth. He articulates this view by saying: “Once a Sahib, always a Sahib” (Ibid. p. 145) which means that a native, whatever the conditions are, will remain a native throughout his life.

Indeed, Kim’s art of disguise, his ability to infuse within the natives and pass for one of “them” make him the type of persons needed for Empire building and holding. The white officials like Colonel Creighton view in him a potential to be used in service of the state, this explains his interest in Kim’s education when he recommends sending him to St Xavier. This latter is made for teaching the white subjects the basic principles or ethos regarding the “superiority” of the Anglo-Saxon race, namely those of order, discipline and regulation. These disciplines include mathematics, map-making and elementary surveying which would contribute for the formation of efficient servants of the state, the sahibs. Despite Kim’s disinterestedness in school, a strict academic curriculum—an aspect of learning that was an indispensable part of every well-bred Englishman’s training and essential for governing the empire through formal rules—is imposed on Kim. St. Xavier’s, which aimed primarily at the children of the Anglo-Indian servants, becomes the perfect place for Kim. For, as Moss says, “the boys at school, besides learning mathematics and trigonometry, were shaped by direct contact with the joys and dangers of the Indian Frontiers... [Here] the Anglo-Indians... [learn to] carry on the heroic, day to day business of maintaining the Empire” (Moss, 1982: pp. 89-90). In this school, where “every tale... mixed with quaint reflections, borrowed... from native foster-mothers, and turns of

speech that showed that they had been instantly translated from the vernacular” (Kipling, 1994: 141). Kim is trained to process the native culture. This arrangement of Kim’s education is Kipling’s way of providing Kim with the necessary tools for his imperial enterprise. For, a bicultural knowledge authorizes him to manipulate and control the natives, a thing which, as Colonel Creighton communicates, is important for a sahib:

Thou are a Sahib and the son of a Sahib. Therefore, do not at any time be led to contemn the black men. I have known boys newly entered into the service of the Government who feigned not to understand the talk or customs of black men. Their pay was cut for ignorance. There is no great sin so great as ignorance. Remember this (Ibid. p. 160).

According to Kipling, the lack of dealing with the natives in their own language and manners would damage the white man’s authority. His confident vision of eternal British rule in India thus crucially depends upon the ability of the British rulers to obtain sufficient knowledge of the Indian situation and the hybrid boy is the instrument for accessing to that knowledge. From the beginning we see Kim learning about diverse Indian ways through his friendship with Mahbub Ali for whom he “executed commissions by night on the crowded housetops” (Ibid. p. 29), his travels with the holy Lama, and interaction with the natives during his travels. Mahbub Ali initiates Kim into the “great game” of the secret service. The spiritual Lama provides him with a sense of maturity and shows him “other and better desires upon the road than to be a king”. Lurgan, the dealer of Simla, trains Kim in various memory games and prepares him for espionage work. And Kim’s own curiosity for learning, keen sense of observation and spirit of adventure instill in him, what Robert Moss calls, the qualities of “self-reliance and resourcefulness” (Moss, 1982: 83). By learning to manipulate people to his own advantage, Kim manages to earn his living and procure food for the Lama and himself. His early exposure to natives and their customs teaches him the subtleties of Indian life: he knows the “breed” of farmers of the land; he understands the distinctions of caste and realizes that the Lama is the

“most holy of the holy men” because he is “above all castes.” Kim learns about the “many-armed and malignant” Hindu Gods who need to be left alone; is careful not to irritate...a Sikh for his temper is short and his arm quick” (Kipling, 1994: 85); wonders “since when the hill-asses (Paharis) owned all Hindustan”; knows that even Rajahs of “good Rajput blood... sell the more comely of their womenfolk for gain” (Ibid. p. 94) and that the Sansis meant deep pollution also the Sikh’s love money...etc.

In *Kim*, Kipling equates knowledge with power which is a key concept of new historicism. This theory privileges **power relations** as the most important context for texts of all kinds. The way in which literary texts or forms can be co-opted to serve as tools in the construction of power is a central focus for new historicist work. In fact the term ‘power’, which usually refers to the relations of domination and resistance which saturate social, political and cultural relations, is borrowed from Foucault when he claims that “**power is everywhere not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere**” (Foucault: 1981, 93).

Kim’s grasp of Indian life teaches him the process whereby he knows its strengths and weaknesses; to react with cleverness when the situation demands, appropriate the useful and dismiss the rest. For instance, Kim wears his Indian cloths to merge with the natives “when there... [is] business or frolic afoot” (Kipling, 1994: 10). So well-versed is he with the Indian ethos that when the need arises, he even- as mentioned above-learns to “think” [let alone speak] in the vernacular. The hybrid Kim serves to mediate cross-cultural colonial relations occupying a ‘middle ground’ between the colonizers as European and the colonized as non-European. This ‘in-betweenness’ or ‘twonness’ implies a cunning strategy which was adopted by the British government in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed, the English colonial authorities in India were faced with a problem of how to cope with the burgeoning claim of the natives for self-government. To overcome this problem, the English state adopted a new policy based on the control of the educational system, by giving English training to the natives and preparing them to

serve England and her imperialists interests. Lord Macaulay's *Minute on Indian Education* which argues for the introduction of English as a means for improvement won the day and was shortly followed by Lord Bentinck's English Education Act of the 1835 which in its turn formalized the teaching of English literature and science to natives. The goal of this programme of cultural eugenics was, in Macaulay's words, the formation of "a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect" (quoted in Bhabha 1994:124-5).

In *Kim*, Kipling reflects this policy through both Kim and Huree Babu who are both bred or raised in local culture and trained by English agents to be recruited into the British Secret Service in order to spy on anti-British forces and to collect ethnographic records about Indian geography and ethnic groups for the extension of British rule. However, Kipling discredits and disqualifies the Babu in favour of Kim who is deemed within the colonialist chain of command better entitled to the imperial maneuver of the interpreter because of his racial belonging which would strengthen rather than endanger the state affairs. By making Kim both a "participant observer" and a "native informant" Kipling insures the hero's full integration into the English ruling class and makes the elements of native culture embedded in his identity serviceable to the English interests. In their essay which entitles "*The Economy of Desire and Power in Colonial and Postcolonial Juvenil Fictions: or Education and Identity in Rudyard Kipling's Kim and Ayi Kwe Armah's The Healers*", B. Riche and A. Guendouzi have made the point explicit:

Kim's identity becomes the site wherein the conflictual economy of colonial discourse, what Edward Said in Orientalism describes as the tension between the synchronic demands for essential identity and the diachronic, counter-forces of historical change, takes place. Kipling resolves this conflict by creating a prototype of a new imperial breed, who is simultaneously native-born and bred individual and English trained and obedient administrator. This new imperial breed is a product of imperial desire and imagination. It rejects all kinds of racial miscegenation and calls for colonial mimicry as an elusive and effective strategy of knowledge and domination (Riche and Guendouzi, 2008:8).

In the novel, Kim is an excellent ‘mimic man’ who is made to feel that he alone can be a native as successfully as he is a sahib. Homi Bhabha in his *Location of Culture* defines colonial mimicry as: “the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as *a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite*.... [it] is constructed around an ambivalence; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference” (italics mine) ( Bhabha,1994: 31) . Indeed, the project of native impersonation in *Kim* seems to point not to the ambivalence but rather to the self-possession and single-mindedness of colonial discourse as it also seems to open up a different set of ontological and positional possibilities reformulating the tropes of mimesis, mimicry, fluidity, and exchange. In fact, when Kim assumes his disguise, he seems to do it with the fullest faith in his ability to conquer and control the natives. In this context one can notice that Kipling dismisses that kind of ‘menace resident’ mimicry latent in “the difference that is almost the same, but not quite” in favour of a truncated version of mimicry which is “a difference that is almost nothing but not quite” (Ibid.p.131).

The miming of nativeness is an imperative in several colonial texts. The staging of cultural identity in nineteenth century British India mainly that of staging of the white man as simultaneously invisible and inscrutable is intimately tied to the production of the native as a scrutable object. And the easy transition between varied identities underwrites imperialism’s avowal of faith in a stable and coherent self which might be expected to follow by the logic of imperialism that the native self is, like all the blank or dark spots on the map, a void, an unscribed and infinitely malleable space which can be made over the image of the colonizer.

Subsequently, Kim acts as a cultural and lingual translator not only for the colonizers, but also for the indigenous. Only the unknowable India justifies the presence of the British, so Kim, who helps the colonizers cross the boundaries between themselves and the colonized, makes India knowable. His ability to serve both cultures makes Kim feel comfortable in India despite being presented as English. Michael Gorra observes that through Kim’s identity, Kipling suggests that

one must not know England to be comfortable in India, because Kim's Englishness remains tenuous throughout the novel, and this very Englishness makes him at home in India in a way that no Indian can be (Gorra, 1994: 632). A character like Kim is much needed for the British to make India controllable. Although he represents Englishness in the novel; he is unaware of England and does not belong anywhere, which makes him more obedient.

Kim's enthusiastic and willing subordination to English rule leads us to discuss the way in which Kipling represents the process of his hero's subjectivity formation. In fact, the ideological frames within which identities are formed are inextricably bound up with ideas about subjectivity defined by Robyn Mc Callum in his *Ideologies of Identity in Adolescent Fiction: The Dialogic Constitution of Subjectivity* as: "that sense of a personal identity an individual has of her/his self as distinct from other selves, as occupying a position within society and in relation to other selves and as being capable of deliberate thought and action" (Mc Callum, 1999, 4). Identity is formed in dialogue with the social discourses, practices and ideologies constituting the culture which an individual inhabits.

Kim's subjectivity is constructed through a process of interchangeability or fusion between the Indian and the British education which are elementary to his self-conception. His birth and growth in a native background proffers him an Indian identity. On the other hand, his whiteness accounts for his European origin which the text accentuates above all other realities. This fact creates within him a crisis about his real identity and belonging. Several times in the text a recurrent question seems to pester his life: "who is Kim, Kim, Kim?" (Kipling, 1994: 248). Kim explicitly questions his identity, although he is represented as English and white. He cannot determine his cultural place. He serves loyally British colonialism, and maintains a sahib's status while remaining "a graceful child of the bazaars and the rooftops" (Said, 1987: 8). A fact which underlies an inner struggle that is characteristic to adolescence usually thought of as a period

during which notions of selfhood undergo rapid and radical transformations. Commenting on Kim's 'conflictual' situation Ali Behdad asserted:

The desire for self-exoticism consists of both a mimetic code of identification with the exotic Other (i.e. "Thou art that") and a differential or negative mode of identification (i.e. "I am not the Other" the Other being the 'not-I'). The marginalized natives as photographic props mediate the colonizer's identity as "exotic"—the British colonizer wanting to look "different" from the British back home in England—while the colonizer's pensive gaze conveys an unexpected, even violent flash of uncertainty that undermines his or her self-assured, confident pose (Behdad, 1994:75).

One of the sarcastic remarks about Kim is on his ability to lie "like an Oriental". Despite that, Kipling clearly aligns him with British authority, but is somehow situated on both sides of the power divide. In fact, mimicry and exchange which are keys to the Great Game answer Kim's questions about his own identity by folding him into the magic of British national omnipotence:

Well is the Game called great! I was four days a scullion at Quetta, waiting on the wife of the man whose book I stole. And that was part of the Great Game. From the South-God knows how far-came up the Mahratta, playing the Great Game in fear of his life. Now I shall go far into the North playing the Great Game. Truly, it runs like a shuttle throughout all Hind... and I am Kim- Kim- Kim- alone- one person- in the middle of it all (Kipling, 1994: 299).

The cultural hybridity fed into Kim's identity makes him able to lead a double life, which represents English power and a deep knowledge of Indian life. He is identified "both with the colonizer and the colonized, and he is both of them" (Randall, 1996: 84). As a matter of fact, this special identity makes him such a prodigal son, an imperialist device who becomes the ideal agent and subject of the state. Kipling never raises the question of a political conflict between Kim's dual identities. He leaves Kim as a boy, so that the reader's inevitable expectation that he would grow up to struggle for independence is turned down. He may shift identities, but he always stays an in-between character in service of the British crown.

In fact, the above analysis has shown that the identity conceived for Kim is quite obedient and responsive to the political and historical events characterizing British-India in the turn of the century. The eponymous hero Kim is an obvious instance of the construction of the colonial

subject whereby authenticity and mimicry are interplayed to show the colonizer's privilege of complex subjectivity and movement between subject positions. Kipling made the Anglo-Indians through Kim to act as the true insiders of India forging for them a collective identity which saved their precarious situation after the 1875 mutiny.

Another text with which Kipling's *Kim*—as we have pointed to before— is engaged in the same imperialist discourse of the colonizer's identity concerns Bertrand's *Le Sang des Races*. This novel, though through a different elaborated approach or myth, conceives and shares the same creed about the colonizer as the true and legitimate citizen of the colony under hegemony.

The process of imagining and establishing a collective identity is a multifaceted process entailing, among other features, the elaboration of foundational myths through the selective use of memory. Bertrand's texts constantly sought to excavate the historical past for the author's ideological purposes in defining the new Latin Africa. In his preface to *Le Sang des Races*, Louis Bertrand cleared the ground for the so-called Latin races (anyone from the northern shores of the Mediterranean) to be the focal point of the narrative. He carefully introduces the reader to the doctrine of "Latin Africa", an attempt to create a historical and cultural identity for the new race he imagined forming in Algeria, in a fusion of Mediterranean immigrants building a new country under French political and cultural leadership.

Bertrand, passionately believed that the Roman occupation had fundamentally Latinized North Africa; the Roman precedent of sending " Latins" to colonize foreshadowed the French colonial project. In declaring that: "la véritable Afrique, c'est nous, nous les Latins, nous les civilisés" [We are the true Africa, we the Latins, we the civilized], he included the groups which made up the majority of the European population of Algeria: Spaniards, Provençaux, Languedociens, Corsicans, Baltic Islanders, Maltese, Sicilians, and mainland Italians. However, he explicitly excluded ethnic groups he considered undesirable or moribund: the Jews, and "l'ennemi commun, le musulman, qu'on a eu la sottise de laisser vivre alors qu'il fallait l'exterminer sans pitié" [the common enemy, the Muslims, whom we were stupid enough to let live, when we should have exterminated them pitilessly] (quoted in Ricord, 1947: 89). The former group of

European immigrants were thought of as the “true” *Algériens*, as opposed to the Arabs and Berbers who were excluded from the hoped-for racial fusion.

Before setting the ground for the protagonist Rafael the son of a Spanish immigrant to appear and to embody the mythical identity Bertrand conceived for the settlers, the author first provides a rich background for what he called the “*nouveaux débarqués*” to justify their presence and settlement in Algeria. In the opening chapter, he purposefully underlines the fact that those who came fleeing famine and misery are far from being invaders or outsiders, but are rather the ‘rightful inheritors’ of Algeria which was a Latin province of Rome. They are the descendants of the ancient Latins who now come to reclaim the legacy of their ancestors. Bertrand held in his essay “*l’Eglise d’Afrique*” (that when the barbarians did eventually invade, the elite of the land had emigrated to Italy, to Spain, to Sardinia, to Corsica and to Gaul, taking with them their relics, and the memory of their martyrs. Now the descendants of those very people had returned to reclaim their lost patrimony. It was a spiritual homecoming as much as a physical one. The concept of “*Afrique Latine*” is made from the outset when in the preface of his novels Bertrand juxtaposes the settlers with the Latin heroes:

Dans le voisinage de mes héro, Homère, Pindare, Théocrite vivaient pour moi d’une vie nouvelle, plus profonde, plus splendide et, en même temps, plus humaine. Je retrouvais dans leurs personnages, hommes de guerre ou bergers, quelque chose de l’âme des miens. Ces chantres des marins, des conducteurs de chars, des pugilistes, des bouviers et des patres de Sicile, mettaient un rayon de poésie au font de mes pêcheurs, de mes rouliers et de mes chevriers africains...en ces temps ou l’avenir était barré, ou les ennemis de la France la disaient moribonde, cette ardente Afrique dont je courais les routes m’apportait comme un lointain pressentiment de la victoire. Je pensais déjà ce que je n’ai pas cessé de crier depuis: que la France, fatiguée par des siècles de civilisation, pouvait se rajeunir au contact de cette apparente et vigoureuse barbarie...the (Bertrand, 1978 :15)

The epic poems of antiquity, the heroes of Homer, Pindar and Theocritus as stated above acquired for Bertrand a more profound and human meaning through his association with the modern Latins of the Mediterranean. In the characters of the classic epics, in the souls of these

warriors and shepherds, he found something of the souls of his own heroes. The songs of the mariners, charioteers and goatherds of antiquity illuminated his African carters with a ray of poetry. The joy in life and struggle which he felt in the new people of Latin Africa revived for him the atmosphere of the heroic youth of humanity. The verses of the ancient Greek poets affirmed in his mind the lesson of virile energy and confidence in life which he had learned from the rough teamsters of the desert highways. At this time, when the future seemed dark, when the enemies of France said that she was dying, this burning and ardent Africa brought to him a distinct presentiment of ultimate victory for his fatherland. Thus was born the thought which Bertrand has not ceased to proclaim ever since: that France, wearied by centuries of civilization, could renew her youth by contact with the seeming barbarism of the new and vigorous Latin race of Africa.

The attribution of Latin/Roman antecedents to the settlers was a reflection of debates in France concerning the origins of the French nation and its people. From the sixteenth century onward, French historians and scholars interested in the early Middle Ages had adopted either a “Germanist” or a “Romanist” approach in their interpretations. The debate revolved around whether or not the origins of medieval French institutions were Germanic, Celtic, or Roman. During the nineteenth century, questions concerning the racial origins of the French were introduced into the formula. The relationship between the Gauls and the Franks, the poetry of the Celts, and the legacy of Roman Gauls were some of the subtexts of a debate that was as much about French nationhood as about what it signified to be French. The loss of Alsace-Lorraine had accentuated the trend, raising new questions about the meaning of the nation and introducing the problematic of the borderland and its mythologies. In his “*What is a Nation?*” lecture delivered at the Sorbonne in 1882, Ernest Renan declared that a nation was “a soul, a spiritual principle”. Two components were vital to its development, namely “the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories” and “the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the

heritage that one received in undivided form” (Renan, 1991: 83). The concept of a nation as having a spiritual soul developed by the possession of a heritage of memories and the will to live together was one that Bertrand developed to the full.

From the opening pages of *Le Sang des Races* a rejection of oriental tradition which takes Algeria (both landscape and population) as its ethnographic or exotic subject is signaled. Bertrand’s realistic text opens with a sudden immersion in the world of the working-class immigrants of Bab-el-Oued. At the end of the working day in the workshops, quarries, and quays of a burgeoning, thriving Algiers, they recreate an atmosphere of conviviality common to people ‘well set’ in their native land. The Spaniards such as Ramon, Cinto, Cagnéte, Pascualéte represent the first generation of settlers who came to search “le pain blanc sur cette terre d’Afrique” [the white bread in this African land]. These settlers are made to live in Algeria, to behave, and to feel like in their native land. A thing we come to notice when the author commented on their daily lives and habits which are typical to those they used to have when in Spain, their fatherland. No difference is signaled, the Spanish and other immigrants found in Algeria an extension of their homeland, no one feels estranged or alienated as we read in the following excerpt:

Ils s’y étaient établie comme chez eux; ils y avaient retrouvé leurs pays... Le paysage de la montagne, du Faubourg et de la mer était donc pour [eux] une habitude très ancienne. Descendre de la carrière à la tombée de la nuit leur semblait une chose aussi nécessaire que, l’année d’avant, de ramener à pareille heure l’attelage paternel sur la route d’Alcoy ou de Muchamiel. [They settled there as if in their homes; there they found again their country... The mountainous landscape, that of the Faubourg and the sea was for them a very old habit. Coming down from the stone-pit when night falls was for them a necessary thing, they were accustomed to do the same thing, in the same hour the previous year when carrying the paternal team on the way of Alcoy or Muchamiel] (translation mine) (Bertrand, 1978: 20)

Physical labour and courage are made the fundamentals of long-term economic success. It is precisely because these settlers are harsh, vigorous and exploitative that they are presented by Bertrand as the guarantors of France’s successful implantation. In his *History’s Place*, Seth Graebner points to the way these settlers would rebuild France. In fact, Bertrand proposes a

method to forge the cosmopolitan crowd of Piedmontese, Genovese, Valencians, Maltese, Provençaux, and Alsatians into a union recognizable as French and capable of regenerating French ideals, French politics, and the French international image. When gathered in an inn, the author provides a detailed description of those on whom the French renaissance depended, but also those France rejected:

Il y avait là des home de toutes les nation, des terrassiers piémontais, les plus bruyants de tous, avec leurs faces roses de Gaulois aux longues moustaches blondes et leurs yeux bleus. Ils étalaient de grandes bottes et des pantalons de velours aussi larges que des jupes, à coté des cottes de toiles bleue des charpentiers marseillais. Par-ci par-là éclataient les tailloles multicolores des petits charretiers de la Camargue et de la vallée du Rhône, qui gesticulaient entre les larges épaules des Piémontais. Une blouse de Montélimar, déteinte par les lessives et dont les broderies noires s’effaçaient sous la poussière, se démenait avec des gestes amplifiés par les plis. Tous se comprenaient, s’excitaient, s’enivraient de leurs propos, que les Piémontais martelaient de rudes accents toniques. Le vin coulait dans les verres, incendiait les visages et dilatait les yeux.

Plus pacifiques, les hommes du Nord se tenaient à l’écart : c’étaient presque tous des Alsaciens immigrants, des Badois de la Foret-Noire...Pour se distinguer, tous affectaient à l’auberge de ne parler que le français, ce qui faisait rire ceux de Marseille. Il y en avait qu’on interpellait des autres tables, en singeant leur mauvais allemand...Près des Espagnols, il y avait des tables entiers de Maltais, de Napolitains, tous charretiers ou maçons, très à l’aise et parlant haut comme des gens qui sont chez eux. Les Maltais au teint mat et au visage gras caressaient d’or dans leurs oreilles. Mais au fond, les autres les méprisaient à cause de leur sang mélangé et de leur ressemblance avec les Maures et les Juifs.

[There were men present from every nation. The Piedmontese laborers, the noisiest of all, had rosy Gallic faces, long blond mustaches, and blue eyes. They showed off their large boots and velour pants as wide as skirts, next to the blue canvas overalls of the Marseillais carpenters. Here and there the multicolored cummerbunds of the little cart-drivers from the Camargue and the Rhone valley stood out, as their owners gesticulated between the broad shoulders of the Piedmontese. A Montelimar shirt, faded from washing, with black embroidery disappearing under the dust, gestured with movements amplified by the folds. Everyone understood one another as they became excited, drunk on their own words, which the Piedmontese hammered out with heavy stresses. The wine ran in the cups, lighting up faces and dilating eyes.

The more peaceful Northerners kept themselves apart: they were almost all Alsatian immigrants or Badois from the Black Forest...To set themselves apart, all of them affected to speak only French in the inn, which made the Marseillais laugh. There were some whom the others hailed from other tables, imitating their bad German...Near the Spaniards, there were whole tables of Maltese, Neapolitans, and Majorcans, all cart-drivers or masons, very much at ease and speaking loudly like people who feel at home. The Maltese, with chubby, matte-complected faces, stroked their heavy Victor-Emmanuel mustaches. Many had gold earrings. At bottom, however, the others despised them because of their mixed blood and their resemblance to the Moors and the Jews] (quoted in Graebner, 2007: 37)

It is clear that the above description of the Algiers crowd encompasses a hierarchical enumeration which ranks at first rank those who might be considered already French, or at least whom France could claim: those from Montelimar and Marseille merge with Piedmontese and Alsatians. The rest, like the Maltese are devoted less space and they are not allowed to adhere to the Algerian Latins thought of as French or ‘Frenchable’ and merge with them because of their resemblance to the Jews and the Arabs.

Once categorizing and establishing the in-groups of Algeria i.e those whom he gives the right to participation in defining French identity against ones of France’s everlasting out-groups, Bertrand turns his attention to show how to exploit the Latin’s youthful energy for the purpose of rejuvenating France from the periphery inwards. He does so— as it will be shown latter—by canalizing the energy of his picaresque heroes into their work, their families, and ultimately, their new country. For all their attitude of carefree slovenliness and sexual predation, Bertrand’s Latins are nonetheless quite conservative. “Sous ce prétendu barbare” [under this alleged barbarian], he says,

Je découvris peu à peu l’éternel Méditerranéen, avec son goût inéluctable pour les odyssees de la Route et de la Mer, —pour la vie en parade et en beauté, pour le labour harmonieux qui ne brise pas le corps et qui n’avilit pas les âmes, son respect de la famille, du père, de l’enfant, de l’épouse féconde, des rites immémoriaux de la naissance, du mariage, de la mort et de la sépulture, —son sens très vif et très jaloux de l’indépendance et de la valeur individuelle.

[I discovered little by little the eternal Mediterranean, with its inescapable taste for odysseys on the road and the sea, for showy, beautiful living, for harmonious labor which does not break bodies or demean souls, and with his respect for the family, the father, the child, the fertile wife, the immemorial rites of birth, marriage, death, and burial, and with his sharp and jealous sense of independence and individual value] (Ibid.p.15).

Ultimately, Bertrand sums up the interests and ideology of Rafael and his friends as a sort of perennial Mediterranean “Travail, Famille, Patrie” dignified with Latin and Homeric roots.

In fact, Bertrand begins *Le Sang des Races* by placing himself in rigid opposition with the purveyors of colonial nostalgia: “on batissait l’Alger modern” [they were building modern Algiers], declares the narrator, sweeping aside any regret for the old, the picturesque, or,

specifically, the Arab or Islamic. According to the literary critic Madjid El Houssi, Bertrand will instead construct “la legend des colons, bâtisseurs, conquérants et civilisateurs” [the legend of the colons, the builders, conquerors, and civilizers] (El Houssi, 1997:55). Indeed, what Louis Bertrand almost at once perceived in Africa, as he tells us in the introduction to his novel was the silent labor of the men who were clearing the land and putting it under cultivation, draining the marshes, planting vines, and building farms and cities. Such men who are full of life and energy are the ones on whom French rejuvenation depends, so they must be honored and revered. Athletic, ardent and proud, quick to take offence but generous and hardworking, unintellectual but quick-witted and pragmatic, for Bertrand, they were the colony’s staff of life. Unlike the indigenous population they would, due to the vigour and the ebullience of their race, surmount the difficulties of their environment and build the future of the French *patrie*.

The hero Rafael does not emerge in fact until the second chapter of the novel, obviously Bertrand provides an introduction and a chapter to get the reader more immersed in his scheme of things to understand more fully the ideological underpinnings of his novel. Rafael, the son of Ramon, a Spanish immigrant who like his fellowmen left Spain in search for better living conditions, is the representative of the second generation of immigrants but above all the embodiment of the Latin race. But why Bertrand doesn’t represent a French hero instead of a Spanish one? In other words why is it the Spanish saga not the French one which is celebrated in *Le Sang des Races*?

As a matter of fact that Bertrand’s heroes should be Spanish rather than French is not only a reflection of the historical reality with respect to the relative importance of the various settlers groups in Algiers (who came as refugees from Alsace and Lorraine), and the dominance of national groups in various trades (docks, farming, construction...), the critic Dunwoodie points also that it is a product of his reactionary, anti-republican ideology. An ideology common in the settler circle in which Bertrand felt so much at home, and his memoirs reveal the extent to which

the colony was for him a refuge against a France which, he argued, had been since 1789 a nation wallowing self-destructively in decadence and disorder:

Frenchmen cut off the head of the descendant of those who had built France. I could not help reacting to such treason and that sort of national suicide. And more, that infringement of legitimate authority—a serious and deeply unpleasant thing for a young man of Lorraine accustomed to discipline—and the replacement of that established authority by an anarchic tyranny, a barbaric despotism. And finally, that assault by the dregs of society on an exquisite culture (quoted in Dunwoodie, 1998:68).

In addition to the historical reasons, Louis Bertrand confessed in several times his admiration in the Spanish character its gravity, its seriousness, its disdain of useless architectural ornamentation and its profound taste for realities. The Spaniards, in his opinion, are the most realistic of peoples, who even always aspire to keep in touch with those concrete forms which are easily accessible to the mind. The French imagination has often found in the customs and literature of Spain a salutary energizer. Periodically, thinks Bertrand, France has crossed the Pyrenees to recover or to renew her understanding of life:

Aux époques de renouveau, de fougue et d'énergie créatrices, de grandes illusions aussi, nous nous empressons de franchir nos frontières. Et c'est toujours vers le Midi que nous nous tournons, vers l'Espagne et vers l'Italie, comme les terres élues de la passion et de la beauté.

[In times of renewal, of energy and enthusiasm, also of great illusions, we hurried to pass our frontiers. It is always towards the Midi that we turn, towards Spain and Italy, as elected lands of passion and beauty] (Translation mine) (Bertrand, 1936: 65).

Such are the reasons which undoubtedly had led Louis Bertrand to Spain in several visits. This latter had left a clear imprint upon his novels and *Le Sang des Races* is obviously one of them.

From the outset Rafael is depicted as a typical Spanish who embodies the characteristic features of his race. His parents Ramòn and Rosa are among these immigrants who had landed in Algiers driven by hunger from their native village near Alicante, in the south of Spain. His father is the example of that hard working Spanish whose strength is made to appear '*herculéenne*'. Bertrand describes him as displaying the eagerness for gain and "endurance of races whose

energy has long been somnolent.” In spite of what Bertrand calls the characteristic faults of the Spaniards of the colonies; brutality, “*ruse carthaginoise*” and usurious instincts, this race— as have been mentioned above— inspired the respect of the novelist by their endurance as well as by a proud attitude and a certain outer dignity. The text shows how Ramòn’s legendary strength and courage owed him the admiration and respect of others mainly his son. Indeed, Ramòn provides his son Rafael with important elements which forged his identity and made of him the epitome of his community and his race.

The environment in which Rafael grew to puberty is characterized by the domination of the patriarchal figure. Of his mother little information or influence is highlighted. We get to know that Rafael’s childhood was miserably spent in “nursing his sisters and brothers” that his mother incessantly gave birth to:

Elle et Ramòn s’aimaient avec la force de leur chair et la beauté de leur sang. Elle enfantait avec une sorte de fureur, et comme les grandes mères antiques, elle était fière de sa fécondité. [She and Ramon loved each other with the force of their flesh and the beauty of their blood. She gave birth with a sort of rage and as the old grand-mothers she was proud of her fecundity] (translation mine) (Bertrand, 1978: 40).

That is the reason the author stated to let Rafael’s hate the domestic atmosphere and make his soul yearn to freedom and adventure that the road inspires but it is more importantly stressed that the Latin blood which runs in Rafael’s vein lies behind this instinctive appeal towards the exploration of large spaces and lands. Obviously, his father’s trade as a carter stirred his imagination and exerted on him an early influence: “Ce n’était pas tant les jeux qui l’attiraient que la vie des carrières, la beauté des équipages et l’incessant va-et-vient des chariots et des bêtes [He was not as much attracted by the games as by the life of quarries, the beauty of teams and the incessant going and coming of wagons and animals] (Ibid.p.41).

When Rafael grew enough to learn a trade his parents wanted him to be a ‘*bourelhier*’ but the passion he had for carriage soon made his master dismiss him because for him Rafael, who is obsessed with horse and carriage, is good for nothing but to be carter. In fact, this instinctive

leaning was stressed several times before Ramòn was obliged to immerse his son in his trade as this passage discloses:

Tandis qu'il cirait son fil, ou cardait son crin, son imagination voyageait derrière les chariots, parmi les chemins poudreux des carrières, les claquements des fouets, les jurons et les cris. Il reconnaissait les beaux équipages au son des grelots et même au pas des bêtes. L'oreille sans cesse dressée, —dès que l'un deux s'annonçait sur la route, —il courait à la porte pour le voir passer... Cette masse puissante qui s'avançait en ordre, ce gémissement des essieux, ce tapage guerrier des sonnailles et des claquements de fouet faisait bondir le cœur de Rafael. Il nourrissait ses yeux de ce spectacle...Le grand char avait disparu, continuant sa marche tranquille et indifférente vers la ville et la mer, vers les lointains horizons des montagnes et des plaines. Et pendant que ses yeux le cherchaient encore, Rafael sentait les larmes lui gonfler le cœur. Il restait sur le seuil tristement, regardant sa vie tout entière qui s'écrouait.

[When he shined its thread or comb out its hair his imagination traveled behind the wagons, among the dusty roads of the quarries, the cracklings of the whips, the swearwords and shouts. He knew the good equipages from the sound of the bells and even from the steps of the animals. The ear incessantly pricked up,— as soon as one of them emerged in the road—he run towards the door to see it passing...This powerful mass which move forwards in order, this moaning of axles, this warrior's row of bells and the smacks of whips made the heart of Rafael lumping. He nourished his eyes with this spectacle...

The great wagon disappeared moving off in peace as in indifference towards the town and the sea, towards the far horizons of mountains and plains. And when his eyes sought it again, Rafael felt his tears filled his heart. He stayed sadly on the threshold seeing all his life collapsed (Translation mine) (Ibid.p.44).

This is how Bertrand elaborated and introduced Rafael to be a carter not for other reasons but as “il a ça dans le sang” as one of his fellow carters later came to notice because of this over enthusiasm he showed. Carriage for Bertrand seems to be the occupation which would trace Rafael's and through him the settler's destiny to be the masters of the lands they penetrate but also canalize the vigour and macho vitality Bertrand sought to create in the settlers as quintessential to their identity.

It is not thus chance that made Bertrand choose a carter to be the protagonist of the novel. *Le rouliers* for him is a special being, a hero on whom the building of the future of the colony and the glory of the empire depend greatly. That is why he deserves special consideration and attention. Bertrand confesses his admiration in the preface of *Le Sang des Races* saying:

L'Aventure, la route me tentèrent. Le Rouliers qui cheminait sans crainte et sans maître, pendant des lieues et des lieues, des jours et des jours, à travers les

steppes des hauts-Plateau, les sables pleins de surprises et de mirages des régions sahariennes, —qui ravitaillait les village, les fermes, les postes perdues du désert, qui charriait les engins du civilisé par-delà les ultimes confins de la barbarie, les matériaux et les outils qui serviraient à construire les voies nouvelles, les forteresses et les villes futures, —le Roulier m'apparut presque comme un héros, un être de liberté, de gloire et de joie.

[I was lured by the charm of adventure, the delights of the open highway, and the limitless spaces. The carter, travelling without restraint or master for days and nights through the sands and surrounded by the mirages of the Sahara, bringing food to farms, villages and outposts at the confines of the desert, seemed to him to be a sort of hero, enamored of liberty, glory and joy] (translation mine) (Bertrand, 1978:14).

Indeed, the carter in Bertrand's novels is given a mythical investiture and an epic dimension. This is largely linked to the doctrine of "Latin Africa". Undoubtedly, the writer sees in his heroes the reincarnation of the Latin heroes such as *Ulysses*. *Le Sang des Races* is an example of this where a set of characters rejected everything to follow the vocation of carriage which inspires adventure, freedom and the joy of conquest. The critic Peter Dunwoodie in his *Writing French Algeria* has made the point explicit:

Bertrand's novels are an exercise in transposition, a *panégyrique* on conquest in which all qualities of the soldier have been transferred to the settler, which was intended as a colourful, vibrant depiction of a contemporary odyssey in which the rouliers are modern heroes, conquistadors whose bravery and energy correspond both to the economic demands of European expansionism and the intellectual favour enjoyed at the end of the nineteenth century by the cult of energy in the service of national renaissance (Dunwoodie, 1998: 65)

Following the example of his father, Rafael found in cartage a school which forged in him energy and endurance; the basic requirements of success and stirred his spirit of adventure and conquest. Ramòn, his father and teacher, worked hard to implement the values of hard work and perseverance and provided him with the example of courage and love of work and action. Several times in the novel Rafael admitted that it was his father who fought in him laziness and indolence, who taught him that man's value resides in his strength, energy and labor as we read in what follows:

Ces dures traitements n'excitaient aucune haine chez Rafael: c'était son père, il obéissait...Plus tard, se remémorant ces lointaines années, il ne se sentit plus qu'une grande reconnaissance pour son père, qui avait vaincu sa paresse.

Ce qui, d'ailleurs, étouffait en lui toute velléité de révolte, c'était l'admiration qu'il éprouvait pour Ramon.

Son endurance et sa force, ses veilles et ses fatigues, la crainte qu'il inspirait aux autres, tout cela donnait à Rafael l'idée d'un être extraordinaire.

[These harsh treatments did not excite any hatred in Rafael: it was his father, he obeyed him... Later on, remembering these distant years, he doesn't feel towards him but a great gratefulness because he had overcome his laziness.

Besides, what suffocated in him any vague desire to revolt was the admiration that he felt towards Ramon.

His endurance and force, his watches and fatigues, the fear that he inspired in others, all this gave Rafael the idea of an extraordinary being] (translation mine) (Bertrand, 1978: 47).

On his side, Rafael willing to excel in his work and to satisfy his father, showed great patience and endurance. A matter accentuated with the awakening of puberty which made him full of a sort of exhilaration and a need of activity, of displaying force and feat which filled Ramon with wonder. Hence we read: "En plein épanouissement d'adolescence, le sang frais dans les veines, toute l'ivresse de sa jeune force au cerveau, il acceptais avec enthousiasme les dures corvées" [In the full blossoming of adolescence, the fresh blood in his veins, all the exhilaration of his fresh force in mind, he accepted with enthusiasm the hard chores] (Ibid.p.41). Indeed, the hot blood and pioneering spirit of Rafael soon gained him fame among the old carters.

It is obvious that Bertrand's text fetishizes "energy" rather than aesthetics common in exotic literature. In this sense, colonial literature joins colonialism itself and contributes largely in its process. According to Edward Said, in addition to the political, ideological and philosophical atmosphere of late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, literature contributes to the "consolidation" of imperialism. And according to many of its proponents, the colonial literature in the Bertrandian trend accompanies and reinforces to a great extent the project of supposedly rejuvenating French culture. Roland Lebel asserts in *Histoire de la Littérature Coloniale en France* that:

L'esprit colonial est une affirmation d'énergie morale. La littérature coloniale, fille de cette résolution saine, s'affirme en réaction contre le décadentisme. Elle nous assainit en s'opposant aux délinquances de l'esthétisme et du pessimisme. Elle est une doctrine d'action ; elle est, comme la colonie elle-même un acte de foi... Contre les subtilités malsaines ou les recherches corrompues d'une

civilisation trop raffinée ou s'épuise la vitalité de la race, elle indique le remède dans la vertu primitive de l'effort, ou l'énergie se retrempe aux sources des instincts ancestraux.

[The colonial spirit is an affirmation of moral energy. Colonial literature, the product of this healthy resolution, asserts itself in reaction to decadence. It cleanses us by opposing deliquescent aestheticism and pessimism. It is a doctrine of action: like the colony itself, it is an act of faith... To counter the unhealthy subtleties or corrupt searchings of an over-refined civilization in which the vitality of the race is exhausted, it proposes a remedy in the original virtue of effort, in which energy is reinvigorated at the font of ancestral instincts] (quoted in Graebner, 2007: 83).

Once establishing Rafael to follow his irresistible vocation as a carter thus canalizing his energy in the blossoming of his adolescence, Bertrand activated another level of significance which is closely related to the topos of fertilization as a trope of colonization. Sex emerges as an important requirement in the building and rejuvenation of the colony as a site of fusion of the Mediterranean races as is the guarantee of long-standing occupation. The conquest and domination of the land is evoked in sexual terms and Rafael vocation as a carter reinforces this idea. When driving to Bougzoul, Rafael accentuates the natural beauty of the countryside which is not devoid of a distinctive sexual charge his overflowing machismo imposes on all he surveys as we read in this passage:

Aux flancs des roches arides, les violets et les mauves s'adoucissait, les verts et les roses devenaient plus pâles. Les sommets s'arrondissaient comme des seins... Sous les voiles légers du matin, la terre prenait une couleur vermeille. Elle luisait ardemment à tracer les vapeurs languissantes. Elle vibrait déjà au choc du soleil... Rafael, en entrant dans ce Sud depuis si longtemps desiré, éprouvait comme la joie d'une conquête. Sous les ondes de la chaleur, son énergie s'exaltait. Il triomphait de sentir ses veines plus ardentes que le soleil.

[On the dry rock faces, the violets and mauves were lightening, and the greens and pinks were becoming paler. The hill tops rounded off like breasts... Under the morning's light veiling, the earth took on a crimson tone, shining brightly through the languishing mists. Already it was vibrating from the impact of the sun... Rafael, entering the South he had desired for so long, felt something like the joy of a conquest. Under the ripples of heat, his energy rose. He felt triumphant, his veins more ardent than the sun] (Bertrand, 1978:70-71).

Rafael's trips throughout the Algerian interior are always made more ardent and passionate by his sexual involvement with women, with a Spanish servant at Bougzoul, with the wealthy Jewess Rebecca at Laghouat, with the wife of an established French settler, Thérèse... Explicitly eroticized unions between man and countryside will rebuild Latin Africa; unions between Rafael

and his half-dozen roadside conquests of various national origin—Bertrand assumed— will repopulate it with members of the new Latin race with a zest for life, a physical beauty and a hot-blooded nature.

As shown in *Le Sang des Races*, Bertrand associates Rafael's frenzy sexuality with his macho self-image, which Bertrand describes as typically Spanish. A fact he stresses when Rafael always embraces adventure and freedom of life on the road when offered—or tempted by—security of wife and home. Perhaps this is the reason why he turns prostitution into an archetypal and foundational act. Indeed, just as the Roman or Punic past gives justification to France's imperial project, prostitution is given an ancient and honorable coloring. Hence we read in *Les Nuits d'Alger*:

Au milieu de ma confusion je vis se dresser devant moi la grandeur quasi sacrée de la prostitution orientale... [Les prostituées] me ramenaient au plus lointain des âges africain, aux prostitutions rituelles dans les temples, lorsque le geste sexuel était une chose profondément sérieuse, un geste religieux, et l'amour un mal terrible ; lorsque les hommes croyaient que l'acte de la génération aidait à la fécondité de la terre, à l'éclosion des germes.

[In the midst of my confusion I saw rising before me the quasi-sacred grandeur of Oriental prostitution... [The prostitutes] took me back to the most distant age of Africa, to the ritual prostitution of the temples, when the sexual act was a deeply serious thing, a religious act, when love was a terrible ill, and when men thought that the act of reproduction helped the fertility of the earth and the germination of seeds] (Bertrand, 1929: 46-7)

Indeed, Rafael's escapades in the red-light district of the upper Casbah of Algiers, his roadside adventures embedded with passionate sex in Laghouat, Djelfa, Médea and other towns were sanctified and given all the significance of the gestures of the founders of empire. But what is worth to mention is that Bertrand rejected any rapprochement between the *indigènes* and the Europeans. The fear of miscegenation and losing the characteristic features of the Latin race made Bertrand shun contact with native women. Racial purity must be secured and saved because it is the defining feature of the settlers' identity. Obviously for him the native is of an unassimilable nature, perhaps this is the reason why mixed marriages were rejected. Thus it is not surprising that Bertrand did not see native or Jewish women as fit mothers of future Latins. But

what is at stake, in fact, in the inclusion of Jewish women in the description of Casbah (an example of which is Rafael's love affair with the Rebecca the wealthy Jewish woman) seems to be that the presence of Jews led conveniently to an almost explicit erasure of the Muslims from citizenship in the colony. Indeed, citizenship was granted regularly, en masse, to successive waves of European immigrants; it foisted on as much as given to Jews, in order to add elements imagined as more "assimilable" than the Muslims to the French majority, shrinking among other arriving Europeans; and citizenship systematically refused via a variety of pretexts to Muslims. In fact, citizenship law of 1889 granted naturalization to all ethnic European children born in Algeria or in France. The historian Charles-Robert Ageron asserted that:

La loi de 1889 devait donner annuellement environ 3.500 Français dans les premières années puis, environ 4.000 et quelques 5.000 dans la période 1901-1907. Avec un contingent moyen de 500-600 naturalisés volontaires, on voit que plus de 4.000 et bientôt 5.529 (moyenne 1901-1907) étrangers vivant en Algérie devenaient chaque année citoyens. Ces chiffres ne pouvaient aller qu'en augmentant puisque naissaient annuellement quelque 8.500 enfants d'étrangers, plus de la moitié des naissances européennes, et que l'immigration étrangère continuait, représentant en moyenne annuelle 1.700 personnes de plus que l'immigration française. Rétrospectivement, on a pu estimer que la loi de 1889 avait créé entre 160.000 et 170.000 citoyens français en trente ans.

[The law of 1889 annually produced about 3.500 French citizens in the first years, and then 4-5.000 between 1901 and 1907. With an average contingent of 600 to 600 voluntary naturalizations each year, we can see that more than 4.000 and soon 5, 529 foreigners (the average over 1901-1907) living in Algeria became citizens each year. These figures could only grow, since 8.500 children of foreigners were born each year, more than half the European births in the colony, and since foreign immigration continued, amounting every year to 1.700 more than the French immigration. Retrospectively, it was estimated that the law of 1889 created between 160.000 and 170.000 French citizens over 30 years](translation mine) (Ageron, 1966:120).

For Bertrand the colonists and especially the over-civilized Frenchmen, should "*se barbariser*" in the sense that they should learn to understand the soul of the barbarian in all its violence and cunning, and be able to compete with him by the strength of his will and his muscles. "Nous rebarbariser, c'est nous rendre capable de lutter victorieusement contre le barbare, c'est lui prendre toutes les qualités qui font sa force, si nous ne voulons pas être écrasés par lui. [Rebarbarizing ourselves means rendering ourselves capable of waging the struggle

against the Barbarian, and taking from him all the qualities that make up his strength, if we do not wish to be crushed by him] (Bertrand, 1917: 22). Bertrand held firmly that North Africa is an invaluable school of energy for the new Latin races, since they 'will' quickly learn there the sharp glance and the power of rapid decision of the uncultivated man. The immediate dangers of hunger and thirst toughen the moral fiber just as the extremes of heat and cold harden the body, while contact with an ancient, warlike and hostile race, disarmed only in appearance, develops the courage. Stimulated by the presence of the common enemy, and by the intermingling of their blood, Latins from even the somnolent provinces of their native countries show in Africa a fecundity, an energy, and a capacity for action which astonish those who know them best.

Bertrand thought that in the colonies, the conditions of life bring out the innate capacities of man more strongly than the older centers of civilization. The born leader emerges almost at once from the mass of his fellows and imposes his will upon them. Confronted with an emergency and the necessity of rapid action in a hostile and barren country, men instinctively turn towards the natural chief. Even in the everyday life of the more settled parts of the colony, he who can acquire wealth or power must show more vigorous and original qualities than the highly civilized man is capable of displaying, because his action is more isolated, less sustained by his environment, and less limited by regulations and social prejudices. The elite thus produced is one purely of strength and profuse physical vitality, and lacks the refinement.

Bertrand described the typical African as characterized by ardor of the imagination, exaggerated assertiveness, frenzied sensuality, and often by a frank and undisgusted obscenity. The young peoples, trusting in their vigour and their future, and conceiving the world by the measures of their appetites, their ambitions and their hopes, may be excused—he thought—for an often exaggerated assertiveness, which is usually simply the outward sign of a very real force.

Throughout his trips Rafael displayed the qualities that Bertrand idolized and saw must be part and parcel of the new settlers' identity namely hard work, perseverance and resourcefulness.

This is highly emphasized when facing the dangers and perils of the road including *les Gondoles*, the moving sand, the extremes of cold and hot weather... Neither the burning sun nor the blinding light daunted Rafael and overcame his rugged strength, even when tortured by thirst, the terror of desert lands, he did not long for the city, exalted as he was by a vision of the South and by a sort of joy of conquest. “Sous les ondes de la chaleur, son énergie s’exaltait. Il triomphait de sentir ses veines plus ardentes que le soleil”[Under the scorching waves of heat his energy redoubled, and he was filled with a feeling of triumph that his veins were swelling with blood more ardent than the blazing sun] (Bertrand, 1978:71). This sancification of energy and potent virility as weapons or as means of empire building influenced the *Algerianists* such as Jean Pomier as we read in this extract of his poem “*Agir*”:

Ah, laissez-nous crever de rire, faces pâles,  
 Nous les Rouliers du Bled au blair emboucanée,  
 Nous les aventureux, les Maîtres et les Mâles  
 qui, chaque coup de tête ou de verge donné,  
 faisons jaillir d’Hier des Demains couronnés (quoted in Graebner,  
 2007: 84).

Rafael’s encounter with Phillippe also of Spanish origin and a carter stands as the turning point of his life. It was the decisive moment of his entrance into adulthood and his renouncement to the errant life spent in brawling and brothels. Phillippe much older than Rafael is a learned man, a clerk who abandoned his office following his desire and love of cartage and the freedom it inspired. On the way to Laghouat, he told Rafael many things about his life and confessed to him that he was writing a journal of his adventures across the South which he considered “*son pays d’élection*.” But what most attracted Rafael was this irresistible vocation and love of team work and carriage he shared with him:

Il n’ya pas plus beau métier que le notre. Il est dure: c’est le plus dure de tous, mais je suis libre, parceque j’aime mon métier. Et puis je respire dans le Sud, tandis que j’étouffe à Alger; je marche ; je dépense ma force ; je vois du nouveau tous les jours. Il y a encore autre chose que je ne peux pas te dire..., le pays, l’air, le soleil...

[There is no more beautiful work than ours. It is hard; the hardest of all, but I am free, because I like my work. And then I breathe in the South when I am

suffocated in Algiers; I walk; I spend energy; I see new things every day. There is also something that I cannot say..., the country, the air, the sun...] (Ibid.p.217).

This confession made Rafael to feel a strong respect and communion towards Phillipe whom he considered an extraordinary being; special to other carters he previously met. Rafael was in fact, much impressed by Phillipe who told him about his experiences and opened his eyes to new realities about life as ‘must be lead’. This latter taught him writing and advised him saying:

Rafaelète, fais ton métier sans penser à autre chose et, le plus tôt que tu pourras, marrie-toi!...Moi, j’ai mal compté! J’ai trop couru quand j’étais jeune, j’ai cru que ce serait toujours pareil, toujours des femmes et des noces!...Maintenant il est trop tard : je suis trop vieux !” [Rafaelète, do your work not thinking of something else and the sooner you can, you marry!...Me, I wrongly thought! I used to run after women a lot when I was young, I thought it will be always the same, always women and weddings!...Now it is too late: I am too old!] (Ibid).

A thing which Rafael never thought of before but which was to influence him to a great extent.

Rafael’s trip to Laghouat and his meeting with Phillipe was to permeate his whole being. Indeed, after this, a new Rafael emerged with new outlooks and schemes about his future. A practical, dutiful and sturdy young man and one whom Bertrand conceived of as ready to take on his behalf the task of reenergizing France. Hence we read:

Ce voyage fut véritablement la grande étape dans la vie de Rafael. Quand il redescendit de Laghouat, tout lui sembla changé autour de lui. Il voyait tout avec d’autres yeux. Plus rien au monde n’existait pour lui que le chariot : car enfin, sans son chariot, existait-il seulement, lui Rafael ? Et si les autres le prisait si haut, comme Phillipe, n’était-ce pas parcequ’il savait conduire les bêtes ? Quelque chose de solide lui apparaissait maintenant, autour duquel toute sa vie allait prendre forme. Le reste n’était rien,—les femmes, les noces, les révoltes de son sang et de sa colère. Tout cela passait apportant moins de plaisir que de regrets. Il se sentait plus sage et il souhaitait de revoir sa mère.

[This trip was really the greatest stage in Rafael’s life. When he came down from Laghouat, everything seemed different around him. He saw with different eyes. Nothing in the world existed for him but his wagon: because at last, without his wagon did he only exist? And if the others respected him so much as Phillipe, was not it because he knew handling animals? Something solid appeared to him now around which all his life took shape. The remaining was nothing,—women, weddings, the revolts of his blood and his anger. All this passed bringing little pleasure than regret. He felt wiser and he wished to see his mother (translation mine) (Ibid.p. 221).

The trajectory Bertrand traces for his hero is that which he saw as essential to the new settlers and the national saga of the *néo-Français-in-the making*. For after a restless life of pleasure, a life of stability is required to more serious undertaking and enterprise. Many critics such as Seth Graebner have pointed to the fact that as befits a group so closely linked to the mythical, Bertrand's heroes share an almost unchanging trajectory: after an extended youth spent in fights and brothels, they settle down as steady workers and respectful husbands, fathering the large families France so desperately needed. This is obvious in Rafael who after a loose life, he ended up engaged with a fellow Spanish originated respectable girl planning together a new and a promising life.

To strengthen Rafael's special identity and feelings of belonging to the *Afrique Française* and not to Spain, Bertrand made a final step which set the hero in a visit to the Spanish land on a pretext to attend the "bulls' race" and to be acquainted with his cousins. Once there Rafael felt little leaning towards the ancestral homeland, soon his "préventions contre l'Espagne s'en fortifièrent. Il était de plus en plus convaincu qu'il s'enfonçait dans la sauvagerie" [his preventions against Spain strengthened. He was more and more convinced that he was penetrating in savagery] (Ibid.p.231). Indeed, the frugality and the austerity of the Spanish life displeased and made him to feel in quite a strange land but also to speak and to boast of the French- Algeria as his real country.

Rafeal's visit to Spain is made to juxtapose with the Spanish-American war of 1898 when the Spanish Empire fought its last war to save its possession of the colonies of Cuba, the Philippines, Guam and Puerto Rico. A Franco-Spanish alliance was conceived and people saw in it the end of the war in Cuba and the overthrowing of the dynasty. A striking example which highlights and develops to a full extent Rafael's and through him Bertrand's conception the Spanish feeling of communion towards France but above all the specificity of the settlers identity as *néo-Français* is disclosed in the following scene:

Aussitôt [Mazzantini et Guerrita] attaquèrent l'hymne royal espagnol. On l'écoula en silence ; mais, avant même qu'il fût fini, des voix furieuses s'élevèrent réclamant *la Marseillaise*.

- *La Marseillaise, la Marseillaise!* Reprit la foule, en une clameur formidable, ininterrompue. Dès les premières notes, les trente mille spectateurs étaient debout. Ce fut un délire. Les prunelles s'allumaient, les bras s'agitaient, les chapeaux volaient par-dessus les banquettes ; ceux des gradins inférieurs enjambaient les barrières en criant :

- Vive la France!

...un vieillard, qui était à côté de lui l'injura à cause de son calme :

- Eh! je suis plus Français que vous— dit Rafael en haussant les épaules. [Soon [Mazantini and Guerrita] stroke up the Spanish royal hymn to which everybody listened silently, but before even it ended furious voices raised reclaiming *la Marseillaise*.

-*La Marseillaise, la Marseillaise*, repeated the crowd in a fantastic ininterrompued clamour. As soon as the first notes were heard, the three thousand spectators stood up. It was a wild crowd. Pupils lighted up, arms waved, hats flid above the seats, those at the bottom staped over the barriers crying:

- Vive la France!

Rafael jostled by his neighbours, smiled at the sight of the tumult. He stayed cold in the midst of this terrible enthusiasm...An old man who was by his side insulted him because of his calm:

-Eh, I am more French than you—said Rafael shrugging his shoulders] (translation mine) (Ibid.p.239).

Rafael's above assertion underscoring his saying "je suis plus Français que vous" [I am more French than you] carries obviously ideological overtones. Bertrand wants to stress that the new settlers do no longer belong to their original homelands but to the colony of their settlement which forged for them a new identity and a new sense of belonging. Rafael left Spain feeling no regret to leave the country of his forefathers more than this he shunned any possible return to it.

Obviously this theme of the "néo-Français" is in itself a major strand of French colonialist discourse in Algeria at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As an imperialist writer, Bertrand represents Algeria as a (European) melting-pot with a people-in-the-making whose vitality and vigour are the prerequisite of France's long term success in its North Africa. In Dunwoodie's words:

Bertrand's narrative [aims] to colonize the past by inventing for the European settlers the roots which would legitimize their as-yet historically recent presence, and to hijack the future via a vision in which youthful Algerian energy would revitalize the enfeebled mother country [...]

Through Bertrand, the settler, finally justified, was located in a noble past in a *Méditerranée latine* and projected into a heroic future in *la Grande France*, and

this (re)insertion of Algeria into a French empire was justified by appeals to the specific primacy and superiority of the French as the inheritors of Roman North Africa ( Dunwoodie, 1998:156).

From the analysis above it is clear that Bertrand's *Le Sang des Races* reflects greatly this ideology which sustains the colonialist project and process by inventing for the settlers an identity whose elements are conceived to serve the needings or the exigencies of the French Empire in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

As a conclusion to this chapter we can say that Kipling and Bertrand's respective works *Kim* and *Le Sang des Races* belong to the same Eurocentric discourse which conceived for the Anglo-Indians and French-Algerians a special identity in the conquered territories where new perspectives and outlooks were envisaged to reflect the politico-historical circumstances prevailing at the turn of century British and French Empires. A period which witnessed the colonizer's anxiety to lose the colonies and where nationalistic risings begun to shake the feelings of confidence Britain and France used to have towards India and Algeria. Under the veil of the civilizing mission and through epistemic discourses on race, history and geography both writers gave the settlers a letter patent to justify their 'rootlessness' and to forge for them an imagined identity which fitted the demands of the time. A new historicist approach to the novels in this respect have consolidated the conception that the identity conceived is in both works part and parcel of the discourse of power underlying the writers' imperialist stances.

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**CHAPTER THREE:**

**THE INDIANS AND THE ALGERIANS AS ALIENS AND OUTSIDERS IN THEIR  
NATIVE COUNTRIES (THE CASE OF KIM AND LE SANG DES RACES).**

## **2) – The Native Indians and the Native Algerians as aliens in their countries:**

New historicist critics analyze a system of representation that is perfectly closed and circular. The subversive potential of the native view of colonialism for example, is never possible because every time the native appears in that system of representation it is as a projection of the colonizing white man. The native is always either the fantasy or the nightmare of the colonizer, and therefore always reflects how the colonizer is feeling and thinking. A **system of representation, or discursive formation**, is defined by Foucault, a key influence on new historicist practice, as the following:

That which implies that one can define the general set of rules that govern their objects, the form of dispersion that regularly divide up what they say, the system of their referentials: that which implies that one defines the general set of rules that govern the different modes of enunciation, the possible redistribution of the subjective positions, and the system that defines and prescribes them; that which implies that one defines the set of rules common to all their associated domains, the forms of succession, of simultaneity, of the repetition of which they are capable, and the system that links all these fields of co-existence together; lastly, that which implies that one can define the general set of rules that govern the status of these statements, the way in which they are institutionalized, received, used, re-used, combined together, the mode according to which they become objects of appropriation, instruments for desire or interest, elements for a strategy. (Foucault, 1972:115)

Foucault, as the above citation shows and defines the discursive formation as a system of representations or enunciations which operate according to the same rules when delineating objects, determining subject positions, using modes and genres of representations, making links with other discursive forms, and when being used and defined and gathered together. New historicist critics follow this practice of identifying a number of texts which belong to the same discursive formation, tracing their relationship to one another, charting the transformations which they effect within the system, and charting the regularity with which they replicate the rules of the system. In the course of doing this, new historicists also note what the system of

representation in question displaces or excludes, and, of course, how the system of representation functions as a system of power by containing subversions within its own structure.

In dealing with the analysis of the native characters as conceived and depicted in Kipling's *Kim* and Bertrand's *Le Sang des Races* I am set to explore the systems of representation and the discursive strategies adopted or used by both writers to circulate their views and conceptions about the colonized as a non-entity, an absence in his native country. Also I intend to show how the imperialist charged stances of the writers function within stereotypic, discursive forms which echo and underlie a discourse which is characteristically Eurocentric.

To start with *Kim*, and as we have seen in the previous chapter, for Kipling who believed that it was India's destiny to be ruled by England it was necessary to stress the superiority of the white man whose mission was to rule the dark and inferior races. Kipling conveys this message about the "white man's burden" by locating the educated, the native employee in the British administration Huree babu in a position that is subordinate to Kim. The relevance of this character to our topic above all other native characters is to be stressed through the subsequent analysis. In fact, Kipling constructs the babu Hurree Chander's subordination by creating binary oppositions through which a whole hierarchy of meaning may be constructed. These hierarchies are indeed created by privileging the "self" over its opposite or its "Other". Through a similar system of binary oppositions between the ruler and the ruled Kipling creates unequal dichotomies in which the former becomes the 'privileged signifier', i.e., the self and the latter its "Other" in opposition to whom the self asserts its own privileged position. The babu, in other words, is Kim's anti-self to whom Kipling assigns a negative value in relation to Kim, the sahib. Kipling frames the babu in "a relationship of power, of domination, [and] of varying degree of a complex hegemony" (Said, 1987: 30) with Kim, through which he constantly reiterates what Said suggests as, "European superiority over Oriental backwardness" (Ibid.p.31).

In fact, the babu's presence in the novel is more than Said's suggestion "a small practical device" (Ibid: 37). For Kipling's imperialist ideology, it is a narrative strategy to represent Kim's authority over the native inhabitants of the colony and to stress the legitimacy of the British colonization. Before I explicate further, I find it necessary to discuss the baggage attached to the term "babu" during the time of the British rule in India.

The Hindustani term "babu" referred to an educated urban gentleman. Used with respect at first, it soon acquired pejorative connotation for the educated Indian who desperately attempted to acquire the manners and customs of the colonial officials. In *Making of an 'Indian' Art*, Tapati Guha-Thakurta reveals how often the figure of "Calcutta's degenerate babus" appeared in Kalighat art. The most recurrent of the satirical images portrayed in this genre of Bengali art during the nineteenth century was that of "the Bengali babu as a fop, a dandy and a dissolute womanizer...the symbol of the westernized, dissipated nouveau-riche..." (Tapti, 1992: 20-21). According to *Hobson –Jobson*, a dictionary of Anglo-Indian terms and phrases, a "baboo" is a term which among Anglo-Indians is often used with a slight savour of disparagement or derision, as characterizing a superficially cultivated, but too effeminate, Bengali...The word has come often to signify "a native clerk who writes English" (quoted in Crook, 1968: 44). Such stereotypes of the babu, as Purnima Bose argues, emerged out of colonial racial attitudes about the Bengalis, who as a highly educated community, challenged British representations of Indians. Because of their defiance of colonial rulers, the western educated Bengali were dismissed as comic imitations of westerners. They were virulently caricatured in the figure of the Bengali Babu: a small dark-skinned, effeminate intellectual who had an imperfect command of English (Bose, 1993:152).

This image is reiterated in Kipling's *Plain Tales From the Raj*, where former colonial officials recall that it was the fashion to denigrate the babu type:

We used to make fun of them...because they were interpreting rules which we made. Babu jokes, based on the English language either wrongly or over-effusively applied, were a constant source of amusements for all 'Anglo- India'. Coupled with the denigration of the babu was a traditional distrust of the Bengali—"litigious, very fond of an argument"—who was frequently seen as a trouble maker: ' He doesn't appeal to many British people in the same way as the very much more manly, direct type from upper India' (quoted in Allen, 1975:198).

The descriptions and definitions above show the ways in which the stereotype of the Bengali babu had been created and acquired a pejorative connotation. The questions that these babu stereotypes provoke are: why did colonial officials make fun of the babu? More precisely why does Kipling perpetuate the myth of the babu further? In other words, why is the babu the target of Kipling's jokes; why not the other Indians in the novel such as the Lama or the horse trader Mahbub Ali?

It is significant that Huree babu is an intellectual. He is an anthropologist who is also well-versed in English literature, in art of mensuration, and unlike Mahbub Ali, can read maps. He embodies all that Western liberal learning at this time stands for. He knows that there were "marks to be gained by due attention to Latin and Wordsworth's *Excursion*. French too, was vital," and that a "man might go far...by strict attention to plays called *Lear* and *Julius Caesar*" (Kipling, 1994:217). Huree babu is perfectly capable of educating his countrymen about British rule. Because of his education in the British curriculum, he is equipped with the bicultural knowledge to communicate on both sides of the British colonial officials on one side and the Indians who had no direct dealing with their colonial rulers, on the other. Kipling wrote *Kim* at a time of rising Indian nationalism, a time when the relationship between the empire and colony had started to change, when British rule was being overtly questioned. Important changes had taken place in the national and political fabric of India following the mutiny of 1857. The Congress Party was formed in 1885. A large part of nationalistic resistance arose from the educated section of the Indians, from people like Huree Babu, who with their close encounters

with British administrators were more fully aware of British ways. The educated babu Hurree Chander thus represents a threat to the colonial presence. Kipling perhaps recognized this threat. Therefore, to relegate the educated babu to a subordinate position is for Kipling a historical necessity in order to ward off any obstacles to the empire. The Lama on the other hand, is hardly to be feared. Although he is a learned man, he is sympathetic to the British mission and actually expedites Kim's transformation into a sahib by paying for Kim's education. Kim's business, he tells the boy "was to get all the wisdom of the Sahibs..." (Ibid.p.119). Hence, it is not surprising that we find Kipling's imperialistic beliefs incorporated into the energy of creating babu jokes in the novel.

Kipling relegates the babu to an inferior position through various situations, encounters and descriptions. This is how he introduces Huree Babu in the novel: "At the end of that time entered a hulking, obese Babu whose stockinged legs shook with fat..." (Ibid.p.213). Following this description Kipling always describes the babu's appearance as shabby, his voice "oily," his mouth stuffed with *pan* and betel and his English distorted. Throughout the narrative, Kipling makes fun of Hurree Babu's "orotund verbosity," ridicules his incorrect grammar and finds his accent abominable, which he emphasizes in the exaggeratedly misspelled words that the babu uses: *Onlee* instead of "only", *also* instead of "also," *opeenion* instead of "opinion," *quiett* instead of "quiet" and so forth. Evidently, it is Kipling's way of maintaining the babu's subservience by painting the picture of a silly Bengali babu who apes the Englishman with his broken English. If he can't speak like the colonizers, he can never be one of them. Kim himself asserted with an implied disdain: "How comes it that this man is one of *us*?" (Ibid.p.216). It is worth noting that English being the language of the colonizer became a signifier of power and authority. The language connotes authority and legitimizes ruling class power in India.

However, nothing brings this point more importantly than a comparison between Kim's and the babu's educational backgrounds. Both Kim and Huree Chander share an interesting

commonality in their education. They are both products of the British system. While Kim receives his formal education at St. Xavier's in Lucknow, babu Hurree Chander holds a Master degree from Calcutta University. Being a native working for the British administrator colonel Creighton requires him to be well-versed in English as well as Hindustani. Hurree's English education, thus, makes him bicultural. Since the babu's bicultural education grants him access to both cultures, Kipling carefully hybridizes Kim's education, systematically providing him with a skilful knowledge of the Indian culture as well as a formal British education.

Although Kim's knowledge and understanding of the native culture is Kipling's strategy to position Kim's superiority, he makes it seem like a "natural" acquisition for a precocious boy whose spirit for adventure motivates him in the pursuit of knowledge. Hence, Kim's ability to understand the natives and assimilate with them to one and all who call him "little friend of all the world". By contrast, the qualified and competent bicultural babu is despised, parodied and constantly made fun of by Kipling. While Kim's Anglo-Indian education makes him rational, clever and well-equipped to "some day...command the natives" (Ibid.p.168) the babu's education is subjected to ridicule. Kipling portrays him as clownish, ignorant *hakim* trying to impress the natives by giving them medicines (such as "*arplan* from China that makes a man renew his youth and astonishes his house hold; Saffron from Kashmire, and the best Salep of Kabul") and even printing his papers in "*Angrezi*, telling what he has done for weak-backed men and slack women" (Ibid.p.289).

On his encounter with Huneefa the witch, his contradiction in speech and act shows his inheritance to be at odds with his English education. Even though by reason he claims that Huneefa's magic is nothing but "ventriloquy", he is "careful not to step in Huneefa's blotched, squat on the board" because "witches—when their time is on them—can lay hold of the heels of a man's soul if he does that" ( Ibid.p. 243). When Mahbub Ali tells him not to be afraid of Huneefa, Huree starts to speak English to chase out his fear:

How am I to fear the absolutely non-existent? Said Huree Babu, taking English to reassure himself. It is an awful thing still to dread the magic that you contemptuously investigate—to collect folk-lore for the Royal Society with a lively belief in all Powers of Darkness (Ibid.p.244).

As Spivak notes in *“The Burden of English,”* this “artificial divide” of reason /supernatural nonsense is repeated again and again in colonial literature so as to foreground the myth that India is uncivilized (Spivak, 1993:153).

Kipling’s framing of Kim and the babu in such oppositional position is crucial to power-relation within which his narrative operates. The highly opinionated babu contrasts with the amiable and likable Kim who is well-suited to one day command natives such as the babu himself. By making the babu ridiculous despite his intelligence and qualifications, Kipling strives to show that the Oriental is inherently inferior and even his education cannot bring him at par with the colonizer. Hence, as opposed to Kim’s education that is favourable to the empire, Kipling dismisses the babu’s knowledge of anthropology, medicine, English and Western training as a “monstrous hybridism of East and West” (Kipling, 1994: 318). His education does not make him Kim’s equal but his “Other,” reducing him to a representative of the class of the native elite who were used as “interpreters between... [the British] and the millions [they] govern[ed]” (quoted in Bhabha, 1994: 124-5). It does not allow him the status of a sahib, but relegates him to the position of an ally to support the rulers in maintaining control over the masses.

In addition to the stereotypical depiction of the babu Huree which implies the derision of the Indian educated elites in a period of nascent nationalism, Kipling made the native appear as a mentally inferior being who can not distinguish between good and evil. So the initiative to overthrow the British agents in the 1857 revolt is described as a stark madness. Early in their wanderings, Kim and the lama encounter an old soldier who relates his version of this explosive historical moment:

“It is not a good fancy”, said the lama. “What profit to kill men?”

“Very little—as I know; but if evil men were not now and then slain it would be a good world for weaponless dreamers. I do not speak without knowledge who have seen the land from Delhi south awash with blood.”

“What *madness* was that, then?”

“The Gods, who sent it for a plague, alone know. *A madness ate into all the Army* and they returned against their officers. That was the first evil, but not past remedy if they had then their hands. But they choose to kill Sahibs’ wives and children. Then came the Sahibs from over the sea and called them to most strict account” (Kipling, 1994: 73) (Italics mine).

The extent of the soldiers’ transgression implied in “they chose to kill Sahibs’ wives and children” is meant to necessitate both a physical presence “Then came the Sahibs from over the sea and called them to a most strict account” but above all a discursive erasure from the landscape of imperial India. And in order to perform the last operation, Kipling employs the longstanding binary opposition between rationality and madness whose history Michel Foucault describes in *Madness and Civilization*. Foucault indicates that ‘madness’ does not exist as an idea or concept until a discourse of madness is formed, and madness is produced as the object of study. In fact, Foucault’s idea of discourse producing the object which it studies is a key influence, on **the new historicist idea of power producing its own subversion in order to contain it.**

Madness in the passage stated above operates as a negative signifier, circulating outside the discursive of the imperial world system. Foucault holds that the “mad” (in *Kim*’s case, who would rebel against the British Empire) had come to represent the bestial other—the complete negation of both the autonomous rational subject and the ordered society—and consequently, must be strictly controlled. Thus, by inscribing the mutineers under the sign of madness, Kipling denies the Indian people even the possibility of an autonomous subjectivity.

The natives in colonial texts such as *Kim* thus have no capacity for self-examination or self-representation. Kipling replaces the babu's own consciousness with an image of himself that has been constructed by him. Huree Babu describes himself to Kim in precisely the way that Kipling would want him described: "I am only Babu showing off my English to you. All we Babu talk English to show off" (Kipling, 1994: 244). Another instance which emphatically highlights the circulating racist discourse where Darwin's natural selection and Evolution are at issue, concern Huree Babu's lamentation of his Asiatic descent which he considered as a burden. He addresses Kim telling him that he is "quite unique specimen" (Ibid. p. 246) because of his British birth as opposed to himself who is "unfortunately Asiatic, which is serious detriment in some aspects. And all so I am Bengali- a fearful man" (Ibid. p. 297). A statement followed by Kim's scorn: "God made the Hare and the Bengali. What shame?". Huree adds with lament: "It was process of Evolution, I think, from Primal Necessity, [...] I am, oh, awfully fearful!" (Ibid. p. 298). Such self-representations by Huree babu represent a negation of the Indian intellectual, presented through a direct antithesis to the "high" standards that the colonizer's language upholds. Cultural hegemony, as Said says, functions from "the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all non-European peoples and cultures" (Said, 1978:7). Kipling reiterates European superiority over the "native backwardness" by manipulating the babu into believing and living his inferiority.

Indeed, behind the depiction of the babu lies a profound anxiety about the native's slipperiness and inscrutability. It is in order to constitute the native as a knowable entity that impersonation, surveillance, and interpretation by a colonial observer are necessary. Because of his knowledge and educational acumen, the babu becomes a potential deterrent to Kipling's imperialist ideology and a threat to the Raj. It is worth noting that the babu knows how to survey maps and locate the strategic importance of various geographical sites. At a time when Britain was competing with Russia to establish her own supremacy as a superpower, it is Huree babu

and not Kim who is able to foil the Russian intruders' attempts to negotiate a diplomatic agreement with the Afghan kings; and again Hurree babu is the one who manages to obtain the maps from the Russian spies. It is the babu who educates Kim on the importance of maps and "the art of science and mensuration which was...more important than Wordsworth or the authors Burke and Hare..." (Kipling, 1994: 242).

In every sense Hurree babu is a brown sahib who, himself tells Kim, is "a teacher of the alphabet...and has learned all the wisdom of the Sahibs" (Ibid. p. 235). And like a sahib, Hurree babu helps Kim in the Great Game. For Kipling such knowledge is dangerous. Besides undermining Kim's authority, it also threatens the colonial presence in India through potential attacks on the rulers in their own language. Hurree Chander's knowledge can thus prove detrimental to the Raj. According to Ashis Nandy, "Kipling recognized in utter disgust that if the colonizers could make use of the Orientals for more effective administration, then even the Indians "could use the Occident for their own purposes" (Nandy, 1983:77). He was aware that even the babus knew how to use the white man.

Hence, Kipling makes it his mission to locate authority in Kim and assigns a new subject-position to his "Other." Clearly a bright man, the babu is, therefore, portrayed, in Said's words, as: "almost always funny, or gauche, or somehow caricatural not because he is incompetent or inept in his work— on the contrary he is exactly the opposite—but because he is not white..." (Said, 1987: 52). What emerges then is the following equivocatory notion: the native is without history and identity and any significant subjective autonomy. He is capable of radical reconstitution by the colonizer. Anglicized natives like Hurree babu are capable only of imperfect acts of mimesis that point to their condition of perpetual lack; they themselves are entirely imitable by the colonizer. For Kipling there is no unique, unchanging, and ahistorical native identity since it can be reconfigured, revised, and re-resented by him.

Interestingly, however, to represent Kim's authority Kipling needs the educated babu. Only by virtue of defining himself in antithesis to this educated Other can Kipling assert Kim's authority. Hence, even as he spurns him, the babu becomes indispensable to his narrative. As an Other, he embodies the image of what Kim as an Englishman can never will/should be. In this sense the babu becomes a reminder of what Kim is and ought to remain—a sahib who must “never forget that ...he is a sahib; and that some day he will command natives” (Kipling, 1994: 168). And to look at this fact from a new historicist perspective means to consider the depiction of the babu as a device through which a discourse of subversion is veiled. Obviously Kipling made use of the babu to show that **power depends upon subversive beliefs in order to reinforce its construction of reality and normality**. This is why he creates the character of the native, educated Hurree to poke fun at and deride him so as to say that the native remains inferior despite his ‘supposed intelligence and learning,’ a thing which stresses further the necessity and effectiveness of the British power over the natives. So did Kipling to contain the latent danger that babus represented in a period which saw the birth and growing of nationalism. Greenblatt argues that: “**subversiveness is the very product of that power and furthers its ends**” (Greenblatt, 1981: 48). Indeed, power can only define itself in relation to subversion, to what is alien or other, and at the heart of power is therefore the production and subsequent containment of subversion.

All in all we can say that Kipling's representation of Hurree Babu is deeply racist. For despite the babu's education, his biological inheritance is at odds with making him a sahib in equal terms with Kim. Therefore, not the reliable type, not the appropriate citizen of the British Jewel, India but its subordinate who must be kept under control. Kipling's reference to Darwinism reflects his contribution to the consolidation of the British Empire and its political implementation in India but also his serious engagement in a colonialist discourse which is quintessentially Eurocentric.

It is within this discourse of European representations of the colonized that a new historicist analysis may locate Kipling's *Kim*. Although new historicist critics recognise that a literary text may have a more complex form or structure than other texts, their analysis conventionally place literary texts in circulation with texts of all kinds in order to construct a model of how discourses performed in a particular period of time. Such analyses trace the connections between seemingly disparate texts so as to reveal the presence of a discourse, a discourse which inevitably shapes, as much as it is shaped by, its own society. In fact, *Kim* can be read with *Le Sang des Races* as part of a discourse which represents the colonised in relation to the European coloniser. For the most part, these connections between texts are revealed as surprising correspondences, which in turn out to be a product of being part of the same ideological discourses.

In fact, in *Le Sang des Race* the native is not merely as in *Kim* relegated to an inferior position but he is completely eradicated and debarred from the novel's narrative. If Kipling gives the Indian natives a voice though always held quite mean and controlled by the colonized, Bertrand with his strong "*sense de l'ennemi*" denied the native Algerians individuality and culture and excluded them from the scope of his novels. The Moslem natives of Africa or '*les indigènes*' be they Arabs or Berbers are noticeably absent from Bertrand's scheme of things that his novels might well bear the sub-title; "L'Algérie sans les Arabes," [Algeria without Arabs], as Andre Bellessort has observed:

The only role which M. Bertrand assigns to these natives seems to be that of a sort of anvil, against which the Latin immigrant is to be tempered to sufficient hardness. No other writer who has treated of Algeria has so completely ignored the native as has Louis Bertrand, who has, in fact, devoted himself exclusively to the Latin colonist (quoted in Cabeen, 1922: 92).

In fact, Bertrand found this sense of the enemy salutary in Algeria, where it constantly reminded him that the indigenous was: "l'Ennemi— un ennemi qui n'a rien oublié, rien pardonné, et qui ne désarme pas." [The Enemy—an enemy who has forgotten nothing, pardoned,

nothing, and who is not giving up his arms] (Bertrand, 1936: 71). The Arab, he believed, has brought poverty, endemic warfare, and barbarism to North Africa: “The Arab, the intruder, the invader, has brought into North Africa only misery, ruin, decomposition, and death. As Latins, descendants of its first and unique civilizers, inheritors of their effort, we have taken back what has been wrenched from us” (Bertrand, 1978: 13) (translation mine).

The French occupation is pragmatically justified by highlighting the hard work and sacrifices required to make the supposedly empty, unworked land fertile. Bertrand also uncovers a moral justification in the fact that ‘Latin’ peoples (i.e. neighbouring nations) occupied the area long before the ‘Arabs’ (i.e. outsiders from ‘Arabia’) who introduced only a religion: they had, he argues, nothing else to teach “the African towns whose science and art of urban organization had reached perfection”. Centuries of Islam, for Bertrand, had destroyed cultural achievement of the Carthaginians and Romans and the significance legacy of Rome.

Bertrand gave no cultural credit to either the Arabs or the Berbers: “What I first thought was Arab or Oriental is really benighted Latin,” he wrote, “eroded by the rust of centuries” (Ibid. p. 13). He underlined the lack of originality of the indigenous population by stating that while the cultural legacy of Rome had been destroyed by the Arabs, a borrowed legacy of cultural objects remained. He stated some examples like the couscous, jewelry, dress (such as the burnous), baths and buildings which were based on ancient Latin design apparent in the Roman archaeological vestiges in Cherchell and Tipasa, of Timgad and Djemila. Indeed, the archeological activity set in motion by Berbrugger, Albert Ballu and Stéphane Gsell provided the material weight to support Bertrand’s argument and formed the basis of all subsequent work in the colony on Roman archaeology.

Such scholars were important contributors to the process of reclaiming the Western heritage of Algeria, which as a region of France was deemed to be a part of the *patrimoine national*. They

helped to fuel Bertrand's racist claim that fourteen centuries of Latin presence (from the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC to the Arab conquest) overshadowed the mere nine centuries of Islamic occupation but also to maintain that the Arab is a destructive conqueror whose life as a nomad is associated or rather is dependent on pillage and brigandage. This later i.e. nomadism is made the defining characteristic of Arabs; civilization is absent, disorder and anarchy are the only law. Indeed, if in Orientalist discourse the Arab was depicted as what the European felt he himself was not, in Bertrand's colonialist writings the occlusion of the Arab allows the space thus liberated to be filled by the settler, a figure of what the European felt he once was and can re-become.

The autobiographical work of Bertrand *Sur les Routes du Sud* acknowledged that the natives were of interest solely as bit players in a splendid décor 'les indigènes ne sont que des figurants dans un décor essentiellement Latin', and the novels systematically downgrade, indeed occlude, the native presence. This is evident in *Le Sang des Races* in which an anti-Semitic and a racist discourse is highly elaborated to justify France's *mission civilisatrice* in Algeria.

The little allusion or reference to the natives in the novel as maintained before carries such a strong and unassailable racially prejudiced discourse towards the non-European and the non-Christian. The opening pages of the novel evoke an open antipathic attitude vis à vis the Arabs, Berbers and Jews. Pointing to the new comers "*les nouveaux débarqués*" who came from Spain, Malta, Italy... fleeing famine and misery, Bertrand does not forget to allude to the perennial and long lasting hatred that these people's ancestors felt towards the Moors: "... Ils étaient venus chercher le pain blanc et la joie sur cette terre d'Afrique, ou la vieille haine de leur race appréhendait toujours les maléfices sacrileges et les trahisons du Maure..."[They came seeking the white bread and joy in this African soil, where the old hatred of their races always apprehended the evil spell, sacrileges and treachery of the Moore] (translation mine) (Bertrand: 1978: 20). The text also alludes that the Maltese were unwanted and despised by their neighbours the Neapolitans, the Majorcans and the Spanish because of their impure blood which

makes them resemble the Moors and the Jews: “Les Maltais au teint mat et au visage gras... Les autres les méprisaient à cause de leur sang mélangé et de leur ressemblance avec les Maures et les Juifs” [The Maltese with their dull and fleshy faces... were despised because of their mixed blood and their resemblance to the Moors and the Jews] (Ibid.p. 24).

Later on the *joie de vivre* of such groups combined with mutual hostility and aggressivity towards the Jews and Arabs was allowed an outburst of spontaneous violence typical of Bertrand’s narratives. The men rush out of the bars to join children in throwing stones at two young Jews sneaking through an area where, as the narrator explains, “Les Juifs ne s’aventuraient qu’en tremblant dans le Faubourg, ou on les assomait régulièrement et ou la police n’osait guère se montrer.” [Jews only ventured through fearfully...they were beaten up, and the police did not dare show up] (Ibid.p.27)

-A mort! A mort les Juifs!...Sale race ! dit le Borrégo en se raseyant à table avec Ramon. Les yeux de Juan le Mahonnais brillèrent de colère. Il avait ramassé des pierres l’un des premiers :  
- Seulement on pouvait les tuer tous ! leur faire suer leur or à ces boules de graisse !  
[-Death! Death to Jews!...Filthy race! Said Borrégo as he sat down at the table again with Ramon. Anger shone in the eyes of Juan the Majorcan. He had been one of the first to pick up stones.  
--If only we could kill the lot of them! Make sweat the gold out of these balls of fat]  
(translation mine) (Ibid. pp. 27-28).

Indeed, Bertrand as Kipling wanted to ward off the instability which characterized Algeria in the closing decade of the nineteenth century and which called into question France’s hold on the colony. Obviously, this is the reason why he exploited European-Jew and European-Muslim dichotomies in order to ensure continued French primacy and its complete monopoly of Algeria.

The Arabs and the Jews as we have noted, are all lumped together; that is to say, they are stereotyped. The stereotype, as an exaggerated (usually negative) belief associated with a category or a human grouping, thus acts as a major justificatory device for prejudice, i.e., an “aversive or hostile attitude toward a person who belongs to that category or group simply

because he belongs to it, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group” (quoted in Sivan, 1979:31). The composite reference of the natives is made of major stereotypes: he is savage, poor, dirty, dishonest and lascivious. Bertrand in his novel several times alludes to the supposed ‘debased and inferior nature’ of the Arabs. When he speaks of the Arab Kadour who served as “*homme de peine*” he refers to his depressing ignorance and awkwardness. Perhaps the most striking examples which underscore the writer’s undeniable and unshaken “*sense de l’ennemi*” are revealed when the baptized Arab whose name in the text is Charles or ‘le Papas’ (a name that Muslims call the one who is converted to Christianity) tried to take part in a conversation between the carters who chattered about the bull’s race “*course de taureaux*”, also when Kadour stayed with the carters in the same table. Indeed, these two instances made Salvatore and Pierangelo burst in a sounded anger because these natives dared to align themselves with their ‘masters’:

Il ne tarissait pas sur la grandeur de la *Plaza*, la magnificence des attelages de mules, l’enthousiasme et La générosité du public. Quelqu’un lança le nom de Mazzantini.

-Qué ? Mazzantini ?...riposta Salvador d’un ton de parfait dédain....Parle-nous de Fabrilo ! En voila un homme !...

-C’est celui qui a joué au Faubourg l’autre année, interrompit un grand garçon aux yeux de velours et aux moustaches victorieuses : moi, j’y étais...

L’interrupteur,—un Arabe baptisé et vêtu à l’européenne—, excita une violente colère chez Salvatore :

-Qu’est-ce que tu parle ?...Est-ce qu’un *Bicot* comme toi sait seulement ce que c’est qu’un taureau ? Il faut voir vu ça en Espagne !...il ne faut pas venir nous comparer les taureaux d’Alger avec ceux de Valence, non !...

L’Arabe, humilié, baissa ses beaux yeux, tellement était grand le prestige de Salvador.

Pendant ce temps, Piereangelo faisait une scène à Kadour, l’homme de peine qui était venu s’asseoir au bout de la table :

-*Depuis quand est-ce que les hommes de peine mangent avec les charretiers ?... Une autre fois tu iras manger à la cuisine. En attendant, faut que, dans dix minutes, j’entente racler l’étrille...*

....Sur la porte, l’Arabe injuré par Salvador fredonnait un refrain cantique, appris jadis chez les Pères Blanc :

Porte du ciel, Ô Vierge mère...

[He was not exhausted of speaking about the greatness of the *Plaza*, the magnificence of the mules’ harnesses, the enthusiasm and the generosity of the public. Someone uttered the name of Mazzantini.

-Who’s? Mazzantini?...retorted Salvador with a tone of perfect disdain...Speak us about Fabrilo! This is a man!....

- It's the one who played in the Faubourg last year, interrupted a tall boy with velvet eyes and thick mustaches: me, I attended...

The one who disrupted,—a baptized Arab with European cloths excited Salvador's violent anger:

-What do you say?...Does merely a *Bicot* like you know what's a bull? You've to see it in Spain! You'd never compare the bulls of Algiers with those of Valence, never!....

The Arab, humiliated, looked down, so much was the prestige of Salvador.

Meanwhile, Pierangelo made a scene to Kadour, 'l'homme de peine' who came to sit at the end of the table:

-*Since when do the 'hommes de peine' eat with the carters?...Next time you will eat in the kitchen. Meanwhile, I must in ten minutes hear scrape the curry comb.*

....In the door the Arab insulted by Salvador hummed a refrain of a canticle learnt at the White Fathers:

Porte du ciel, Ô vierge mère... ] (Italics and translation mine)

(Bertrand 1978: 65).

In both scenes, the native (baptized or not) is the same, he is viewed as an inferior being. The term *Bicot* from *Arabico* is the same with the Indian 'Babu', both are pejorative terms which denote a native who adapts the colonizer's language and manners. But what is worth mentioning is that Bertrand did not hesitate to devote some space to speak about Charles (whose native name is purposefully erased) the converted but not about Kadour or any other native. It is as if he paid tribute to the one who rejected Islam "the religion of decrepitude and barbarism" to adopt Christianity "the religion of enlightenment and civilization":

Rafael, à son tour, passa son bras autour du cou de son compagnon. Ce n'était pas qu'il se fut pris tout à coup d'amitié pur lui, c'était le hasard de la rencontre. Il avait aperçu quelquefois l'Arabe dans les guinguettes du Faubourg, et l'air et les façons de celui-ci lui plaisaient... On l'appelait le Papas, d'un surnom que les Musulman donnent aux Arabes convertis. Il avait été baptisé par le cardinal Lavigerie pendant la grande famine, puis élevé par les Pères Blancs. Son nom chrétien était Charles, celui du cardinal, son parrain. Il avait roulé toute l'Afrique ; il avait même été jusqu'à Marseille et jusqu'à Celte, exerçant un peu tous les métiers, et il avait fini par revenir à Alger, où son astuce et sa souplesse réussissaient mieux. Tantôt il était portefaix, d'autrefois rempailleur de chaises—un métier que lui avaient appris les Pères—d'autre fois maçon, mais plus souvent charretiers, car il se plaisait autour des équipages... Il était, en effet, très beau. C'était, avec quelque chose de plus robuste, la beauté andalouse dans tout son épanouissement...

[Rafael, in his turn put his arm around the neck of his companion. It was not that he felt suddenly friendship towards him, but it was the hazard of the meeting. He had sometimes seen the Arab in the inns of the Faubourg and the look, and manners of this one pleased him... He was called "le Papas", a surname that Muslims give to the converted Arabs. He had been baptized by the cardinal Lavigerie during the great famine and raised by the White Fathers. His Christian

name was Charles, the one of the cardinal, his godfather. He travelled all through Africa, he went even to Marseille and Celts carrying on all sorts of trades and he ended up in Algiers where his smartness and his flexibility served him better. Sometimes he worked as a “portefaix”; other times as a “rempailleur de chaises”—A craft taught by the White Fathers,—other times also as a mason, but most often a carter for he enjoyed himself working in teams...He was in fact very handsome. It was with something robust, the Andalusian beauty in all its flourishing...] (translation mine) (Ibid.p.66-67).

As we read in the passage above Bertrand made the hero Rafael to show Le Papas some sympathy, but it is not friendship he added stressing. Indeed, colonial domination and its major tool—segregation (both social and spatial)—are thus reinforced by the notion of an ‘unbridgeable’ and ‘inherent’ gap between the superior, fully human group and the inferior, less than fully human one. Ignorance and other barriers to communication between the two groups helped to bolster this superiority complex.

Obviously, Bertrand’s novel engages directly with that racially charged political situation which fused the French, Italian, and Spanish settlers in a common mythical origin in this Latin Mediterranean culture with which they could identify. And which, more importantly, forged an identifiable historical past that excluded the non-European/non-Christian.

“It is difficult to find a *mauresque* who is pure and undefiled, at least not in the Casbah” This popular dictum—which could be juxtaposed with the colon argument about the “Muslim, this sensualist... the slave of his primary instincts”, whose “sole preoccupation is sex” (quoted in Sivan, 1979:35)—sums up most tension-laden stereotype associated to Arabs. In fact, the French colonialist discourse always associates the natives with promiscuity and debased practices. The Arab women referred to as *fatmas*, *mauresques* and *mouquères* became more or less synonymous with ‘prostitutes’ (thereby implying a propensity among all Muslim women towards this sinful profession). Hence also the euphemisms: *faire la noce avec les mauresques*, *prendre le café avec les mauresques*. Arab women and old Muslim neighbourhoods like the Casbah were thus surrounded by an aura of a somewhat depraved temptation; an attraction all the greater

because of the 'strict code of modesty' which was maintained governing the behavior of the traditionally-minded Spanish and Italian immigrants (at least within their community). An 'enjoyable evening' of European males is depicted as beginning with a message by a dark-skinned native at the *bain maure*, continuing with a visit to the 'museum of little women of the Casbah' and ending with a belly-dancers' show.

Moreover, in conformity with his image as savage, the Arab male was presented as hypersexed (physiologically and mentally) 'ne pense qu'à ça'. The Arab male enjoyed a reputation for complete domination of the female. He was thus represented as super-virile, grossly obsessed, possessing a powerful sex appeal (not only in the eyes of Muslim women but also European ones). But heterosexuality did not exhaust this stereotype of the libidinous Arab male. He was reputed also to have homosexual inclinations and, as such, to be dangerous for young children especially European.

In *Le Sang des Races* the stereotype of the native unfettered sexuality above all other stereotypes is stressed and it is mainly related to the native women, *les Mauresques*. Several times in the novel Bertrand passes lascivious and racist comments on 'the animalized bodies and low standards of modesty' of the Arab women, mainly those of the Casbah and the Oulad Nail. He made Rafael's initiation to sex in the hands of an old Mauresque who "summoned him with obscene gestures" in his way to Hussein-Dey with his friend Pépico. Indeed, all through the novel, Bertrand evokes scenes in which the native women emerge but to strengthen this image of savagery and animalism that the colonizers have of the colonized. In Algiers the Casbah women are highly made evocative of the lure of the Orientals which Bertrand links to the latent 'filthiness' of the Arab race. One of the most striking and revealing scenes which highlight this fact is when after a violent battle Rafael and his friends on their way to les *Espagnoles* were stopped by the *Mauresques* who desperately summoned them to their homes. Hence Bertrand conveyed his thorough racist and fully prejudiced attitude:

L'ardeur de sang l'emportait. Des images de bataille et de volupté grandissaient dans sa tête, Ceco lui prit le bras violemment et cria aux autres :

Allez !... aux *Espagnoles* maintenant !

Un cri farouche répondit. Les charretiers s'ébranlèrent ; ils remontèrent la rue, enlacés, soulevés par les mêmes visions et la même force, comme un régiment en marche. *Des Mauresques les arrêtaient, des bras se nouèrent à leurs cous, se pendirent à leurs blouses, des mains les poussèrent...* Emues par le sang qui souillait leurs visages et leurs mains, les femmes les tirèrent vers les cellules. Des couples se formèrent. Ils s'éparpillèrent peu à peu dans la maison obscure et, le tumulte s'éteignant tout à coup, il y eut une minute de grand silence...

Puis, quand ils reparurent se retrouvant face à face, ils furent repris par leur besoin de crier, de se répandre et de détruire. Ils salirent avec leurs souliers les tapis de femmes, ils se vautrèrent sur leurs coussins. Ceco ayant pris sur une étagère une petite tasse en verre doré la lança violemment contre le dallage. Aussitôt une robuste fille aux bras cerclés de bracelets se précipita sur lui, en poussant des cris aigus et en ameutant les autres femmes. Des voix glapirent, des injures arabes déchirèrent les gosiers. Une vieille, la gorge tremblante, parut sur le seuil. Elle faisait des gestes tragiques et des hurlements. Elle menaçait les charretiers de la police, leur reprochait leur brutalité...

... on était à deux pas des *Espagnoles*.

[The ardour of his blood carried him away. Images of battles and pleasure grew up in his mind, Ceco took his arm violently and called the others: -- go ahead now to les *Espagnoles* (the Spanish women)!]

A great and wild cry answered. The carters moved off and walked up the street enfolded and excited by the same visions and the same force like a regiment march. *Mauresques stopped them, their arms tied their necks, hanging to their blouses but the carters pushed their hands...* Excited by the blood which sullied their faces and hands, the women drew them to their cells. Couples were formed and spread gradually in the dark house and the uproar ceased suddenly, there were a minute of great silence.

Then when they appeared and found themselves again face to face they felt a need to cry, spread and destroy. They spoiled with their shoes the women's carpets and lolled in their cushions. Ceco having found on a shelf a small cup of golden glass, he threw it violently on the pavement. Soon a robust girl with hands hemmed in bracelets rushed on him uttering shrill cries and exciting the other women. Squeal voices and Arab insults tore up their throats. An old woman whose voice was quavering appeared on the threshold. She made tragic gestures and roars. She threatened the carters of the police reproaching them of brutality...

Both of them were not *des Espagnoles* (Spanish women)] (translation and italics mine) (Bertrand, 1978: 97).

This scene significantly puts emphasis on 'the moral depravity and debasement' of the *Mauresques* whom Bertrand described as savage, aggressive, dirty and oversexed. This racist attitude implies not merely the aversion and disdain that the Spanish or the French or rather the Europeans felt towards the natives, but also the belief that the natives are of an inassimilable nature. Obviously, the "élaboration d'une race" [elaboration of a race] so dear to Bertrand never includes any biological mixing outside the "Latin" communities. He never seems to have

imagined children produced by mixed couples as a useful proponent of his doctrine, or as a step on the way to racial union.

To emphasize the above assertion of the disparity Bertrand claims between the Latin race and the Arab one, the narrator juxtaposes right after the previous scene another scene which imminently stresses the ‘elevated and sophisticated manners’ of the Spanish prostitutes, as if the writer ignores the fact that it is about the same sinful practice that the matter is:

Ils entrèrent tout d’un coup. Elles allèrent à eux cérémonieusement, quelques-unes prenant la main de ceux qu’elles connaissaient. Puis chacune flanquant un des hommes, le bras appuyé sur son épaule, elles descendirent avec lenteur l’escalier du sous-sol, en cambrant leurs tailles et en espaçant de marche en marche leurs jupons de ballerines.

Salvador, reconnu par deux femmes, se pavanait au milieu des caresses.

- Tu fais danser ? dit l’une d’elles, en l’embrassant.

Salvador, avec ses idées de grandeur, proposa tout de suite de « faire danser les Espagnoles ». Le Borrégo l’appuya, et les autres acceptèrent par orgueil, bien que cette fantaisie coûtât cher.

On les introduit dans un salon décoré de façon prétentieuse et criarde. Un lustre en verroterie pendait au milieu. Dans le fond, s’ouvrait un petit théâtre.

Bientôt les danseuses parurent en file indienne, dans la nudité de leurs corps grêles qu’exagéraient encore de longs bas de soie noire ...Elles montèrent sur l’étroite scène, où se tenait un musicien coiffé d’une casquette de jockey et cachant sous des lunettes bleues ses yeux malades. Le musicien tira un accord de sa guitare. Une grande fille maigre, élevant ses bras nus, fit claquer ses castagnettes et se mit à tourner sur la pointe des pieds. Elle s’accompagnait d’une chanson rauque à la mode arabe. Les quatre autres, élevant les bras à leur tour, reprirent le refrain en une clameur aigue :

La reina de las flores  
Por alta mar se va,  
Marnero, despliega la velva!

[They entered all of sudden. The women came to them ceremoniously, some took the hands of the one’s they knew. Then each one escorting one man, the hand reclined on the shoulder, they came downstairs slowly bracing themselves up and spacing from one stair to another their skirts of ballerina.

Salvador recognized by two women strutted in the middle of caresses.

- Make dancing? Said one of them embracing him.

Salvador with his ideas of grandeur proposed right away to “make to dance the Spanish women”. The Borrégo acquiesced and others accepted out of pride, though this fancy cost much.

They had been introduced into a decorated lounge in a pretentious and tawdry manner. A glass-ware luster hung down in the middle. In the bottom there was a small theatre.

Soon the dancers appeared in an Indian file, the nudity of their thin bodies was accentuated with long stockings of silk...they get on the scene where was a musician who put on a jockey cap and glasses which hid his ill eyes. The musician started to, play. A tall and thin girl raised

her bare arms and clapped her castanets, she begun to turn on her tip toes, singing a raucous Arab-fashioned song. The four others raised their arms and repeated the refrain in a sharp clamour:

*La reina de las flores  
Por alta mar se va,  
Marnero, despliega la velva* [Ibid.p.98]

The above scene entitled “Chez les Espagnoles” in fact is held in sharp contrast with that of the *Mauresques*. As readers, we tend to deem that Bertrand does not speak about prostitutes but rather about artists, who seem to excel in the art of dancing and parading. The writer here displays the refinement of manners and the loftiness of the Spanish in contrast to the ‘oddness or filthiness’ of the Arab. Indeed, Bertrand casts the prostitutes and their clients as he sees fit, as priests and servants of the empire to justify France’s military conquests, he turns prostitution into an archetypal and foundational act.

To stress further this belief of the lack of decency and moral vigour in the native women, the writer takes as his target besides the Casbah women one of the most overworked leitmotifs of Orientalist writing, the *Ouled Nail* women. In fact, in many colonialist writings, the *Ouled Nail*, a southern Algerian clan had become synonymous with exotic dancing and prostitution. The European fantasy invented a legend relating how during the pre-and early colonial period a number of women of the *Ouled Nail* clans went to desert oasis towns (and some to the coast as well) to work as entertainers and prostitutes. Having amassed a dowry, they then returned to their villages, according to the legend, and married respectably. The term thus “*Oulel Nail*”, “*Nailette*” or other variations signified “prostitutes” in colonial fiction and travel writing. The term gained such currency that the label “*Quartier des Ouled Nail*” on the city plans in guidebooks told tourists where to find the red light district.

Bertrand in *Le Sang des Races* asserts that these women are far from being the lascivious creatures of European fantasy, they are “usually rather decrepit and ugly”; far from dancing

draped suggestively in silks and muslins, they loll in doorways in graceless dresses which inspire repugnance and disgust, and as we read in the following excerpt:

Suivant la coutume, les charretiers, eux aussi, montèrent chez les Ouled-Nayls. Cette montée du Ksar était pour eux comme un rite essentiel, une des obligations du voyage. Mais lorsque Rafael les vit pour la première fois accroupies sur le seuil de leurs portes, avec leurs lèvres teintes de carmin, leurs gros yeux stupides et leurs lèvres voraces, il en éprouva un tel dégoût qu'il ne voulut pas subir leurs caresses.

[Following the customs, the carters also went up to the Ouled-Nayls. This way up of Ksar was for them an essential rite, one of the trip's obligations. But *when Rafael saw them for the first time crouching on the threshold of their doors with their cheeks tanned with carmine, their great stupid eyes and their voracious lips, he felt such a repugnance that he didn't want to come under their caresses*] (italics and translation mine) (Ibid.p.70)

Throughout the novel the native figures always in subordinate, function-dominated roles: as goatherds, players of the flute, shoe-shiners, sellers of lemonade, servants...etc— mostly silent, frequently nameless, darkly loitering, their women 'dancers' or prostitutes. Obviously in Bertrand, prejudice is openly, shamelessly displayed: the indigenous, called *bicot* to their faces, are said to poison wells, kill and dismember Europeans; they look and smell dirty; they are stupid. Rafael, the protagonist expressed a common sentiment:

Mais ce qui le dégoûtait plus que tout le reste, c'était ce monde hétéroclite des quais, auquel il était forcé de se mêler. Les indigènes surtout lui répugnaient, à cause de leur malpropreté et de leur platitude. Tous ces déguenillés, qui agitaient autour de lui leurs linges sales, lui faisaient l'effet d'une vermine se promenant sur son corps. Leur odeur l'écœurait. Leurs cuisines, installées dans tous les coins, exhalaient des relents d'huile, de beurre et de graillon...et ce que Rafael trouvait le plus intolérable, c'était la puanteur de ces grands poissons qu'on appelle des « chiens de mer » et dont le bas peuple se nourrit...

[The most distasteful was the heterogeneous world of the port, that he was obliged to mix with. The natives were repugnant, especially, because they were dirty and banal. All these people covered in rags, who wafted their dirty clothes around him, were like vermin on his skin. Their smell was nauseating. Their brazier, set up everywhere, gave off a stench of oil, butter, and fat... But what Rafael actually found the most intolerable was the stench of those big fish called 'sea dogs' which the poorest ate... ] (Ibid.p. 202).

Subsequently, and to look *Le Sang des Races* from New historicist lenses, one can assert that the perpetuation of the stereotypes in colonial texts is testimony to the purpose they serve i.e

preserving distance between colonizer and colonized, and presenting the indigenous as fixed, trouble-free units. In the words of Cairns and Richards:

The colonial discourse establishes the colonized as the repressed and rejected 'other' against which the colonizer defines an ordered self and on to which all potentially disruptive psych-sexual impulses are projected. The process of self-fashioning required the continual presence of an 'other' so that the maintenance of subtle points of differentiation from the colonizer would continue to reproduce, not only the subordination of the colonized, but the 'super-ordination' of the colonizer (Cairns and Richards, 1988: pp 9-10).

Clearly, colonialism produced the 'pieds-noirs' or the *néo-Français* identity at the expense of the colonized. The European settlers' identity became inventive; it not only subordinated the native Muslims but also "inferiorized" them.

Bertrand has adopted fervently the attitude of the colonist for whom the Muslim population is an annoyance to be kept at a distance, an alien presence to be hidden, or a labour force to be kept under control, profitable but minimally present. They are marginalized, that is relocated at the ends of colonial social order, entrapped within the all-encompassing grid of socio-political relations. As the Preface to *Le Sang des Races* proclaims in an overt reduction of North Africa's past to a history of European presence/ absence:

L'Arabe ne lui apporta que la misère, l'anarchie et la barbarie... Il a fallu des siècles d'Islam, les dévastations des Arabes et des Nomades pour détruire chez elle l'oeuvre agricole et monumentale des Carthaginois et des Romain.

[The Arab brought only poverty, anarchy, and barbarism... It required centuries of Islam, the devastation caused by the Arabs and Nomads to destroy in Africa the agricultural and architectural achievements of Carthage and Rome] (translation mine) (Ibid.p.16).

The power to represent, and hence to dominate, is what is at issue in these signs, or 'proofs', of backwardness or of madness. The sign in fact takes the place of the object. New historicist analyses may bring us to this point of being able to recognize, in the way in which a series of texts and representations come together to form a discourse (the discourse of European representations of India or of Algeria), that discursive formations do not just define, study and analyse the object, but also constitute and produce the object. Moral and physical dirtiness also

madness are invented and constituted by the European discourse of colonialism, and are produced as evidence of the 'savagery the backwardness' of the natives. Indeed, colonial discourse must invent the proofs of madness or of cannibalism, incest, physical abnormality, debauchery, mutilation, barbarity...etc in order to define the native as savage, and hence to justify the idea of European civilisation, enlightenment and progress. That is to say that when madness for instance appears in the European system of representations it has a very specific and powerful function within that system, and is defined and encountered in terms which are predisposed to favour the colonial needs.

As a conclusion to this chapter we can say that Kipling's *Kim* and Bertrand's *Le Sang des Races* belong to the same Eurocentric tradition. The natives in both are projections of the European fantasy. The native characters which appear in each of the narratives analyzed are, as we have seen, always the objects of European discourse, and, as such, always contained within that discourse. In both texts the native is inscrutable, and yet must be scrutinised and 'known'. He is an opaque entity who must be known, categorised, and fixed in the most complete way possible. There is nothing outside the European system of representation. The native is always represented by the European, in a European book, or by a European voice in the value of European modes of representation. A new historicist analysis has demonstrated that the novels **form a discourse which contains subversion effectively by representing it, and controlling it within a defined and limited system of representation** and by constructing a narrative in which only imperialist European ideas and attitudes are represented, and, more importantly, only Europeans are permitted the ability or power to represent.

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**CHAPTER FOUR:**

**ANGLO-INDIA AND FRENCH-ALGERIA IN KIM AND LE SANG DES RACES AS  
“IMMAGINED COMMUNITIES”**

**The setting:**

**- Anglo-India and French-Algeria as “imagined communities”:**

By the nineteenth century, as European empires began to expand and dominate the globe, the ‘nation’ became the privileged category for demarcating and distinguishing larger political entities and cultural groupings. Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* (1991) supplies one of the most influential and challenging definitions of the ‘nation’ as a construct. For him the nation is not a principle of transcendence or reconciliation but the supreme fiction of modern politics. There can be no objective definition of a nation, no authentic and inauthentic nations; a nation is an “imagined community” that can mean whatever its members want it to mean. Though they will never meet or hear of each other, “in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson, 1991: pp. 5-7). The word *imagined* is a key, because Anderson argues that the nation as political principle was conceived, historically, through certain **forms of representation**, most notably narrative fiction and print journalism (Ibid.p.11).

One of the most interesting paradoxes in the way in which nations represent themselves, argues Anderson, is that despite their relative newness as political entities, they see themselves as possessed of great antiquity, as looming out of an ‘immemorial past’ which constituted national history. Nation-statehood, however, is not a status that all could aspire to. In order to be admitted to the club of nations in the early nineteenth century, it was necessary to have a History. In his *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, the influential German philosopher, G. F. Hegel argued that World History found its highest expression in European conceptions of Reason, Freedom, and the State. Devoid of these conceptions Africa and Asia existed outside World History, in ‘Prehistory’; they “are lacking in the essential self-consciousness of the concept of freedom” (quoted in Guha, 2003:37).

Despite its wealth of “spiritual achievement of a truly profound quality”, India, according to Hegel “has no history”. This kind of pronouncement on the “unredeemable historylessness” on the vast civilizational and geographical region that was Britain’s domination in the East was to become dominant both in colonial discourse as well as anti-colonial responses to it (Ibid.p. 52). From a colonial perspective, it justified regarding ‘uncivilized’ people as not entitled to the same rights and freedoms. This difference was also one of the guiding themes of James Mill’s engagement with India in his ten-volume work, *A History of British India*, which, unlike Hegel’s writings, gives short shrift even to India’s intellectual achievements. For Mill, India—synonymous with the Hindu people— is a false claimant to nationhood because its claims to antiquity and historical record are patently fabricated. Conceptions of time in its written records are marked by “a wilderness and inconsistently that evidently place them beyond the sober limits of truth and history” (Mill, 1997: 115). In the *Minute on Indian Education* Thomas Macaulay—clearly drawing on Mill’s work—attacks Orientalist education as ‘useless’ and ‘unmeaning’ and asserts that the language of India “contains neither literary nor scientific information” (Macaulay, 1995: 430). It is through the introduction of English with its ‘intrinsic superiority’ that any improvement in this state of affairs can be brought about.

In France the same Eurocentric attitude of colonists convinced of their mission to develop newly found resources and to bring civilisation to the savage and Christianity to ‘the heathen’ reverberated. Like the British extension, the French expansion was viewed through paternalistic lenses. It was a case of true colonialism, which is the mother country offering itself to these children in act of association, mutual comprehension and respect, common labour among children of the same family. Gabriel Honotaux asserted in *The Civilising Expansion of France in the World that:*

The history of France is not truly complete if it does not include the history of French expansion in the world. France has always tried to extend itself outwards. In doing so from age immemorial, it has not responded to an egoistic instinct, not even to an appetite for conquest, but a singular need to know men and the world, to propagate, to found, to create [...] In Africa, France conquered ignorance ...

She saved the black, educated him and presented this child with civilization (quoted in Graebner, 2007: 55).

Obviously, the notion of France's '*mission civilisatrice*' could not be unpicked from the nexus of political and psychological threads involved in the attitude adopted vis-à-vis the (imperial) image and place of France, the status and role of the colonies, and notions of European superiority and native otherness.

The instances of Kipling's *Kim* and Bertrand's *Le Sang des Races* provide a most productive illustration of the imperialist drive **to construct a nation through representation**. In the novels, Anglo-India and French-Algeria seem to be paradigmatic examples of "imagined communities" whereby large number of people (the Anglo-Indians and French-Algerians) come together to constitute that political and cultural entity known as the nation which grows less out of natural facts but is a quintessential cultural product, a product of the collective imagination. The novels respectively stage India and Algeria as blank spaces to be occupied and filled in, and even the present inhabitants and occupiers of these lands are imagined, 'mentally peopled', in Europe. The Indian and the Algerian natives—as shown in the previous chapter— cannot be known in their presence, as living beings with their own cultures and systems of representations. They must always have been the projection of the European imagination, always contained within the European system of representations. India and Algeria are thus conceived as what must be occupied, simply because the European map of the world denote them as an absence, as an anomalous void which wait their places in the grand order of civilization.

To begin with, indeed, the setting in which Kim's adventures takes place is India during the time of its subjugation to the British imperial rule. So the seemingly exotic landscape within which the novel is set is contained within a larger, second context to which Kipling refers to as "The Great Game" which necessitates the place of "India" to be transformed into a playing field upon which the various European powers, represented by their secret service forces, battle for control. This narrative frame plays an outstanding role and is pervasive all throughout the novel,

for every event in the novel— from Kim’s “chance” meeting with the army of the Red Bull, to his entrance at St. Xavier’s School, to his apparently aimless wanderings with the Tibetan Lama—are closely related to the interests of the British powers who control the Game. In fact, all time and space in Kipling’s “India” are subsumed into the unfolding narrative of the Game— Lurgan Sahib, one of Kim’s many mentors, reflects: “The Great Game never ceases day and night, throughout India” (Kipling, 1994: 235). And, as Kim later learns, it ends only with the conclusion of “history” itself: “when everyone is dead the Great Game is finished. Not before” (Ibid.p.270).

The Great Game widely popularized in the novel *Kim* is generally accepted to date from the early nineteenth century until the 1907 Anglo-Russian Convention. The historical roots of it are planted in a period of sustained mutual fear and mistrust on the part of Britain and Russia throughout most of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Both British and Russian leaders feared that the other side would encroach on their territorial holdings and would establish preeminent colonial control in the Central Eurasian region. It was widely believed that this would escalate into a war between the two powers at some point, but this never happened. Russia and Britain, however, did engage in a considerable amount of military ventures against various peoples of Central Eurasia. The conflicts ranged from diplomatic squabbles to shows of military force to full-blown wars.

The British government became increasingly alarmed over the southward movement of the Russian armies throughout the nineteenth century. Russian conquest of Kazakh was followed by mid-century attacks on the Central Eurasian empires of Khokand, Khiva, and Bukhara. The Russians began a new wave of conquest in 1864 by conquering the cities of Chimkent and Aulie Ata. Khokand was defeated in 1865 and with the unexpected Russian attack and conquest of Tashkent in 1865 by General Mikhail Cherniaev, tsarist Russia was in a position to launch a string of attacks in the latter 1860s and throughout the 1870s that struck fear in the hearts of the

British. The final Russian territorial acquisition in Central Eurasia was at Merv in 1884. The Russians considered this conquest especially important because of its proximity to Afghanistan. As the Russian southward advance continued, British colonial officials became increasingly concerned that Russia may attempt to continue southward and attempt to take the jewel in the British colonial crown, India.

Indeed, although every event in imperial India takes place within the context of the Great Game, there exists no perspective from which the individual may grasp it. Again and again, Kipling shows that the most seemingly insignificant actions, when set back within the determining context of the Great Game, have dramatic implications. For example when Kim, early in the novel, delivers a small note, he unintentionally sets free a chain of events that culminates in a massive military expedition being launched against a rebellious kingdom. Later, following Kim's heroic rescue of another agent of the empire from certain death, the Lama asserts: "Thou hast loosed an Act upon the world, and as a stone thrown into a pool so spread the consequences thou canst not tell how far" (Ibid.p.279). Shortly after the Lama's reflection upon the unknowable consequences of any action, the text's narrative voice maintains the truth of this observation:

This ignorance was well both for Kim's vanity and for the lama's peace of mind, when we think that there was then being handed at Simla a code-wire reporting the arrival of E23 at Delhi, and, more important, the whereabouts of a letter he had been commissioned to—abstract...In two hours several telegrams had reached the angry minister of a southern State reporting that all trace of a somewhat bruised Mahratta had been lost; and by the time the leisurely train halted at Saharunpore (Ibid.p.279).

This observation implies the impossibility of grasping the intricate and complex machinery of the empire which extends or goes beyond all understanding. The figure of India cast in *Kim* is thus incomplete without the realities of global imperial structure. Indeed, by the conclusion of the narrative, the British power seems to be the "real truth" of contemporary India. After the successful conclusion of Kim's latest adventure, Huree Babu declares: "By Gad, sar! The British Government will change the succession in Hilàs and Bunàr, and nominate the new heirs to the

throne” (Ibid.p.369). Every event in the narrative works towards the continued maintenance of this pervasive hegemonic force which, like the Game cannot be understood and challenged by any individual.

In fact, the India produced in *Kim* seems to be satisfied of its lot between the hands of the British, no internal turmoil seems to disturb its peace. Many critics hold that the novel embodies a panoramic celebration of India, presenting as it does, a magnificent picture of its landscapes, both urban and rural, and a fascinating array on native characters who, for the most part, are warm, generous and tolerant. Mc Clure goes as far as to assert that the “India” articulated by Kipling is no more than a fanciful construct, the end product of a willful denial of that historical development that so distressed him: the nascent Indian nationalist movement. In *Kipling and Conrad: The Colonial Fiction* he writes:

Kipling simply wipes out, erases from his picture of India, all those groups and forces that were making life there in his time difficult for any imperialist, country-born or not...In order to paint a picture of a harmonious India reconciled to imperial rule Kipling has no alternative but to exclude the Indian nationalists entirely, and he does so (Mc Clure, 1981: 78-79).

McClure’s assertion is shared by Francis Adams who thinks that Kipling’s transformative narrative of Anglo-Indian life must be read as careful colonial reconstruction of the powerful events of the 1857 Indian Mutiny:

The events of the year 1857 were crowning proof of this [Kipling’s success]. In that year we simplified even these simpler theories [about foreign races] into the one simplest theory of all. “We gave’em hell” to an extent that they have never forgotten, and Mr. Kipling smiles cunningly over the still active native prejudice against being blown away from the mouths of cannons. The foolish person in search of a little disinterested information about things may find the so-called Indian Mutiny an unexplained historical phenomenon. He will get little or no information from Mr. Kipling (quoted in Adams, 1996: 153).

For Adams, Kipling’s omission of any reference to the 1857 Mutiny is crucial. It is only when sites of such imaginative unrest as the Indian Mutiny are controlled in an altered vision of the landscape Adams argues, that any comfortable narrative relationship with India can be

established. Teresa Hubel argues that such deliberate historical lacunae in colonial narrative are critical to Britain's ownership of India whereby the "imperial connotations traditionally implicit in the word 'own' are furthered by the broadening of the epistemic boundaries of India: the potential for appropriating India increases when it is recognized as the [safe] property of the imagination" (Hubel, 1996:1). Undeniably, Kipling's knowledge and literary monopoly of the Indian landscape provides the perfect background or setting for Britain's dominance of the subcontinent, muting the echoes of a disturbed colonial history.

The "India" Kipling creates is clearly a fictional invention, an "imagined community" where conflict is shunned but this does not mean that the struggles are completely missing from *Kim*, for the very narrative action of the novel represents a strategic attempt to re-contain those anxiety-producing conflicts that threaten British rule in turn-of-the-century India, namely the Russian threats. Kipling does not deny the existence of anti-imperial presence, but rather engages in a careful negation of it. The crucial absent historical "referent" in *Kim* turns to be what Edward Said calls the "clear demarcation" point in the history of empire: the Great Mutiny of 1857 (Said, 1987:24). The short-lived uprising—which originally began as an expression of outrage on the part of subaltern soldiers toward the British officers who led them—had by Kipling's time come to stand for the whole frightful possibility of a widespread revolt against British rule. The appearance and subsequent neutralization of this event thus marks a key moment in the narrative.

Shailendre Dhari Singh in his *Novels on the Indian Mutiny* points out that the impact of the Mutiny was so deep that there were over fifty Mutiny novels written in the thirty years following the event. Lewis Wurgaft's work on Kipling and the imperial imagination argues similarly that: "although the political aspirations of the Mutineers were contained, the emotional meaning of their revolt was deeply ingrained in the imperial imagination of post-Mutiny India" (Wurgaft, 1983:75).

The 1857 Mutiny was followed in the 1880's by the formation of the Indian National Congress. As the resentment against the British presence in India continued to grow, the Congress began to employ the uprising as an outstanding expression of an explicitly Indian national consciousness. By denying the uprising a place within the rational discourse of imperial history, Kipling attempts to go back in time and erases completely this historical event before it begins. India and the Indians remain in Kipling's narrative the constructs of imperial system, the end results of methodical reorganization of the "disorder" that preceded British rule. As many reviewers point India was clearly "the jewel in the crown", but a jewel badly in need of a new setting. Thus a different picture of India was urgently sought to reassure and restore the sense of imperial complacency.

*Kim* does share with many late Victorian novels like for example *Heart of Darkness* anxieties about the emergence of primitive disorder out of the civilized order of modern Western society. But making visible these anxieties is a device through which power validates the value of 'civilisation', as **the new historicists contend that power secures the value of its order by sanctioning glimpses of disorder.** It is one of the legacies of new historicism, then, to have recognised the ways in which power produces and contains what appears to be its opposite, or what seems to be a radical difference.

The Algeria Louis Bertrand staged in what he termed *le cycle Africain* of which *Le Sang des Races* is the major novel also shares common aspects about the conception of the colony as a site of the colonial desire which in this respect corresponds greatly to the India Kipling conceived in *Kim*. For both of them are conceived as "imagined communities," as representations to use the New historicist terminology, of what the colonizer wanted them to be ie; as playing fields of the colonial imagination where the settlers forge a new identity and lead a new existence.

The cultural dimensions of the conquest of Algeria in the nineteenth century depended to a great extent on the preeminent position the colony occupied in the metropolitan political and

cultural imagination. As the first major acquisition following the dissolution of France's mercantilist empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as the recent events of the Napoleonic wars and Waterloo, Algeria, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, not only evoked an image that nostalgically animated a discourse of regained power and glory, it also gave rise to the imperialist fantasy of "La Nouvelle France".

Indeed, La "*terre française*" that Algeria came to represent provided writers and artists of nineteenth-century metropolitan France with a conveniently near destination where they could pursue or construct their Orientalist fantasies. While many of the writers and artists who produced for European audiences exoticist representations based on Algerian subjects—Eugène Delacroix, Eugène Fromentin, Théophile Gautier, Guy de Maupassant, to name but a few—had experienced the colony directly in the course of actual trips, their itineraries invariably proved to be tourist ones as they included return passage to the Metropole and familiar metropolitan values. It was not until the final decade of the nineteenth century that a resident culture in the colony representing "L'Algérie travailleuse, inconnue des touristes, les centaines de village créés, les milliers d'hectares défrichés, cultivés plantés en vigne, les villes poussant du jour au lendemain" [the laboring Algeria, unknown to tourists where hundreds of villages were created, thousands of hectares cleared, cultivated and planted with vines and where hundreds of towns were erected overnight] (Antoine, 1895: 30-31) would effectively emerge to be celebrated as an energizer of France. Louis Bertrand's oeuvres animate this imperialist discourse which conceived and celebrated the nascent, modern Algeria as an extension of France or rather as "La Nouvelle France".

This conception that Bertrand adopted of Algeria as *une nouvelle terre française* was ordinary among colonialists of the day exceptionally well attuned to immigrants from both France and Spain. His writings in this respect were the outcome of a process of identification with the interests of the European occupier. Obviously, Bertrand's initial enthusiasm when coming to

Algeria was such that he spent as much time as possible on the roads, exploring the country and getting to know its settlers, starting with a trip to Médéa during his first Christmas break. Then, during Christmas 1892, he undertook a more arduous and stimulating trip with the long-distance cart-drivers known as *rouliers* to Ain Oussera. Summer 1894 took him as far as Laghouat. Spring 1895 was spent at Tipasa, summer 1896 in Bougzoul and Spain. In summer 1897 he visited Laghouat once again, to complete the documentation for *Le Sang des Races*; and, during Easter 1898, Berrouagia and Guelt-es- Stel. Although he left Algiers to take up a post in Montpellier in 1897, Bertrand was to return frequently: in 1903, 1911, 1914 during his work on St Augustine and, finally, in 1930 (Carthage) and 1939 (Algiers) as invited speaker at Eucharistic Congress organized by the Catholic Church. These frequent visits and trips all through the Algerian interior were to give Bertrand the impression or, to put it more accurately, the conviction that the fate of Algeria is to be possessed by France because this latter has the power to extend its geography over it. Indeed, Bertrand's association of France territorial expansion with the rhetoric of *mission civilisatrice* is central to the novels and essays. Hence he maintained in his autobiography *Une Destinée*:

When first I landed in Algiers my impression was one which, I imagine, every Frenchman can but share. I had arrived in one of the few places in the world where we could hold our head high and where everything suggested that our domination would not be short-lived... I was delighted to see that we had performed the well-high impossible task of bringing civilization without too much destruction (Quoted in Dunwoodie, 1998:51).

The setting in which *Le Sang des Races* takes place pertains to the years of the 1870's and 1890's which were the heyday of French rule in Algeria, for they followed the crushing of the last traditional Kabyle rebellion of El Mokrani and the bolstering of colonists' economic and political hegemony (1870-1890) and in France it juxtaposed as alluded to before the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, two French departments, in the hands of Germany and the flocking or rather exodus of immigrants from the poorer regions of France, Spain, Italy, Malta, Minorca...to

Algeria, a fact which was accelerated by the economic collapse and the resulting grinding poverty and humiliation after phylloxera devastated the wine-growing regions in 1875. Thus, Bertrand's image of *'l'Afrique latine'* projects the image of Algeria as "la nouvelle Alsace," consolidating the position of the old glorious France after her 1871 defeat in the Prussian War. Deeply disturbed by this defeat at the hands of the Germans, Bertrand discovered in Algeria a compensatory image of a victorious, conquering France. In fact, his stance captures the attitude of the imperialist school which thought that France's greatness was to depend on its foundation of a powerful Mediterranean empire in which Algeria would be the pivot for France's expansion in North Africa and *L'Afrique Française*. This mythic representation embodies the spirit of French assimilationist doctrine as stipulated by the *senatus-consulte* and the *Warnier* project which denied the native the subject status and granted citizenship to the new comers of the Mediterranean shores, the Spaniards, the French, the Italians...

As "La Nouvelle France," Algeria was differentiated from other French colonies with regard to the articulation of political, social, cultural and linguistic dimensions of the "mission civilisatrice" and assimilationist theories. While the rhetoric of assimilation and the civilizing mission was rarely translated into real or effective colonial policy with respect to indigenous populations, ( it aimed at substituting one type of people by another: the native Algerians by Western settlers), it nonetheless accompanied the promotion in the metropolitan politics and society of the permanent settling of the colony by Europeans with the ultimate desire of creating a France of "quatre-vingts à cent millions de Français, fortement établis sur les deux rives de la Méditerranée" (Prévost-Paradol, 1868: 418), a project reminiscent of ancient Greece and Rome. Indeed, Bertrand's novel *Le Sang des Races* mediates the political intentions and ideological functions that this association of the French empire with ancient Greece and Rome accomplished and casts the image of Algeria as "une colonie de peuplement," a melting-pot of the immigrants who found in it a promising new Paradise and a haven for their thwarted hopes.

The Algeria Louis Bertrand depicted in *Le Sang des Races* is essentially, a vast proving-ground for the human will in which the settler acquires virtues such as tenacity, frugality, adaptability, daring... It is a virgin, even vacant territory offering spectacular and limitless opportunities for the immigrants as it is a source of hope for the weathered France of the *fin-de siècle*. “Une nouvelle terre promise” [A New Promised Land] as figured in chapter one and as maintained throughout the novel which waited a vigorous race like the Latins — not the Arabs who ‘held her for centuries in darkness and degeneration’— to be exploited, cultivated and fructified at their hands. The Mediterranean races are thus “the chosen people” who could well imagine they were returning to their abandoned domain to repossess their property (*leur bien*) and to invest and fructify their efforts in one of the most fertile, rich lands of Africa, namely Algeria, as we read in the following excerpt:

Cette Afrique à demi sauvage, tous ces Espagnols la considéraient comme leur conquête : ceux de Mahon défrichaient les champs incultes, forçaient le sol aride à produire, tondaient les plaines d’alfa. Ceux de Valence et d’Alicante, avec des efforts surhumains entraînaient de lourds chariots chargés de vivres et de matériaux à travers les sables mouvants du Sud. Tous rançonnaient l’Arabe et l’Européen, tous se volaient entre eux, comme ceux qui, jadis, partaient par bandes des ports de San-Lucar et de Polos, pour aller conquérir l’or du Mexique et du Pérou.

[This half savage Africa, all these Spaniards considered her as their conquest: those of Mahon cleared the uncultivated fields, forced the arid lands to produce, and mowed the plains of alfa. Those of Valence and Alicante with superhuman efforts carried the heavy wagons full of provisions and materials across the moving sands of the South. All of them plundered the Arab, the European, and even each other, and resemble those of their ancestors who set out in bands from the ports of San Lucar and Palo to conquer the gold of Peru and Mexico] (translation mine) (Bertrand, 1978: 38-39).

In fact, from the Mediterranean, Bertrand’s ‘Latin’ Algeria loomed up as a space of perpetual immigration and colonial conquests. The massive waves of immigrants from the Mediterranean countries, notably France, Italy and Spain, which followed Algeria’s political conquest convinced Bertrand of its Latin character. He believed that its geographical nearness and its ancient Roman past, seemed to place it naturally under Latin hegemony; that these immigrants

were at home in Algeria; and that they had entered an ‘abandoned’ domain to take back their Latin possessions. By the end of the second half of French occupation, the meshing together of Rome and France, as different stages of the same oeuvre, was well established. Louis Bertrand’s *Le Sang des Races* is an example which illustrates the myth that legitimated colonization as the recuperation of the Latin heritage: “Nous sommes venus reprendre l’œuvre de Rome en ce pays, que leur constitution géographique, leur voisinage et leur passé semblent placer naturellement sous l’hégémonie latine” [we are here to take again the Roman *œuvre* in this country whose geographic construction, their neighborhood and their past seemed to put them naturally under the Latin hegemony] (Bertrand, 1938:8). Bertrand was early impressed by the close similarity which exists between North Africa and the other Mediterranean regions: the same flora and fauna, the same climate and the same configuration of the coasts. For him North Africa is France of the Midi, but to a greater degree it is Spain and southern Italy. One is not surprised then that the men of Languedoc, Provence, Spain, Italy, Corsica, Sicily and Malta have flocked to Africa and have felt are almost at home there, Bertrand—as the above assertion shows—is one of them.

As the following extract shows, Eurocentric colonialist historians of the period also contributed to this discourse in which the process of historic-cultural legitimation traces what was becoming an increasingly familiar lineage from Rome to France, itself as it has been previously shown, a characteristic feature of Bertrand’s narrative. Hence we read in Gojon’s *En Algérie avec la France* (1927) :

France has cast its calm, powerful shadow across Algeria. It has thrown across the infertile emptiness a net of railway lines and roads. It has graced with its smile this magnificent solitary face and etched thereon, forever, its own expression. It was enough for France to plant in this golden land its fasces and its axe to make wheat spring forth generously, to make oil and wine flow from its presses. Its innumerable herds have given life back to Algeria’s abundant emptiness. France has uncovered the underground treasures which Algeria bore, unaware. It has stripped back the ivy, cleaned the marble, built factories and workshops, dredged harbours, founded towns, built roads and bridges, and restored the beautiful, ruined Latin towns, lying in the sun like illustrious ancestors rediscovered. All this is far removed from cheap bazaar trinkets. Algeria is no longer the

fleshy but sterile odalisque of operettas that Ingres dreamed of, and that Henri Regnault, Fromentin, Benjamin Constant sought in impenetrable old Kasbahs... Beyond Islam, which inflicted poverty and barbarism on this land, France, taking up the labours of Rome, has restored its lost greatness (quoted in Dunwoodie, 1998: 54).

Clearly Bertrand, like many of his earliest predecessors, saw Algeria as an empty, unproductive space, a geographical and cultural void waiting to be filled, dominated, and fructified by the European. Physical labour, sex, violence, the grossly physical and crassly material are considered the essential ingredients of Bertrand's hymn to the energy he saw forging a new France in Algeria, transforming a supposedly empty, arid space into a New Paradise. The description of the town of Medea provides an example of this transformation of the Algerian landscape supposedly barren into a fruitful land in the hands of the '*colons*':

Médéa apparut au milieu de ses jardins peuplés d'arbres de France. Des cerisiers encore chargés de fruits, des pêchers et des pruniers lui faisaient une ceinture verdoyante. Avec les bâtisses régulières de ses casernes, dominant les cimes et les vallées du Nador, elle avait l'air d'une petite sous-préfecture de France, dans un pays perdu.

[Medea appeared amongst the gardens planted with trees from France. Cherry still heavy with fruit, peach and plum trees formed a green around it. The squared-off buildings of the barracks, dominating the peaks and valleys of the Nador, made a little France sous-préfecture, in a remote country] (Bertrand, 1978: 68).

Also the Mitidja and Boufarik plains, supposedly transformed from unhealthy wasteland to prosperous farm country, became the boosters' favorite case in the massive effort to promote Algeria's healthiness, not as something inherent or natural, but created and secured by French hard work and sacrifice.

Long portrayed in Orientalist discourse as peripheral and passive, Algeria was reinscribed as a vibrant space of exchange and creativity its major cities already established as an enabling network of productive, thriving modern capitals; Algiers, Oran, Constantine, Medea and other towns are the examples. Signifiers like genie, blood, youthful race, spirit of action...were openly taken over from the establishment discourse in Algeria as signs of continuity. And the

conservative, reactionary nature of that world-view is clearly displayed in Bertrand's celebration of the ordered spacial relations and the slow rhythm of the cart-drivers' engagement with the South which contrast with the increasingly disruptive space-time compression (via new modes of transport and communication) that affected Europe from the last decades of the nineteenth century and, finally, explodes in the conflict of 1914-18 (Dunwoodie, 1998:65).

In the drive to extend Europe's borders, colonialists erected new frontiers within conquered territories which defined the spaces allocated to settler and native and, in so doing, located containment (and transgression) at the heart of the colonial experience, assimilation (and exclusion) at the center of colonial policy. The very dichotomy 'entre deux espaces... conflictuels: la Terre et la Cité' carries in itself ideological undertones. The man-made (and primarily European) city is seen as a creature of history, while the countryside is still an integral part of nature. The connection between history and the colonial urban fabric was held indisputable. Hence we read in an extract underscoring the celebration of France's achievements in the centenary of its conquest of Algeria:

Laissons les grandes et magnifiques villes de la côte, Alger, dont la prospérité, le développement marchent au rythme des plus riches cités américaines, Alger qui est à la fois Marseille et Nice; laissons Oran, florissante elle aussi; Bône, Philippeville; arrêtons-nous aux petites villes des sous-préfectures de France, je ne sais quel air Louis-Philippe, qui sont un vrai morceau de notre terre, miraculeusement transporté sur la terre d'Afrique.

[Let us leave the grand and magnificent cities of the coast: Algiers, where prosperity and development advance at the pace of the richest American cities, and which is at once Marseille and Nice; Oran, also flourishing; Bône and Philippeville. Let us stop in the little towns of the interior, Blida, Medea, Mascara, and Tlemcen, which have the superannuated charm of *sous-préfectures* in France, a certain air of Louis-Philippe about them, and which are a true piece of our soil, miraculously transported to the soil of Africa] (Recouly, 1929:5)

In *Le Sang des Races* Bertrand depicted Algeria as a country- in- the making, Algiers the capital where the flow of immigrants landed and where the hero Rafael was born and grew was from the outset set as a busy town in construction. Its new buildings and avenues were made to reflect and to stress the civilizing impact of French colonization, the Casbah alone was to remain

a 'quartier réservé' confined to 'the degenerated and inferior' Arab who is conceived as inassimilable. Bertrand engaged Rafael in a civilizing mission across the Algerian interior, beyond the hauts plateaux of Djelfa and Guelt-es- Stel and through the growing towns of Meda and Bône, plains and deserts of Mitidja, Bougzoul, Ghardaia and Laghouat which inspired in him the joy of the conquest. Clearly Bertrand held of Algeria a territory to be possessed and France is to extend its geography to this territory. Edward Said observes that imperialism in some basic cases involves the idea that "Territory and possessions are at stake, geography and power" (Said, 1994: 5). The trips Bertrand made throughout Algeria had obviously nurtured this imperialist charged stance in depicting Rafael as a master of these desolate and far lands of the Algerian territory.

Through the analysis of the respective settings of *Kim* and *Le Sang des Races* one can obviously discern the politico-historical circumstances with which both texts are meshed and embedded. In fact, the participation of both texts in the historical formation and operation of colonial power, and in the production and representation of European fantasies of otherness is available to us to read and to link with the other prevailing representations. By implication, both novels are complicit in the imperialist discourse which views the colonized lands as sites of the colonial imagination and fantasy. The writers' conception of Anglo-India and French-Algeria as "imagined communities" is significant in this respect for while it is inevitably the product of imperialist discourse, it is also a part of that discourse, shaping and serving imperialism.

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## **CONCLUSION**

## **Conclusion:**

This modest dissertation has been conducted to study the imperialist stances of two European writers who belong to the same period (the nineteenth century) yet to different countries, Britain and France. Rudyard Kipling and Louis Bertrand considered as the spokesmen and icons of the British and the French Empires respectively are the two representative writers we have seen significant to engage in a parallel study because of their involvement with similar philosophies that sustain and maintain the British and the French colonial projects. Kipling's the "White man's burden" is directly linked to the colonial ideology of the British Empire which became a moral and cultural concomitant of the political value of the Empire. Bertrand's "Latin Africa" is an instrument of imperial creed which works to consolidate the hegemonic powers of a declining France in the late nineteenth century. In fact, their Eurocentric attitudes towards the colonized peoples and lands are the focal point of this study. Under a New historicist perspective, it is clear that identity as a discourse is never a fixed, unalterable concept but it is changeable and responsive to the individuals' needs and exigencies. In other words, identities are formulated and adapted through narratives and performances in response to and as a way of interacting with prevailing historical conditions. Obviously, both writers conceived their works under the sway of and in tune with the prevailing colonialist discourse about the colonies as "imaginative communities" wherein the settlers are considered as the real countrymen and the first citizens and wherein the natives are occluded and placed under erasure. The novels chosen for study are *Kim* as far as Kipling is concerned alongside *Le Sang des Races* as far as Bertrand is concerned. The writers' perceptions of the Anglo-Indian and French-Algerian as the respective novels disclose are the core of my work.

To achieve this purpose four chapters have been conceived. The first chapter is about the historical background of both India and Algeria in the period stretching from the 1870s to the

1900s when— using Suzanne Howe’s words—“ the heroes of colonial fiction pull their whole weight in heavy loads of the Gospel of Empire” (Howe, 1994: 4). This chapter aims at grasping and understanding more fully the politico-historical circumstances embedded in the novels under study. Through it a more or less thorough lucidity concerning the circumstances of their conception is purported before starting the novels’ analysis in relation to the prevailing imperialist discourse.

Chapter two of the present dissertation has been devoted to both Kipling’s and Bertrand’s conceptions of the Anglo-Indians and French-Algerians as the legitimate and veritable sons, possessors and masters of India and Algeria. The Anglo-Indian through the character of Kim has been shown as the one entitled with the full right to govern India because his white skin and English blood grant him this privilege that babus are denied of viewing their race held as inferior thus unfit to rule and govern. Kim’s special identity as a white boy with an Indian background offered him an imminent position as a sahib in the secret service to which he was recruited thanks to his playful dexterity and resourcefulness to engage with the state affairs. His talents to “do everything, be anything, go anywhere with impunity” using Said’ s words helped him to fulfill the fantasies of infinite mobility that were identified with the imperial imagination. Also his knowledge of the Indian ways of thinking, behaving and living procured him a powerful position as a “participant observer” and a “native informant” which insured him a full integration into the English ruling class and made the elements of native culture embedded in his identity serviceable to the English interests. In this context, much emphasis is put on the novel’s concern with power relations—itself a key concept of New historicism— which reveal the political acts and historical functions of *Kim* underscoring the hero’s conceived identity.

A parallel analysis of Bertrand’s conception of identity of the French-Algerians what termed

the *néo-Français* in *Le Sang des Races* is elaborated with relation to his signature concept of Latin Africa which forged for the settlers a cultural and historical past. The French-Algerian through the character of Rafael and his fellows from the Mediterranean shores of Spain, Italy, Minorca, Malta...etc as it has been demonstrated appeared to embody the mythical identity Bertrand conceived for the settlers as the inheritors of the Latin province of Algeria and as the saviors of the degenerated France of *the fin-de siècle* which sought a source of regeneration in its colonies and in the new born race emerging from the fusion of the different Mediterranean races. Physical labour, perseverance and courage as integral elements in the settlers' identity are thus made the prerequisite of the settlers' success alongside the racial purity as a quintessential condition for the perennial elaboration of race Bertrand so strongly preached.

Chapter three has been devoted to shed light on the study of how Kipling and Bertrand depicted the natives of Anglo-India and French-Algeria. Clearly the writers, who were engaged in clearing the space for the colonizer to be the rightful master and insider of Anglo-India and French-Algeria, had reconfigured the natives as intruders and non-entities. Indeed, the systems of representation or discursive formation adopted to delineate the natives are perfectly closed and circular. They function as it has been fully analysed as a system of power by containing subversions within its own structure. Kipling through the character of Huree Babu more precisely has denoted that a native remains inferior despite his education and intelligence. He purposefully reiterates European superiority over the "native backwardness" by manipulating the babu into believing and living his inferiority by constantly referring to his Asiatic birth which evokes and inspires derision. It has been shown that such stereotypical representations of the babu represent a negation of the Indian intellectual in a period which witnessed the rise of the nationalistic movements.

The representation of the native Algerians in *Le Sang des Races* carries such strongly racist overtones which extend the ones met in *Kim*. Bertrand's novel not merely relegated the

natives to an inferior position but more than this it occluded their presence to “ bit players in a splendid Latin decor.” The writer’s “sense de l’ennemi” significantly offered no space for the Arabs most often viewed as “the filthiest race.” The little allusion in the novel to the natives equated them with all what is perceived as a vice: savagery, dirtiness, dishonesty, lasciviousness...etc. Subsequently, the perpetuation of such stereotypes in Kipling’s and Bertrand’s colonial texts is testimony to the purposes they serve: preserving distance between colonizer and colonized, presenting the indigenous as fixed, trouble-free units and producing a self-fashioning process for the colonizer to assert his identity.

In the last chapter of this dissertation a study of the setting of both novels is dealt with to reveal the writers’ conception of the colonies as “imagined communities” and fictions which respond to the ideological formations of the British and French Empires. The analysis has demonstrated that the works depict Anglo-India and French-Algeria as imaginative sites wherein projected the colonizers desires and fantasies. Thus the India Kipling creates is a fictional invention where conflict is shunned and where every event is implied in the workings of the Great Game which necessitates the place of India to be transformed into a playing field upon which the various European powers, represented by the secret service battle for control.

Similarly, the Algeria Louis Bertrand staged in *Le Sang des Races* appears to be no more than a representation of what the French colonizer wanted it to be that is “Une Nouvelle Terre Promise” or “Une Nouvelle France” to be occupied, peopled, and fructified by the Latin races from the Mediterranean basin who would transform its arid and desert lands into a new Eden of boundless opportunities. Cartage in this context is given mythic and epic dimensions because the Algeria mostly Bertrand admired is this in which the fever of construction shunned the Orientalist fantasies most often described Algeria as passive. But within a nascent modern Algeria, Bertrand erected new frontiers which defined the spaces allocated to

settler and native obviously a result of the containment policy adopted by the colonial administration to isolate the natives in such “*cartiers réservés*” as the Casbah of Algiers to state just an example.

At the political heading, the atmosphere of both novels shows that they are, indeed, consolidating cultural forms. It means that, in *Kim*, Kipling is committed to the British Empire and its encroachment in India which is viewed in positive terms. The same goes with *Le Sang des Races* in which the ideological formations are closely related to the rhetoric of the civilizing mission.

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## Résumé :

Cette modeste dissertation propose une étude des idées impériales de Rudyard Kipling et Louis Bertrand. Elle s'accroît nécessairement sur la problématique que les deux écrivains ont des idées communes, voir convergentes sur le colonisateur comme le vrai citoyen, le vrai maître et possesseur de la colonie. En ce qui concerne Rudyard Kipling, il a été question d'étudier sa perception de l'Anglo-indien dans son roman *Kim* (1901). Concernant Louis Bertrand, c'est son attitude envers le Français-algérien (le néo-Français) dans son roman *Le Sang des Races* (1899) qui est l'intérêt. Pour étudier cette problématique, j'ai fait référence à la théorie du *New Historicism* telle qu'elle est développée par Stephen Greenblatt et par Michel Foucault aussi à la théorie du *Cultural Materialism*. Ainsi cette dissertation est divisée en quatre principaux chapitres avant lesquels une introduction est élaborée. Dans cette dernière, il a été question de faire une revue littéraire sur les critiques faites sur les deux romans et de soulever la problématique de cette dissertation.

Le premier chapitre est consacré à étudier le contexte et les circonstances historiques dans lesquelles les romans ont été conçus pour mieux comprendre l'influence de l'environnement socio-historique sur les deux écrivains. Le deuxième chapitre s'intéresse à la position de Kipling sur l'Anglo-indien comme 'le fils légitime' de 'l'Inde-Anglaise' mais aussi celle de Bertrand à l'égard du Français-algérien comme l'héritier légal et authentique de 'l'Algérie Latine.' En effet, l'étude des deux romans révèle que les deux écrivains sont parfaitement en faveur de l'impérialisme et de l'expansion des empires Britannique et Française vers d'autres territoires tels que l'Inde et l'Algérie. L'analyse des personnages principaux dans *Kim* et *Le Sang des Races* i.e. Kim et Rafael a révélé qu'il y a des affinités entre les deux auteurs car leurs perspectives sont Eurocentriques et principalement basées sur le même point de vue concernant le colonisateur. L'analyse nous a également fait savoir que dans la présentation de chaque personnage initial, un discours de force est élaboré pour accentuer la suprématie de la

race Européenne et la légitimité du colonialisme comme partie intégrale de la mission civilisatrice.

Le troisième chapitre est consacré pour étudier la position des auteurs sur les autochtones de l'Inde et de l'Algérie. Dans cette perspective, il est à noter que les deux partagent la même idée en ce qui concerne la présentation des races non-Européennes qui sont pour eux naturellement inférieurs donc incapable d'autogouvernement. En effet, la présentation de Hurree Babus dans *Kim* aussi des Arabes dans *Le Sang des Races* nous a révélé le discours raciste et subversif que les deux romans circulent.

Dans le dernier chapitre, une étude spatio-temporelle est élaborée pour les deux romans. La conception de 'l'Inde-Anglaise' et de 'l'Algérie-Française' comme 'des communautés imaginaires' est le pôle d'intérêt. L'analyse nous a montrée que dans leurs textes, Kipling et Bertrand diffusent les deux pays comme des sites imaginaires où les Anglo-indiens et les Français-algériens apparaissent en premier lieu comme des fils légitimes et des pères fondateurs. Une présentation obéissante et servile du discours colonialiste et impérialiste.

Enfin, j'ai conclu que les idées de ces deux auteurs se ressemblent largement car le contexte historique où les auteurs ont produit leurs œuvres est essentiellement caractérisé par la dominance et la prévalence du même discours impérialiste en Angleterre comme en France.

## ملخص:

إن هذه الأطروحة المتواضعة تتناول دراسة الفكر الامبريالي لـ روديارد كيبلينغ **Rudyard Kipling** ولويس برتراند "Louis Bertrand" تتمحور هذه الدراسة على الإشكالية ان هذين الكاتبين لهما أفكار ومذاهب تنصب في بوتقة واحدة ألا وهي نظرتهما للمستعمر كلابن الشرعي والمواطن الأصلي للبلد المستعمر الهند و الجزائر. بالنسبة لـ كيبلينغ "فنظرته للمستوطن الانجلو- هندي المساندة للامبريالية تتجسد في مؤلفه "كيم" (Kim) في حين أن نظرة برتراند تتجسد في نصه "دم الاجناس " "le Sang Des Races" وللدراسة هذه الإشكالية فقد استعنت بنظرية **New Historicism** و **Cultural Materialism** كما عولجت من طرف **قربنبلات وميشال فوكو** وبهذا يكون تقسيم هذه الدراسة إلى أربعة محاور أساسية سبقت بمقدمة أين تم فيها التطرق إلى مختلف الانتقادات التي تعرض إليها المؤلفين قبل طرح الإشكالية التي أود معالجتها في هذه الأطروحة صدد الدراسة. المحور الأول تم التطرق فيه إلى هذه المقاربات الفكرية للكاتبين من حيث نظرتهما كما اشترت انفا للمستعمر كونه المالك والمواطن الأصلي للمستعمرات الهندية والجزائرية. فيما يخص كيبلينغ فقد سعت إلى دراسة نظرتة حول الانجولي - هندي في مؤلفه "كيم" اين تجسدت في شخصية البطل " كيم". أما فيما يخص برتراند فوجهة نظرتة قد درست من خلال شخصية رافائيل (الرئيسية).

في المحور الثاني دراسة مفصلة حول موقف الكاتبين ونظرتهما للمواطنين الفعليين للهند والجزائر قد تم التطرق إليها. ففيما يخص الكاتب كيبلينغ فقد صب اهتمامنا على تحليل شخصية هوري بابو Hurree Babu التي تحمل عدة خلفيات سياسية وأيديولوجية أراد الكاتب تجسيدها من خلال هذه الشخصية التي و ان كانت ثانوية إلى أنها مهمة إلى حد كبير في دراستنا هذه. أما فيما يخص لويس برتراند فاهتمامنا قد انصب في روايته " دم الأجناس " على دراسة كيفية تقديمه للجزائريين ووصفهم كجنس منبوذ ومتخلف ابعد أن يكون له ارض وهوية .

في المحور الأخر قد تم معالجة كيف أن الكاتبين قد اتفقا في نظرتهما للهند والجزائر كبلدين لا يمكن تصورهما ككينونتين مستقلتين عن انجلترا وفرنسا ومن حيث هذا المنظار تم دراسة كيف أن الكاتبين جسدا بحق الايدولوجيات الغربية التي تنظر للبلدان المستعمرة كجزء لا يتجزأ من أراضيها وممتلكاتها .

كخاتمة لهذه الأطروحة فقد سعت لتبيان كيف أنها نظرة وفلسفة الكاتبين تعتبر مرآة عاكسة للاحداث التاريخية الموافقة لانجلترا وفرنسا في القرن التاسع عشر.