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Title

**Imperial Nationalist Gospels in the Oeuvre of the Algerianist Louis
Bertrand and the Anglo-Indian Rudyard Kipling**

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Dedication

To

My beloved mother, my dear father, my amazing brothers Younes and Oussama, my sweet sister Melissa.

My wonderful husband Salim and my little angel Celia.

My family in law

To the soul of my father in law

Acknowledgement

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I cannot forget all my family members and my friends who helped me, encouraged me, and especially believed in me.

Abstract

The present thesis reconsidered the ideology of imperialism as espoused by the Algerianist Louis Bertrand and the Anglo-Indian Rudyard Kipling putting it in a new frame. It sought to highlight the nationalist and defensive tenets overlooked in the writers' texts arguing that in their case imperialism is an extreme form of nationalism. Therefore, the study explored the underpinnings of "Imperial Nationalism" in the authors' writings to show that the latter were deeply influenced by the French and the British national and international anxieties which aroused their nationalist sentiments and gave shape to their imperial literary creation used to enhance their nations' imperial agendas. The analysis was performed on two main axes. First, it examined the implied fears and the anxieties the authors had about their imperial and national integrity. Then, it tried to demonstrate the solutions they proffered to cope with the uncertainty of their empires. Second, it displayed their views about the consolidation of the imperial nationalist situation through the use literature as a mythmaking and myth-disseminating device. To do so, the analysis drew on the premises of the New historicist and Postcolonial Literary theories believing that the works of the two writers could not be read away from their contexts. A comprehensive view of their ideologies required the examination of the writings of each of them as interrelated and complementary circles in a long chain and as the culmination of various socio-political conditions and imperial situation.

ملخص

تتطرق هذه الأطروحة لمفهوم القومية الإمبريالية في أعمال الكاتبين لويس برتراند وروديارد كيبلينج مبينة ان الامبريالية كما تبنياها ما هي الا قومية في شكلها المتطرف. تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى تسليط الضوء على المبادئ القومية والدفاعية لأعمالهما فيما يتعلق ببعدها الإمبراطوري. تبحث الأطروحة أولاً في مخاوف وقلق المؤلفان حول وضع بلديهما الإمبراطوري والقومي الذي سيطر على كتاباتهما. بعد

ذلك، تحاول إظهار الحلول التي عرضها للتعامل مع عدم اليقين الذي يسيطر إمبراطورياتهما والخوف من سقوطها أو عدم استمراريتها. أخيراً، تقوم هذه الدراسة بتحليل وجهات نظريهما حول تقوية الموقف القومي الإمبراطوري من خلال استخدام الأدب كأداة لصنع ونشر الاسطورة وكيف ساهمت هذه الأخيرة في دعم الفكر الامبريالي. تحاول هذه الدراسة التوضيح أن أعمال هذين الكاتبين لا يمكن قراءتها ككيانات منفصلة. فحتى يكون للقارئ نظرة أكثر شمولاً لأيديولوجياتهما يجب تفحص كتاباتهما على أنها دوائر مترابطة ومتكاملة في سلسلة طويلة وتتويج لظروف اجتماعية سياسية مختلفة للحقبة الزمنية التي عاشها معتمدة في ذلك على فرضيات النظرية ما بعد الاستعمارية والنظرية التاريخية الجديدة.

Résumé

La présente thèse a reconsidéré l'idéologie de l'impérialisme telle que défendue par l'algérien Louis Bertrand et l'anglo-indien Rudyard Kipling en la plaçant dans un nouveau cadre. Elle a essayé de mettre en évidence les principes nationalistes et défensifs négligés dans les textes des écrivains argumentant que, dans leur cas, l'impérialisme est une forme extrême de nationalisme. Par conséquent, l'étude a exploré les fondements du « nationalisme impérial » dans leurs écrits pour montrer que ces derniers ont été profondément influencés par les angoisses nationales et internationales françaises et britanniques qui ont suscité les sentiments nationalistes des auteurs et donné forme à leur création littéraire impériale utilisée pour renforcer les projets impériaux de leurs nations. Tout d'abord, elle a examiné les craintes et les angoisses implicites des auteurs à propos de leur intégrité impériale et nationale. Ensuite, elle a tenté de démontrer les solutions qu'ils proposaient pour faire face à l'incertitude de leurs empires. Ensuite, elle a montré leurs points de vue sur la consolidation de la situation nationaliste impériale en utilisant la littérature comme un outil de création et de diffusion de mythes. Pour ce faire, l'analyse s'est appuyée sur les prémisses des théories littéraires néo-historicistes et postcoloniales, estimant que les œuvres des deux écrivains ne pouvaient pas

être lues hors de leur contexte. Une vision globale de leurs idéologies a nécessité l'examen des écrits de chacun d'eux en tant que cercles interdépendants et complémentaires dans une longue chaîne et en tant que point culminant de diverses conditions socio-politiques et de la situation impériale.

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General Introduction

“History is a wheel, for the nature of man is fundamentally unchanging. What has happened before will perforce happen again.”

--George R. R. Martin, *A Feast for Crows*.

[H]ow powerful story is in delimiting as well as projecting the way we know... Narrative, as a process of representation, provides a powerful tool for conceptualization. As Thomas Leitch notes, “stories imitate a world of potential, of coming-to-be.”

--Dana Nelson, *The World in Black and White*.

Imperialism never ended, but merely mutated onto new forms. The virtual empire knows no boundaries.

--George Monbiot, “Imperialism didn’t end. These days it’s Known as International Law,” *The Guardian*.

As the last quote by George Monbiot stresses, imperialism is a continually renovated phenomenon, which is still playing a crucial role in present world. Therefore, the study of nineteenth century imperialism cannot be out-dated because it can still provide illuminating insights that help solve the control/power riddles lived in at the present time. This study is built on the conviction that history repeats itself, and the same conditions produce the same effects. It is obvious how the leading powers of our contemporary world are still contesting for strategic areas in the world. It is noticeable how the leading countries are eager to produce various myths about their nations and about less powerful ones like that of the “Terrorist Muslim.” The best example of this contest is the USA’s, France’s, Britain’s, Russian’s competition to intervene in the affairs of the Middle East which results from the world economic crisis. So, understanding the colonial mind of the past enables us to understand the present nations’ ideologies and strategies which may take different shapes but still identical at the core.

The intervention of the previously stated countries in the domestic affairs of other nations has always been made under the cloak of the civilizing mission and help giving while in fact it is a question of self-interest. All this brings attention to Rudyard Kipling’s “The White Man’s Burden,” a consistent ideology in the Western mind where “Other” people are always in need of the Western powers. As Walter Rodney puts “It meant the development of Europe as

part of the same dialectical process in which Africa [and the Orient in general] was underdeveloped.”¹ Rodney confirms in his long analysis of the African underdevelopment that Europe and America are the major responsible for the economic retardation of Africa. The Western economic development was the main motive for the European territorial encroachment on other countries and the reason behind the latter’s socio-economic stagnation.

The East India Company, which was essentially commercial, was Great Britain’s first station from which it spread its control over all India to make it the most precious colony of the empire. In the French situation, economic considerations played a decisive rule in the French economic plans of that time since the large vineyards cultured in the North and the petrol got from the south were critical sustainment of the enfeebled French Economy. Therefore, the present study is a rereading of texts from the past that allows us to illuminate some ignored aspects of the imperial mind and which can help understand our present and future international situation since imperialism is a living continuity.

The present study is concerned with the ideology of “Imperialism” which has already received a considerable critical attention. Yet, some of its aspects have been neglected or insufficiently studied. Despite the huge critical studies existing on the imperialist creed of colonial writing mainly the French and the British, they are often limited to issues like racism, oppression, the supremacy of the colonizer over the inferior colonized, euro-centrism, and self-legitimization, exploitation, and the antagonism between imperialism and nationalism. They revolve around the expansionist and the self-glorifying aspects in the colonial text. However, colonial literature has a nationalist and a defensive tenet that have been ignored. The purpose of the present study is to scrutinize the defensive nature of the colonial text that results from the writers’ nationalist anxieties by comparing the oeuvre of two major colonial writers: the Algerianist Louis Bertrand and the Anglo-Indian Rudyard Kipling.

¹ Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1982), 149.

The Choice of the Texts

Colonial literature has always worked hand in hand with colonial troops to promote a military as well as cultural hegemony over the colonized. As Edward Said lays it down in his introduction to *Culture and Imperialism*,

The main battle in imperialism is over land, of course; but when it came to who owned the land, who had the right to settle and work on it, who kept it going, who won it back, and now plans its future—these issues were reflected, contested, and even for a time decided in narrative. As one critic has suggested, nations themselves are narrations.

Said in writing so stresses the extent to which colonial narratives can influence power relation. Literature is instrumentalized in the colonial and the imperial game of the world's powers for its ability construct and reconstruct people's convictions. Not surprisingly, its emergence coincides with the beginning of expansionist campaigns and imperial projects and accompanies them.

Accordingly, colonial literature is often defined as the literature that has been written by colonial authors about colonized countries and peoples and their encounter during a given colonial period. Yet, not all colonial literature takes the same shape and the same style despite cardinal characteristics that make of them similar.² These characteristics, or as Eleke Boehmer called them “constitutive motifs,” of the colonialist literature are condensed into two broad terms “centrality” and “certainty” of imperial enterprise.³ The two concepts together signify the cultural and ethnical superiority, and the scientific advancement alleged to the colonialists in contrast to an inferior periphery position of the indigenous population. Differently put, “Colonial writing ignored the ‘agency, diversity, resistance, thinking, voices’ of native peoples. Colonized peoples are relegated to the category of the ‘other.’”⁴ Thereby, colonial writing is a way to praise the colonialists at the expense of the colonized to rationalize the former's

² Christopher O'Reilly, “Introduction,” *Contexts in Literature: Post-Colonial Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 07.

³ Eleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 64.

⁴ Deborah L. Madson, *Post-colonial Literatures: Expanding the Canon* (London: Pluto Press, 1999), 07.

encroachment on the latter's lands. It enhances the colonizer's superior position through minimizing the colonized into an inferior subject.

Due to the importance of literature, the French colonialism in Algeria was consolidated by different literary writing. Andrea L. Smith attests that colonial novelists "helped construct an image of the [French] colonial universe."⁵ French colonial literature is divided into three main periods and a fourth which is less essential according to Jean Déjeux. The first period lasts from the beginning of French colonialism in 1830 to 1900. During that period, which was known for its exotic spirit, the literature produced is called "littérature d'escalé," travel literature. Most travel writing of the period was produced either by French travelers or prominent French writers such as Gustave Flaubert, Alphonse Daudet, Guy de Maupassant, Andre Gide, and Eugene Fromentin. The period from 1900 to 1935 witnessed the creation of the "Algerianist" literary movement by the settlers of Algeria, the movement that this study focuses on. The "Ecole d'Alger" (1935–1954) represented the next phase that Albert Camus belonged to. This "Ecole" called for a collective Mediterranean identity of the French settlers in north Africa under the name of "Mediterraneanism." The last stage is marked for "Nostalgeria," a term coined to refer to the writing of previously French settlers after the outbreak of the Algerian Revolution to the present, in which they express their colonial nostalgia for Algeria.⁶ In spite of the fact that the French colonial literature passed through different stages, it is noticed that it preserved one crucial point that is the urge to comprise Algeria in particular and North Africa in general as part of the French Empire.

The Algerianist movement emerged at the turn of the twentieth century. It was officially initiated in 1921 by the Algerianist writer Robert Randau.⁷ However, its foundational ideas

⁵ Andrea L. Smith, *Colonial Memory and Postcolonial Europe: Maltese Settlers in Algeria and France* (Bloom: Indiana University Press, 2006), 114.

⁶ David Prochaska, "History as Literature, Literature as History: Cagayous of Algiers," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 101, No. 3 (Jun, 1996), 703.

⁷ Peter Dunwoodie, *Writing French Algeria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 148.

started with the French colonial writer and critic Louis Bertrand and his call for a French/Latin North Africa. Bertrand himself declares,

Tout ce que je souhaite et prédis depuis vingt-cinq ans est en train de se réaliser [...] et il se trouve, d'ores et déjà, parmi les collaborateurs de *Notre Afrique*, au moins trois nom de romancier, qui s'imposent à l'attention du public lettré, et qui, j'en suis sûr, ne feront désormais que grandir [...] Je tien seulement à saluer en eux des écrivains, dont je suis fier de me dire le confère : ce sont MM. Louis Lecoq, Charles Hagel et Robert Randau, — celui-ci, qui est leur aîné et le maître d'une véritable génération littéraire, le chef de chœur de la jeune Algérie, — des Algérianistes, pour reprendre un mot créé par lui et qui est représentatif de toute une doctrine.⁸

In this extract, Bertrand expresses his pride in the three writers' achievements which he considers as the realization of visions he was calling for and dreaming of for twenty-five years before. Thus, Bertrand is considered as the spiritual father of the Algerianist movement and one of its major writers.

Algerianism came into being as a reaction to the French exotic literature that ignores the situation of the settlers in the colony and concentrate on the mysterious and eccentric aspects of this oriental land. From an Algerianist point of view, such exoticism is nothing but a *décor* that serves no aim.⁹ For this reason, its main aim was to found an established Algerianist literature, which means a literature produced by French Algerian writers who adopted an Algerian identity without renouncing their Frenchness. It is a literature with an identity which "is distinctly French and yet different from, and in no way subordinate to, the dictates of Paris."¹⁰ The algerianists wanted it to be vitally distinctive and representative of the "new people" of French Algeria that they wished to create to ensure their implantation in it¹¹, knowing that this "new people" is a mixture of different European nationalities that assimilated the French culture.

⁸ Louis Bertrand, "Une Manifestation littéraire : 'Notre Afrique,'" *Revue des deux mondes*, 15, (Mai 1925), 300.

⁹ Robert Randau, "Littérature Coloniale : Hier et Aujourd'hui," *Revue des deux mondes*, 15, (juillet 1929), 420.

¹⁰ Martin Thomas, *The French Empire Between the wars: Imperialism, Politics and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 138.

¹¹ Maria Stepniak, "Albert Camus Ecrivain Français d'Algérie," *Studia Romancia Posnaniensia*, UAM, vol.25/26, (2000), 352.

The Algerianist movement was also intended to entrench the idea of Algeria's Latinity and Frenchness and the right of the settler in the Algerian land. Bertrand blatantly announces that with Algerianism "le Latin d'Afrique est sorti des nécropoles de l'histoire et de l'archéologie, pour rentrer dans la vie."¹² He means that the Algerianists brought back the buried Latin essence of Africa. The movement was primarily created to revive the glory of the Roman Empire on the Mediterranean "basin." Smith argues that Algerianist authors called for a new identity for the settlers as being the true Algerians and the owners of the land while the Arabs and Muslims are outsiders. He asserts that Louis Bertrand is "the best known" and "best infamous" among the writers who fostered the idea of *les colons*' "Algerianness".¹³ So, the idea of Algeria's Latinity and the settlers' "Algerianity" is the "foundation story"¹⁴ used by France to ground her trespass in Algeria. Algerianists used literature to convince the French, the settlers, the Algerians of these ideas as being the natural order of things.

To do so, they proclaimed that the Algerianist literary production should focus on the representation of Algeria as a contact zone in which the settlers and the Algerians coexisted with their divergent customs, manners, and cultures.¹⁵ In other words, the main concern of the Algerianist literature was the depiction of the settler-indigenous encounter in French Algeria. Yael Schlick confirms such consistency in the writings of the Algerianists comparing them to the British colonial writer Rudyard Kipling. He writes that Randau's contemporaries set the aim of "creating and promoting novels which captured colonial realities by recounting in detail the lives of colonials in the colonies and by providing realistic portrayals of indigenous peoples living in a vast colonial empire."¹⁶ Adopting "realistic portrayals" is in fact a way used by

¹² Bertrand, "Une manifestation", 191.

¹³ Smith, *Colonial Memory and Postcolonial Europe*, 115.

¹⁴ It is an expression coined by David Day in his book *Conquest* to refer to the stories founded by conquerors to justify their conquests.

¹⁵ Georges Fréris, « L'Algérianisme, le mouvement du méditerranéisme et la suite... », *Méditerranée: Rupture et continuité*, TMO, 37, (2003), 46.

¹⁶ Yael Schlick, "The 'French Kipling': Pierre Mille's Popular Colonial Fiction," *Comparative Literature Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (1997), 226.

colonial writers to make literature more convincing and believable for readers.

The characteristics of the colonial ideology promoted through Algerianist literary texts are best summarized in Abdelkader Aoudjit's introduction of his book *The Algerian Novel and Colonial Discourse*. He lists them as follows:

1. The settlers are an exceptional type of people, superior to even the metropolitan French;
2. They are the brave descendants of the Romans and are thus the true Algerians;
3. Colonization is the recuperation of a province lost from Latin civilization;
4. Muslims and Jews are inferior people;
5. Islam should disappear from Algeria; it has destroyed Latin civilization in North Africa and transformed the natives into backward people.¹⁷

Through the list, Aoudjit provides a clear overview of how colonial ideology and Algerianism are overlapping. Algerianism deals with “des aspects problématiques de la représentation, de l’appréhension de l’Ailleurs et de l’Autre et de la confrontation des cultures.”¹⁸ It is interested in portraying the colony and in what way the contact of different peoples within it occurs. The Algerian “Other,” who constitutes the Algerianist’s major source of uncertainty, becomes the object of its representations.

Zahia Smail Salhi asserts the racist view of colonial authors writing that “[t]he Algerianists were not solely motivated by aesthetic considerations. Behind the smoke screen of literary criteria, there remained a racist, political concept founded on Bertrand’s Latinist ideas [of Latin empire].”¹⁹ Many other scholars have investigated the issue of the Algerianist’s literary depictions of the interaction between *les colons* and the Algerian local people. They shed light on the colonial discriminative ideology in different literary works in 1920s Algeria. Nacer khelouz is one of the scholars who explored the Algerianist literature. In his PhD thesis developed into a book, “Le roman Algérien de l’entre-deux-guerres à l’épreuve du politique: en lisant Robert Randau et Abdelkader Hadj Hamou,” he analyzes works of two Algerianist

¹⁷ Abdelkader Aoudjit, “Introduction,” *The Algerian Novel and the Colonial Discourse: Witnessing to a Différend* (New York: Peterlang, 2010), 10.

¹⁸ Michel Beniamino, *La Francophonie littéraire* (Paris: l’Harmattan, 1999), 150.

¹⁹ Zahia Smail Salhi, *Politics, Poetics and the Algerian Novel* (New York: the Edwin Melen Press, 1999), 20.

writers and sheds light on their colonial ideology in addition to aesthetic considerations. Through his study, he reaches the point that the Algerianists cannot be detached from their colonial ideology and its “*logique raciale*”.²⁰

Another scholar who is interested in this area of study is Azzedine Haddour. He writes that narratives of colonial literature articulate the colonial myths and bears its colonial dimensions of dominance and power. His study is based on the analysis of different colonial works such as Louis Bertrand’s *Le sang des races* that he describes as racist because of the distorted representations of the native Algerians.²¹ The colonial ideology manifests in the Algerianist writer’s depictions of the daily life of the colonizers and their encounters with Algerians. They either give them a distorted image or make them absent from the scene.

Robert Randau’s works exemplify the colonial ideology that was embedded in literature. According to Samuel Kalman, Randau deemed that the Algerians belong to a poor, violent, lazy, and decadent race that is worthy only for serving the noble European race. The latter, in Randau’s views, came to Algeria in the sake of civilizing and picking up the indigenous from the gloom they live in. Kalman formulates his conclusions that Randau’s writing is ideologically colonialist through the images in which the Algerians are represented: they are portrayed as superstitious, fetid, unhealthy, oppressive patriarchs and criminals.²² In *Les Algérienistes* (1911), Randau gives the example of Aïcha’s family that serves the French family of Germaine and her rigid father who forced her to marry; in the aim of showing the primitivism of the Algerians and thus of proclaiming the Algerian’s need to be civilized. In *Les Colons* (1907), he affirms that Algeria is French and the Arabs and Muslims have no right in this land

²⁰ Nacer khelouz, « Le roman Algérien de l’entre-deux-guerres à l’épreuve du politique: en lisant Robert Randau et Abdelkader Hadj Hamou, » Phd Thesis (Pittsburgh : Pittsburgh University, 2007), 34.

²¹ Azzedine Haddour, *Colonial Myths: History and Narrative* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 24–25.

²² Samuel Kalman, *French Colonial Fascism: The Extreme Right in Algeria, 1919–1939* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 10.

in addition to eulogizing the colonial system. His other novels, *Cassard le Bèrbère* (1920), and *Professeur Martin* (1935) also provide vivid representations of the attachment of the French Algerians to the Algerian land and their disgust for Muslims and Arabs.

In a similar way, British colonial literature tends to glorify the white man and devalue the colonized. The white man is presented as a rational, talented, and of superior race in contrast to the colonized who is associated with backwardness, barbarism, dependency, corruption, and inferiority. For instance, Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* shows the Eurocentric view of the English man and his subjugation of other races. Roxann Wheeler says that Defoe's novel demonstrates "The differences between the English man and others with whom he comes in contact," as ways of "establishing the superiority of enslaver to enslaved: the Africans he [Crusoe] trades in, the Maresco Xury whom he sells as a slave, and the Carib Friday who he relegates to perpetual servitude."²³ The racial superiority of the white man, the writer believes in, is manifest in the way Friday is represented. The writer devalues him when describing him as "blinded ignorant pagan" with "cannibalistic eating habits." British literature also emphasizes the role of the white man's civilizing mission. In *Robinson Crusoe*, the main character tries to educate Friday and to Christianize him.

Furthermore, Joseph Conrad represents the African continent as a site of corruption and barbarism. He refers to the animalistic features through the use of "zoological" language that is criticized by Chinua Achebe:

The point of my observations should be quite clear by now, namely that Joseph Conrad was a thoroughgoing racist. That this simple truth is glossed over in criticisms of his work is due to the fact that white racism against Africa is such a normal way of thinking that its manifestations go completely unremarked.²⁴

²³ Roxann Wheeler, "My Savage, My Man: Racial multiplicity in *Robinson Crusoe*," *Postcolonial Theory and English literature*, ed., Peter Child (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 130.

²⁴ Chinua Achebe, "An Image of Africa" in *Things Fall Apart: A Norton Critical Edition*. Ed Francis Abiola Irele. 1st Edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 176.

His use of terminology reveals the racism of the writer. Indeed, the use of such diction is a reflection of his debasing visions of the Africans. It reflects the superiority complex of the white man who holds the “Other” in a constant state of inferiority and even inhumanity.

Similar to the Algerianist literature which was considered as part of the French one, the Anglo-Indian literature constitutes an important part of the British colonial literary tradition. The Anglo-Indian literature can be compared to the Algerianist in many aspects. First, it was born of the colonial situation the English in India. Many definitions have been provided by different writers. E. F. Oaten defines it as merely English literature strongly marked by Indian local color. [...] a comparatively small body of Englishmen who, during the working parts of their lives, become residents in a country so different in every respect from their own that they seldom take root in its soil.”²⁵ The definition shows that the main theme of this literature is the portrayal of the life of the English settlers in the Indian land and their interaction with its natives as well its conditions. It also hints at the ontological breakup between the Anglo-Indian and its mainland and the feelings of estrangement that characterizes their relations.

Critics in their definition of the Anglo-Indian literature accentuate the point of setting and characterization. They relate it to western characters in Indian settings. M. K. Naik considers that “Anglo-Indian fiction may broadly be defined as fiction by British writers in which generally a British or occidental protagonist operates mostly in an Indian setting (though the scene may shift to England occasionally), and interacts with Indian and other British or occidental characters.”²⁶ According to Naik, this literature shifted the focus of the British literature from the mainland to the colonized peripheries and their specificity.

Anglo-Indian writers felt the need for a distinct literature that speaks of them, that

²⁵ E. F. Oaten, *A Sketch of Anglo-Indian Fiction* (London: Kegan Paul, 1908), 05.

²⁶ M. K. Naik, *Mirror on the Wall: Images of India and the Englishman in Anglo-Indian Fiction* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1991), 3.

expresses their views, and explains their specific conditions. It will be a distinct literature from that of the metropolis, which did not give an interest to their situations. Besides the themes related to the daily life of the Anglo-Indians, Anglo-Indian literature is characterized by the deep influence of the local culture of the Indians and the development of a new complex dialect. The interplay between the English and the Indians and the emergence of this new literary tradition led to the appearance of Anglo-Indian dictionaries like G.C. Whitworth's *Anglo-Indian Dictionary* and Hobson-Jobson's *A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases*.²⁷

Anglo-Indian writers tended to borrow and appropriate vernacular Indian languages in their works to give their writings the flavor of their own personal experiences in India. Sujit Bose explains how the use of local languages widely influenced Anglo-Indian writing,

The presence of Indian words (which includes among others, Persian and Urdu as they were popularly spoken in those days) is an interesting aspect of Anglo-Indian prose. The writers of Anglo-Indian prose used Indian words perhaps to impart an element of authenticity to their writing or to give their readers in England a taste of India. The contemporary Anglo-Indians used Indian words specially to order their servants, so a number of words of domestic use found their way into the prose that they wrote.²⁸

Apparently, the characters, the setting in addition to the language employed in the makeup of the Anglo-Indian literature are the aspects that differentiate it from the English literature. Regarding his relation to India, Rudyard Kipling is among the writers whose works are tinted with the native Indian languages. Kipling's use of vernacular is due to his desire to ground his stories in the rich cultural context he was living in.

Another characteristic of the prose of the Anglo-Indians is its imperial tenet. Anglo-Indian prose bears and defends the ideology of imperialism. The development of this literature is attached to the development of the British imperial project. It was informed by its ideologies as it informed them. It actively contributed to the enrichment of its theories as well as the

²⁷ Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell (Eds. 1986), *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases* (London: Routledge, 1985), XV-XVI.

²⁸ Sujit Bose, *Essays on Anglo-Indian Literature* (New Delhi: Northern Book Center, 2004), 07.

defense of its cause. Leonard Woolf speaks of this mutual influence between the imperial credo and the literary production of that time:

The White people were also in many ways astonishingly like characters in a Kipling story [as in other writers' works]. I could never make up my mind whether Kipling had moulded his characters accurately in the image of Anglo-Indian society or whether we were moulding our characters accurately in the image of Kipling's story.²⁹

Because of their tight relation to India where they felt home, they had no way but to defend their permanent presence through the support of the empire.

The choice of Louis Bertrand and Rudyard Kipling stems from the fact that they belong to two literary traditions that have much in common, the Algerianist and the Anglo-Indian literature. They sprang out from similar conditions. Both literatures aimed at the creation of a literary tradition that is different from that of motherland and that suits their own conditions as white people living in colonized lands. They both aimed at enhancing the imperial position of their nations as well as guaranteeing their hold on these peripheries. (M. K. Naik 1991, Zahia Smail Salhi 1999, Sujit Bose 2004, Abdelkader Aoudjit 2010.) They are also two representative figures of colonial writing, whose support for the imperialist ideologies of the French and British Empires respectively have been widely studied. (Louis L. Cornel 1966, Kingsley Amis 1975, Jean Déjeux 1978, Peter Dunwoodie 1998, Azzedine Haddour 2000, William B. Dillingham 2005, Jan Montefiore 2013).

Most studies have concentrated on how the empire fuels the writers' texts and how the latter reflect and support the former. Mouloud Siber, for instance, analyzes the deep influence of imperial ideology on the creative talent of four colonial writers: Rudyard Kipling, Edward Morgan Forster, William Somerset Maugham, and Joseph Conrad. In his analysis, the writer claims that an imperial ideological monologism characterizes the texts of the authors despite some of their different personal orientations and literary styles. He states that

[the four authors] fall in the path of monologism in things concerned with the Orient,

²⁹ Leonard Woolf, *Growing: An Autobiography of the Years 1904–1911* (London: Hogarth, 1961), 46.

the Oriental man and woman and empire. In this case, no matter the personal beliefs of the authors, they abide by the rules of the imperial game and put authorial ideology in the service of the general ideology of empire.³⁰

In their writings, the logic of Empire concerning the dialectic Orient/Occident reigns over their own ideologies and talents which are used to serve a greater cause epitomized in the maintenance of the British Empire. The quote shows the predominance of the Imperial creed in literature that is employed in the enhancement of Empire regardless of the different shapes and styles it may take.

Though Siber's work does not differ from other studies on the point of neglecting the nationalist aspect of Imperialism, its claim of the monologist nature of the colonial British literary tradition can be widened to include other literary traditions like the French. In this thesis, a considerable emphasis will be put on the monological nature of the nationalist motives of imperial literature, which has been employed to convince the reader of the legitimacy of the empire through myths by comparing two writers from different cultures but lived in similar historical conditions.

The suggested comparative study will focus on the analogy between the writers' texts. It will be an investigation of the possible similarities and the differences between the authors' representations of the imperial situation of their respective nations rather than a study of literary or ideological influences. Marius-Ary LeBlond writes that "L'œuvre de Rudyard Kipling est vraiment celle que doit lire un peuple européen qui a besoin de sortir de soi-même, de secouer sa vie de petits plaisirs éternels."³¹ For LeBlond, Kipling is a model of colonial writers that the French should follow for the revival of France. However, Louis Bertrand, who is, in LeBlond's view, the creator of the French colonial literature,³² despises the appeal to non-French

³⁰Mouloud Siber, *Rudyard Kipling, Edward Morgan Forster, William Somerset Maugham and Joseph Conrad: The British Imperial Tradition and the Individual Talent* (Department of English, University of Tizi Ouzou, 2012), 02.

³¹Marius-Ary Leblond, *Ecrits sur la littérature coloniale : textes choisis et présentés par Vladimr Kapor* (Paris : L'Harmattan, 2012), 117.

³² Ibid., 13

inspiration. In “La Renaissance classique,” his preface to Joachim Gasquet’s book *Les Chants séculaires*, Bertrand openly expresses his stance towards the question of foreign influence. He claims that such an influence alludes to having a degenerate, untrustworthy local culture and trivializes the French intelligence.³³ Moreover, he considers Kipling “un simple animalier” who writes “grossières histoires”³⁴ that do not deserve to be followed. Therefore, the emphasis will be put on how the similar historical conditions within which the two writers were writing made their works bear similar ideological orientations.

Issue and Working Hypotheses

The present thesis claims that the “Imperialism” defended by Bertrand and Kipling in their texts is central to their “Nationalism” which is promoted by myth creation and dissemination. It assumes that the relationship between Imperialism and Nationalism, in contrast to common opinion, cannot be reduced to antagonism. The question is far from being simple. Though nationalist movements and ideologies evidently constitute an outcome of imperial and colonial projects, the latter can also have nationalist aspirations. In other words, this work contends that nationalism can be imperial at its essence. Starting from this assumption, the current investigation seeks to re-examine the relationship between the two notions through the exploration of the concept of “Imperial Nationalism” in the selected texts.

For a better understanding of the issue, the analysis focuses on how the imperial attitude of the selected texts emanates from the writers’ nationalist sentiments and how the French and the British empires were driven by different nationalist factors. The sense of national and/or imperial insecurity, fears of disintegration, the urge of being the most powerful nation, imperial competition, or building a new extended nation represent the main tribulations that brought imperialism and nationalism together. Colonial writing in general and the Bertrand’s and

³³ Louis Bertrand, « La Renaissance classique, » *Les Chants séculaire*, Joachim Gasquet (Paris : Société d’éditions littéraires et artistiques, 1903), xliii-xliv.

³⁴ Bertrand, « La Renaissance classique, » xliv.

Kipling's texts understudy in particular, therefore, engaged in identifying the problems of the imperial nation for the sake of finding suitable solutions in relation to the colonies. The writers' engagement in the imperial nationalist agenda of their nations is also apparent in their attempts to justify and promote colonial and imperial extensions through various myths, which were either newly created or renovated.

Throughout the study of the suggested hypotheses, the authors' works will be compared on different main points. An emphasis will be put on the significance of "Empire" for them and how it is related to "Nation." From here, it can be clarified how nationalist interests, in the imperial context of Bertrand and Kipling, are significant motives for imperialism as well how this is reflected in the chosen texts. Another important question posed by this analysis is what are the indicators and representations in the texts, which show the anxiety and the defensive spirit of the writers and, finally, how these representations become myths in the service of the imperial nations of Bertrand and Kipling. So, this study involves in testing the proposed hypotheses through the conceptual framework of Imperial Nationalism and Myth to gain new insights into the authors understudy in particular and colonial writers in general.

In doing so, this study attempts to offer a contribution in the field of literary studies through trying to rebrand two concepts which are considered vital to the postcolonial literary theories: "Imperialism" and "Nationalism". It is actually a reconsideration of the complex relationship between these notions which has often been studied separately and which need to be thought about anew since they seem to reappear in today world. Additionally, it takes part in cross-cultural studies through bringing the colonial traditions of two distinct cultures, the French and the British, to compare the significance of empire and nation for both cultures, to know where these two cultures meet and at which point, they differ.

Key Concepts and Literary Theory

In order to defend the raised claims, two main concepts “**Imperial Nationalism**” and “**Myth**” should be conceptualized to understand the texts of the Algerianist Louis Bertrand and the Anglo-Indian Rudyard Kipling. The first concept is important to probe the nationalist tendencies of the imperial writers. It explains the interplay between “**Nationalism**” and “**Imperialism**” from a new perspective. It explores how “Imperialism” can be an extended form of a nationalist ideology and how in the case of these two writers it constituted a nationalist cause. The study primarily derives from Krishan Kumar’s concept “Imperial Nationalism”³⁵ which is appropriated to fit into the analysis intended in this work.

“Myth” is the second notion, which needs to be defined. Relying mainly on Roland Barthes claim that myth is “a type of speech” that has the power to naturalize particular world views³⁶ and Bruce Lincoln’s conviction that it is an “ideology in a narrative form”³⁷ which has an agency to construct and reconstruct social and political orders³⁸, this study tries to show how myth presents the tool through which the authors tried to enhance the agendas of their respective empires. Exploring the concept helps show how literature can be a tool for naturalizing the imperial projects and policies via its ability to construct myths which have an immense influence on people. The analysis aims to demonstrate that myths can be a sort of a “produced knowledge,” which can be used to gain and impose power over the colonized as well as to shape the world’s opinion.

Believing in the inseparability between the text and its context, the present research is based on New Historicist and Postcolonial Literary theories. New Historicism helps interpret

³⁵ Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2003), 34.

³⁶ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1991), 107.

³⁷ Bruce Lincoln, *Theorizing Myth: Narrative, Ideology, and Scholarship* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999), 117.

³⁸ Bruce Lincoln, *Discourse and Construction of Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 47.

the interplay between various historical conditions and the texts written in a given epoch. Through new historicist lenses, it can be shown how the writer's texts are replete with the dominant discourses of their times, how they were presented, and how they could contribute in creating them. The assumption about reciprocity between literature and history or what is called the "textuality of history" and the "historicity of the text" permits us to derstand the influence of the prevalent historical circumstances at the end of the nineteenth century on the literary texts of Bertrand and Kipling and the latter's impact in turn. For instance, the different crises like the internal conflicts and discordance among the French (the Paris Commune, the Boulangist Movement, ...ect) and the flaws of British empires like the Inidan Mutiny, the Fashoda crises, and the Great Game during that epoch deeply affected the authors' writings. Reading them against this background enables interpreting how and why those events are presented or even not presented. It as well opens avenues to understand the ways in which these literary creations contributed in the circulation of power through the discursive agency that literature has on people's knowledge formation.

Furthermore, Postcolonial Literary theories mainly Edward Said's critical views are also of significant importance for this study which is about colonial literature. They permit the interpretation of the colonial representations, the colonized/colonizer relationship, and the correlation between the literary production and the psychological, the philosophical, and the historical conditions surrounding the writer. Colonial Discourse Analysis is no less important in the investigation of the selected texts. In the vein of the new historicists, Said's contrapuntal reading, as a way of discourse analysis, will enable us to excavate the hidden meanings and to read the silence of the texts through a deep analysis of the rhetoric and the narrative devices used by both authors.

Through such a reading, one can come to terms with how Bertrand and Kipling, by means of their texts dictated a certain way of constructing one's thought about the colonizer

and the colonized who is essential for the identity of the former. At this point, one recalls myths which correspond to what Said calls “representations” that direct and structure people’s opinions as well as they reinforce the authority of those opinions’ generators.³⁹ In other words, Said’s theoretical lines will allow us to figure out the hegemony exercised by Bertrand’s and Kipling’s writings and their contribution to the enhancement of the empire which is , as the study claims, a nationalist question.

The Structure of the Thesis

In scrutinizing the aforementioned issues, this thesis is divided into three main parts in addition to an introduction that gives a working definition for the concept “**Imperial Nationalism**” and a conclusion of the main findings. The first part entitled **Theoretical Considerations and Historical Background** provides a framework against which the study will be carried on. Its first chapter explain the theoretical concepts, which will be used to examine the proposed assumptions. It explains the fundamental foundations of the New-Historicist and Postcolonial Literary theories, and their relevance to the present work. The second chapter seeks to contextualize the authors’ text, following the assumption that literature cannot be detached from its context, through providing a detailed historical background for the periods during which the two writers lived and their works were produced. It contains two sections, **France: An Empire in Decay** and **British Imperial Uncertainty: Successive Crises and Flaws**, which describes the hard conditions both empires were in during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries and the different crises that enfeebled them.

Bertrand’s and Kipling’s Imperial Nationalist Fears and Consolations is the second part which is concerned with exploring the imperial nationalist tendencies of the writers. Both writers seem to agree on the factors that led to the imperial National uncertainty of France and Britain. The first cause is the reign of the newly adapted political and social doctrines mainly

³⁹ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 07.

liberalism and democracy. Bertrand harshly criticizes liberal universalism which is in his view nothing more than an illusion that keeps the French from seeing their reality. For democracy, he asserts that it is the major cause that brought the French grandeur to its end. Similarly, Kipling warns of the danger of such doctrines in giving the opportunity for unqualified people and even to the enemies mainly in the colonies and he compares them to contagious diseases which are very hard to be stopped and which have mortal effects. To do so, this part analyzes the different threats that endangered the French and the British national stability, which was related to the international status in the writers' views in a chapter named **Bertrand's and Kipling's Imperial Nationalist Anxieties**. It aims to unravel the imperial nationalist anxieties that haunted Bertrand and Kipling and dictated their writings. Next chapter examines the solutions they proposed to save their nations and how they perceived the way out of instability.

In the third part, **Myth as Vehicle for the Imperial Nationalist Ideology of Bertrand and Kipling**, the emphasis is put on the way the authors employed their literary texts to consolidate and legitimize the expansionist policies of their nations through discursive strategies and mythmaking. This part starts with an introductory section that conceptualizes the notion "Myth" in relation to the "Knowledge/Power dialectic." Then, it illuminates how the writers' works contributed to the creation of a set of colonial myths and in the sustainment of others.

One chapter is devoted to what is called in this study "**Myths of Displacement**" that aim to devalorize the colonized and depose them. It shows the writers' insistence on putting and widening the gap between the colonizer and the colonized who can never fill this gap and overcome his innate retardation. 1- Myths of land: French Algeria and Anglo-Indian as wastelands: Emptiness: wilderness and abandonment are the images dominating the texts of both authors when dealing with the colonized lands. 2-myths of inferiority: the natives as a degraded race: this myth which has been widely studied implies the genetic unchangeable

degeneracy of the colonized. His character is equated with childhood, laziness, stagnation, effeminacy and treachery. 3-myth of the colonized savage: n addition to his inferiority, the colonized as presented in the writers' texts are savages with an animal like cruelty.

The second chapter examines the “**Myths of Replacement**” which represents the colonizer or the White men as the right ruler and authority. Finally, the conclusion sums up the research hypotheses, aims, and objectives and the way they have been addresses. It provides the main findings of the study and answers to the questions it has put. It also offers some insights and questions to be the subject of further reading and analysis.

Part I: Key Concepts, Theoretical Considerations and Life and Times

Introduction

This first part is an entrance to the research tackled by this thesis. It situates the work in its area of study and delineates the itinerary followed throughout the whole work. It provides an introduction to the major concepts, the theoretical, and historical backgrounds against which the espoused claims of the research will be examined. It is divided into three chapters. The first one is devoted to the explanation of the two main concepts the thesis is built on. The second chapter focuses on the literary theories seen as relevant to the study and which help delve into the depths of its issues. The third chapter is a detailed survey and a reassessment of the social, political, and historical contexts within which the writers lived and wrote their texts. Such a survey provides the background against which the hypotheses of the research will be tested.

Chapter I: Key Concepts

1- Imperial Nationalism

The concept of “imperial nationalism” is constructed through the coalescence of the two concepts “imperialism” and “nationalism” that are often conceived as antagonistic. Imperial nationalism, as proposed in this study, is different from the anti-colonial nationalism that emerged as a sort of union in the face of imperial expansionism, or in other words, unification for decolonization. It also differs from Kevin Colclough’s conception of “imperial nationalism” which denotes the desire of a colony for autonomous rule without a total break from the empire.¹ For a fuller understanding of the concept, the following pages delineate how nationalism can be imperial through explaining the relationship between imperialism and nationalism. Before doing that, it is necessary to provide a definition for the concept “nationalism.”

¹In his PhD thesis entitled “Imperial Nationalism: Nationalism and the Empire in Late Nineteenth century Scotland and British Canada”, Kevin Colclough studies the relationship between nationalist movements in Scotland and British Canada, and Imperialism.

A- Nationalism

Nationalism is an elastic concept with various connotations. Hans Kohn clarifies that “[i]t is a historical phenomenon and thus determined by the political ideas and the social structure of the various lands where it takes root.”² So, the meaning of nationalism depends on the political, social, and historical conditions that give it birth. Nationalism is used to express different, but derivative ideas which are tied together under this concept by sentiments of belonging and loyalty to one’s nation. Seamus Deane calls these ties the “metaphysical dimension”³ of all nationalisms. Nationalism was developed in the nineteenth century in Europe describing the movement of creating the modern nation-state like France, Italy, Germany, etc. The nationalist movements aimed at uniting the people of the same culture, language, history, religion under one political institution, “the state,” that differentiates it from other peoples and nations.

The British political scientist Benedict Anderson in his theoretical formulation concerning the "imagined communities" gives a detailed explanation. Anderson notes that adherence to national sovereignty is not natural, but it is the result of the conjunction of historical factors that have led to the birth of these imagined communities, namely nations. It was from the beginning of the nineteenth century that nations began to view themselves as ancient. According to him, nationhood and nationalism are cultural artifacts created in the late eighteenth century as a result of several historical factors and then applied to all kinds of socio-political contexts, where they engendered strong attachments.

Anderson postulates the unity of nationalism and makes this general phenomenon the object of study in *Imagined Communities*. From the beginning of his book, he defines

²Hans Kohn, “Preface,” *Nationalism: Its Meanings and History* (Florida: Robert E. Criegee, 1965), 4.

³Seamus Deane, ed., *Nationalism, Colonialism, Literature* (Minnesota: Minnesota University Press, 1990), 8.

nationalism as a cultural artifact of a specific type; he also speaks of it as a cultural system.⁴ Anderson refuses to consider the national phenomenon as an ideology. It is not akin to Marxism and liberalism, but rather to the great cultural systems that once dominated, namely religion and the dynastic principle. Like the latter, by imposing itself, nationalism is able to give meaning to death and suffering.⁵ These cultural systems all operate as "[...] transformation of fatality into continuity, contingency into meaning."⁶ But nationalism produces continuity and meaning in a particular way, distinguishing it from other cultural systems. Appearing in the 18th century, it presented a relationship to the new age that allows it to insert the life of singular beings into larger national ensembles that span the ages.⁷ Anderson sees nationalism as a unified, great cultural system.

In his *Imagined Communities*, Anderson presents three moments that punctuated the rise of the national phenomenon. Corresponding to each of these waves, three forms of nationalism appeared successively. In the first place, between 1776 and 1830, Creole nationalism emerged in America. In the administrative units of colonial empires, national consciences are shaped through the common experience of Creole officials and the print media. Second, from 1820 to 1920, nations were formed in Europe around printing languages. They are also inspired by the American examples.⁸ Third, seeing the national idea advance, from the second half of the 19th century, empires will adopt the language of the nation. Following Hugh Seton-Watson, Anderson names these attempts to join the dynastic principles and national official nationalism.⁹

It is in an anthropological spirit that Anderson gives his definition of the nation: "an imaginary political community, and imagined as intrinsically limited and sovereign."¹⁰ The

⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York, Verso, 1991), 4,12.

⁵ Ibid, 05, 11-12

⁶ Ibid, 11.

⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 1 -12, 26.

⁸ Ibid,, 67.

⁹ Ibid., 85-86

¹⁰ Ibid., 19-20.

nation is imaginary because its members do not know each other, although they share the idea of unity, and it is at the same time imagined as limited and sovereign (the concept is born at the time of the Enlightenment, following the challenge of the idea of a dynastic kingdom with a royalty by divine right). The nation is finally a community since it is supposedly crossed by a feeling of fraternity and solidarity in the name of which one is even willing to sacrifice one's life. In the same vein, Miriam Cooke affirms that a nation corresponds to a psychic space in which individuals are rooted and to which they feel to belong. This space is contiguous to a political entity, a piece of land or a human collectivity organized around a culture, a religion or a language. Nationalism, for its part, is action motivated by the feeling of belonging to this space.¹¹

Anderson understands singular nations as imagined sets that possess three traits distinguishing them from the great religions and dynastic empires of the past. First, just like any community relying on more than interpersonal relationships, nations are imagined. In spite of the great popularity of the expression "imagined community" in the studies of nationalism, this attribute is not specific to the nations. In addition, the latter are distinguished firstly by their limited character. Thus, "[t]he most messianic nationalists do not dream of a day when all the members of the human race will be able to do so, in certain epochs, for, say, Christians to dream of a wholly Christian planet."¹² Second, nations are thought of as sovereign. For Anderson, this form of legitimacy arises in opposition to the absolutist doctrines defending the monarchy.¹³ Third, against older hierarchical principles, nations are represented as communities based on fraternity.¹⁴ In Anderson's view, nations are driven by ideas opposed to those of earlier cultural systems.

¹¹ Miriam Cooke, "Reimagining Lebanon," *Women and the War Story* (California: California University Press, 1997), 268.

¹² Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

For Ernest Gellner who differentiates between nationalism as a political dogma and as a movement, “[n]ationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that political and national units should be congruent.”¹⁵ So, according to him, nationalism as a political doctrine requires compatibility between the nation’s standards and constituents, and the political tenets of the state which represents it. He amplifies that nationalist movements are the sentiments evacuated either by the realization or the infringement of this compatibility.¹⁶ Among the most violating aspects of the political principle Gellner speaks of are colonization and imperial campaigns that entail involvement in the domestic affairs of a given nation and the negation of its people’s rights to the rule of their land and its matters. From here emerges anti-imperialist nationalism whose main aim is to get rid of this foreign involvement and to regain the “political and national unit”. This kind of nationalism, which rises against imperialism and seeks to put an end to it, is in fact the result of another type of nationalism which adopts imperial ideology as its main agent.

B- Imperial Nationalism:

As noticed before, imperialism can be an extreme form of nationalism. In this regard, Krishan Kumar formulates the concept of “Imperial Nationalism” first in his book *The Making of English Identity* (2003), and then in his article “Empire and English Nationalism” (2006). Kumar contends that the imperial type of identity is a kind of nationalist identity. He explains:

Empires, though in principle opposed to claims of nationality, may be carriers of a certain kind of national identity which gives to the dominant groups a special sense of themselves and their destiny. [...] The key feature of imperial or missionary nationalism is the attachment of a dominant or core ethnic group to a state entity that conceives itself as dedicated to some great cause or purpose, religious, cultural or political.¹⁷

Kumar’s contention is based on the fact that the leading nation of an empire and its people

¹⁵Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher, 1983), 1.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷ Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2003), 34.

perceive themselves in relation to the empire and its missions. He argues that “since nationalist identity often endows the nation with its uniqueness and goodness, its special role in history and its superiority to other nations, it may be fitting to speak of imperial or missionary nationalism.”¹⁸ This assumption shows that the nationalist urges of a given nation can develop to include imperial projects. The imperialist process works as an extension of nationalism.

Years before Kumar, Raoul Girardet mentioned the imperial kind of the French nationalism when discussing the different phases that marked the French nationalist thoughts and ideologies. In his book *Le Nationalisme français*, Girardet explains the idea of “*La plus Grande France*”¹⁹ and its relation to a nationalism with international dimensions which is based on expansionism and colonialism. According to him, the events of 1871 results in the reign of the colonialist creed as a way to compensate the defeat. Such creed was espoused by Jules Ferry and many of his followers, believing that overseas expansion constitutes a new foundation for the French grandeur and power, and simultaneously permit the French nation to pursue its eternal civilizing vocation.²⁰

If nations and nationalism are artificial constructions, national identity is necessarily also a product, and in particular the product of the narration of historical and political events. Nation is an invention without something natural that defines it. For instance, Anne-Marie Thiesse’s analysis of the construction of national identities in Europe shows that all European countries have followed the same patterns in the creation of their national identity markers like language, fiction and historical memory, hymn, flag, ethnographic museums, etc.²¹ From Kumar’s conclusions and Thiesse’s analysis, the historical memory of imperial power of countries like France and Britain is essential part of their nationalist identity.

6. ¹⁸ Krishan Kumar, “Empire and English Nationalism,” *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 12, No. 01 (2006):

¹⁹ Raoul Girardet, *Le Nationalisme français 1871-1914* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1966), 85.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

14. ²¹ Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales: Europe XVIII^e-XIX^e siècle* (Paris : Seuil, 1999),

In Kumar's view, in order to feed the nation's sense of superiority as an imperial power bearing a mission, the nation adopts the imperialist ideology. In his investigation of the nationalism/imperialism relationship, John Darwin agrees with Kumar's conception. He confirms that imperialism can be a result of a national cause. He articulates that imperial expansion can be an indication of a national vigor which can enhance national projects, and can empower the nation and its world position.²² For instance, Britain saw itself as an imperial nation whose duty was to civilize people in the boundaries of the world and to bear "The White Man's Burden" as Rudyard Kipling terms it. Imperial nationalism in this sense also brings attention to the French "*Mission Civilisatrice*" and "Universalism" which is considered by Chimène I. Keitner as one of the main factors of ideological and military imperialism and one of the "paradoxes of nationalism."²³

Actually, imperial nationalism has far reaching meanings. It can stand for the national ambitions to create a powerful extended nation or an empire that unifies the people/s sharing the same common characteristics: ethnic, linguistic, historical, etc. J. W. Esherick, Hasan Kayali, and Eric Van Young show that "[i]n the modern era, the imperialism of Britain, France, Germany, and Japan rose directly from the nation-building process. This has led such scholars as Prasenjit Dare to argue that imperialism is intrinsic to the system of nation-states."²⁴ In other words, imperialism is the vehicle by which many nations tried to come into being and achieve its aims.

Moreover, imperial nationalist movements can emerge out of the need to defend the empire's achievements and interests against external as well as internal threats, mainly with the rise of different empires and the increasing rivalry between them. Bohemer affirms that "a

²²John Darwin, "Nationalism and Imperialism, c. 1880-1940," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*, ed., Jhon Breuilly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 343.

²³Chimène I. Keitner, *The Paradoxes of Nationalism: The French Revolution and its Meaning for Contemporary Nation Building* (New York: State University of New York, 2007), 126.

²⁴J. W. Esherick, Hasan Kayali, and Eric Van Young, eds., "Introduction," *Empire to Nation: Historical Perspectives on the Making of the Modern World* (Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 4.

greater defensiveness, too, was a distinguishing feature of high empire: a fear that all that had been gained could be as easily lost, a nervousness that immense power might weaken, or deeply corrupt.²⁵ In the case of weakening whether by inner or outer factors or the fall of the empire, the leading nation of this empire loses an essential constituent of its national identity. In order not to come to such a situation, the imperial nation strives to maintain its self-esteem and its glory through empowering its control over its peripheral territories. This kind of imperial nationalism is marked in the French and the British imperial projects.

By the late nineteenth century, France as well as Britain went through difficult moments, and came across serious threats that endangered their national and international security and stability. Both the French and the British started to weaken and risked losing their powers. In other words, they entered a state of decadence after being two of the most powerful empires in the world. The symptoms of this degeneracy are remarkable in the military, political, and social crises they faced. Therefore, William Greenslade confirms that this period marked an obsession with “phobias of decline”²⁶ whose influence is remarkable in the texts of Bertrand and Kipling.

Another meaning that falls under the notion of imperial nationalism is the political nostalgic quest for a lost empire and the desire to regenerate it. Dennis Walder states that “[n]ostalgia and national identity are inextricably entwined.”²⁷ He explains that nostalgia plays an important role in the awakening of nationalist sentiments. He also speaks of “restorative nostalgia” whose target is the reconstruction of a ruined past because of dissatisfaction with the current circumstances.²⁸ Laura Chrisman corroborates his view and confirms that nationalism pertains to a present situation and concomitantly seeks significance and legitimization in the

²⁵Eleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 32.

²⁶ William Greenslade, *Degeneration, Culture and the Novel 1880-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 9

²⁷Dennis Walder, *Postcolonial Nostalgias: Writing, Representation, and Memory* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 5.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

past.²⁹ On that account, a nation longing for its imperial past and the attempt to revive it for national vitality and advancement can be called an imperial nationalist endeavor like in the case of Russia which is now trying to recover her lost empire (Soviet Union).

This research challenges John Stotesbury's claim that Kipling's nationalist tendencies are subordinated to his imperial passions.³⁰ His imperialist orientations have never been detached from his English nationalism as Harry Ricketts indicate that his writing expresses simultaneously interwoven national and imperial ideologies.³¹ The study also puts Rudyard Kipling's imperial nationalism in a comparison with that of the French Louis Bertrand who believes that Algeria is French and accordingly falls within the limits of

[some] nation-building projects were usually expansionist, in other words, they claimed certain peripheral regions as parts of these newly conceived national territories. Nationalism thus brought about new ways of imagining and structuring imperial space. In some cases, the idea of "national territory" even incorporated regions that were located beyond the current borders of the empire.³²

This quote shows that expansionism constitutes one of the nationalist ideologies which depends on stretching control over other areas in the way that Bertrand wanted to create Latin Africa. The following chapter offers a detailed discussion of how the two authors' imperial nationalist sentiments were aroused and how they were expressed in their texts.

Altogether, imperial nationalism takes on its meaning from the conditions within which it emerges. It can be defined as an ideological endeavor which rests on two pillars: nationalism and imperialism knowing that the first is the drive and the second is the means by which this drive is satisfied. Imperialism in this case is the highest stage of nationalism where only empire that can fully constitute and maintain national identity. Relying on this conceptualization, this

²⁹ Laura Chrisman, "Nationalism and Postcolonial Studies," in *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Literary Studies*, ed., Neil Lazarus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 183.

³⁰ John A. Stotesbury, "Rudyard Kipling and his Imperial verse: Critical Dilemmas" *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies (HJEAS)*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1995): 40.

³¹ Harry Ricketts, *The Unforgiving Minute: A Life of Rudyard Kipling* (London: Pimlico, 2000), 170.

³² Stefan Berger and Alexei Miller, "Introduction: Building Nations in and with Empires—A Reassessment," in *Nationalizing Empires*, ed., Stefan Berger and Alexei Miller (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015), 10.

study tries to analyze the two writers' imperial nationalist attitudes according to the historical circumstances that gave shape to their works.

II- Myth defined:

Away from ancient classical mythical narratives³³, this inquiry is interested with modern myths in relation to modern ideological manipulation and power discourses. The interest of the study in modern myths resides in its functionality within societies at all levels: political, social, economic, and religious. Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski points out that myths reinforce "the authority of those who are wielding power in a particular community."³⁴ Bruce Lincoln concurs with Friedrich and Brzezinski insisting that a myth is "an assertive discourse of power and authority that represents itself as something to be believed and obeyed."³⁵ As well, Mark Schorer confirms that they are "capable of many configurations upon which all particular opinions and attitudes depend."³⁶ He also adds, "[a] myth is a large, controlling image that gives philosophical meaning to the facts of ordinary life; that is which has organizing value for experience."³⁷ Accordingly, myths have the agency to manipulate people and they are key instruments in power struggles which are formed through varying means.

Literature, as Laurence Coupe believes, is among the vehicles through which myths circulate in a culture and that constitute a vital element of it. They, he insists, contribute in the creation and the recreation of modern myths, which are crucial for fathoming the world.³⁸

³³Chris Baldick puts forward that myths are narratives which fall into two categories. The first class is concerned with ancient supernatural and unreliable stories, he describes as **mythical**. The second is the **mythic** narratives that are believable. He contends that they contain hidden truths and fundamental collective matters. See in Chris Baldick, *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Literary terms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 163-164.

³⁴ Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 99.

³⁵ Bruce Lincoln, *Theorizing Myth: Narrative, Ideology and Scholarship* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999), 17.

³⁶Mark Schorer, "The Necessity of Myth," *Daedalus*, Vol. 88, No. 2, *Myth and Mythmaking* (Spring, 1959), 361.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 355.

³⁸ Laurence Coupe, "Introduction," *Myth* (New York: Routledge and Taylor and Francis, 2009), 02.

Schorer goes forth to claim that without a mythic element to which it attributes, great literature cannot exist since the mythic element, conditioned by historical situations, is the essence of its continuous modification and renewal.³⁹ Thus, literature and myth are interrelated and each shapes the other. While myth nurtures and shapes literature, this latter makes, promotes, and spreads the former. Conveying the role of mythic literature, Schorer contends that in societies on the verge of disintegration it “must become the explicit agent of coherence” and writers “are compelled to build a useable mythology, one that will account for, and organize [...] competing and fragmentary myths.”⁴⁰ In the degenerating French and British empires, Bertrand and Kipling employ their literary productions to construct a set of myths for the rehabilitation of their imperial heritage. Therefore, this part of research is to delve into the use of myth in the authors’ works in association with “knowledge” that Edward Said and New Historicists relate to power mechanisms.

Myth is universal, constantly destroyed, adapted, transformed, reconstructed and by this game of perpetual writing and rewriting, transmission and adaptation. It is impossible to go back to its origin because everyone has a version of the myth. It is thus constantly repeated, since it serves as a model. And it is its repetition that ensures its sustainability. For doing so, myth rests on literature and in fact they are inseparable. Myth needs literature to survive, it is one of its foundations, and it uses it to regenerate itself. Eric Gould in his study on the relation between myth and literature stresses the point that “Literature and myth must exist in a continuum, by virtue of their function as language: myth tends to a literary sense of narrative form and fictions aspire to the status of myth.”⁴¹ The nature of myth and its function is also stressed in his analysis. As the following passage testifies,

There can be no myth without an *ontological gap between event and meaning*. A myth intends to be an adequate symbolic representation by closing that gap, by aiming to be a

³⁹ Schorer, “The Necessity of Myth,” 361.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 362.

⁴¹ Eric Gould, *Mythical Intentions in Modern Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University press, 1981),

tautology ... Myth is both hypothesis and compromise. Its meaning is perpetually open and universal only because once the absence of final meaning is recognized, the gap itself demands interpretation, which in turn goes on and on, for language is nothing if it is not a system of open meaning.⁴²

From the quote, it can be said that myth is an attempt to find interpretation to a given equivocal situation and this interpretation is never finite. It is always open to other statements. In this way, the colonial situation is still open to interpretation since it has always been consolidated by various types of myths.

Akin to Gould's claim of the relation between myth and language, Roland Barthes -who is among the precursors who gave the concept of "myth" its modern sense- defines it as "a type of speech"⁴³. It means that it is a mode of communication which is discursively biased. He asserts that it transcends the limits of being a mere story. A myth is an expression of the ideological intentions of its disseminator. Myth is a second order of signification. In contrast to the arbitrariness of the first order of signification put by De Saussure, myth is "never arbitrary; it is always in part motivated and avoidably contains some analogy."⁴⁴ Hence, myth is insidious and carries a message under the guise of a specific pretext. In other words, myth uses different ways (a photograph, a symbol, a caricature, a story) to pass its targeted meaning. The myth's motivation and masked meaning could not be understood unless it is read within its historical context according to which it is initially created.⁴⁵

Barthes stresses the significance of the myth's historical foundation. For him, myths are created according to a given historical moment in order to let people accept some conditions as being the natural order of things. Myth "has the task of giving an historical intention a natural justification, and making contingency appear eternal,"⁴⁶ Barthes insists. He regards them as a

06. ⁴² Eric Gould, *Mythical Intentions in Modern Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University press, 1981),

⁴³ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1991), 107.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 142.

tool to keep control and to orient the public opinion. He describes them as “a converting substance, capable of reversing situations and states, and of extracting from objects their opposites.”⁴⁷ A myth is a discourse which by means of rhetorical and linguistic tools produces a truth effect on people. Barthes adds that what is disseminated as natural or true is in fact what is in complicity with a dominant ideological orientation and what meets and satisfies the needs of some social or political powers. As Jean-Paul Kaufmann confirms that myth exercises its power, "En trompant sur le réel, en filtrant de façon sélective sa propre vérité. Le mythe devient un mensonge nécessaire, pour régenter une société au nom de l'idéologie dominante du moment."⁴⁸ Barthes believes that the truth effect is created through messages that myth carries, and through hiding the socio-economic and even political operations that happen under its cloak.

Following Barthes' assumption on myth, Edward Said also claims the functionality of myths. He deems that, with knowledge, myths are instruments of the Orientalist discourse. He confirms that the mythic language used by Orientalists is systematic. It stems from and belongs to their ideology. For Said, its main feature is its ability to hide its nature and its origins as it goes through without being suspected.⁴⁹ This feature is what can effectively serve colonial agendas and what push colonial writers to use them. “It is because [myths] have this function,” confirms Iain R. Smith “that [they] survive. [...] Even when a myth is shown to be incompatible with the historical evidence about the specific past events out of which it grew, the myth may continue to flourish. For ultimately myths are not true or false but living or dead.”⁵⁰ Myth in this way becomes an effective tool for convincing the reader with the writer's ideologies.

Therefore, Said considers that myths work through representations which ‘have purposes, they are effective much of the time, they accomplish one or more tasks.

⁴⁷ Barthes, *Mythologies*, 58.

⁴⁸ Jean-Claude Kaufmann, *L'Invention de soi: une théorie de l'identité* (Paris: Colin, 2004).

⁴⁹ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 321.

⁵⁰ Iain R. Smith, "Chosen People," *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 4 (April 1986), 18.

Representations are formations or as Roland Barthes has said of all the operations of language, they are deformations.” He adds: “The Orient as a representation in Europe is formed- or deformed- out of a more and more specific sensitivity towards a geographical region called the “East”.⁵¹ In parallel, he defines Orientalism as “the variety of textual forms in which the west produced and codified knowledge about non-metropolitan areas and cultures, especially those under colonial control.”⁵² Thus, it can be said that colonial literature is a net of representations, images and imaginative formations that are essentially used to support colonial systems.

Like Barthes and Said, Ernest Cassirer also accentuates the systematicness of myths. First, he considers myth as a projection of man’s fancies and wills into a literary creation. “In myth” Cassirer asserts “man objectifies his own deepest emotions; he looks at them as if they had an outward existence”⁵³ He clearly explains his view as follows:

Myth has always been described as the result of an unconscious activity and as a free product of imagination. But here we find *myth made according to plan*. The new political myths do not grow up freely; they are not wild fruits of an exuberant imagination. They are artificial things fabricated by very skilful and cunning artisans. It has been reserved for the twentieth century, our own great technical age, to develop a new technique of myth. Henceforth myths can be manufactured in the same sense and according to the same methods as any other modern weapon-as machine guns or airplanes. That is a new thing-and a thing of crucial importance. It has changed the whole form of our social life.⁵⁴

It can be concluded from the extract that in Cassirer’s view myth is a predetermined plan with well-defined objectives. It cannot be a mere and innocent fabrication. Therefore, it works on manipulating and changing a given situation at the level of individuals and societies. As it is important to know the meaning of myth, it is equally significant to know how a myth comes into being. Therefore, the next subsection highlights the ways in which myths can be produced and what gives them power.

⁵¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 273.

⁵² Ibid., 32.

⁵³ Ernst Cassirer, *Symbol, Myth, and Culture: essays and lectures of Ernst Cassirer*, ed., Donald Philip Venero, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 173.

⁵⁴ Ernst Cassirer, *The Myth of the State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946), 282.

While the previous theorists discuss the role of myth, Bruce Lincoln provides in his works an extended explanation of the mechanism myth works through. Building on Barthes' notion of myth as rhetorical representation of an ideological vision, Lincoln developed his conceptualization of myth as an "ideology in a narrative form."⁵⁵ Lincoln agrees with Barthes that myth is an expression of its maker's thoughts and that it has a profound influence on society. He insists that it "is a story with an ideological dimension, conditioned by its author's interests and desires."⁵⁶ He adds that myths are powerful means of constructing, deconstructing, and reconstructing society.⁵⁷ Myth is not only a trace in ideology, or as an element of recovery, it can arise from ideology, proliferate as an image, as a symbol, and as an example. It produces an over-investment and affective mobilization while hardly perceptible as such because included in the same functional totality as ideology. As such, colonial discourse rests on the creation of a set of myths loaded with imperial ideologies.

Moreover, myths' potency of conditioning society is based on their credibility and authority.⁵⁸ In the process of mythmaking, the mythmaker ensures its verisimilitude and acceptability among people. He takes into account the culture, beliefs, and orientations of the targeted society. In the case of Bertrand and Kipling, the writers as mythmakers prove that their myths were created with a close attention to the background of the colonizing/imperial nation and the colonized ones. The attention to the context contributes to create credible narratives which rise to an authoritative myth with a deep influence through frequent repetition.⁵⁹ The authority of myth is construed according to Lincoln as "one for which successful claims are made not only to the status of truth, but what is more, to the status of paradigmatic truth."⁶⁰ The

⁵⁵ Bruce Lincoln, *Theorizing Myth: Narrative, Ideology, and Scholarship* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999), 117.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 216.

⁵⁷ Bruce Lincoln, *Discourse and Construction of Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 47.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁶⁰ Lincoln, *Discourse and Construction of Society*, 24.

author adds that “[i]n this sense the authority of myth is somewhat akin to that of charters, models, templates, and blueprints, but one can go beyond.” Simply, an authoritative myth is that which is absorbed by a group of people without being questioned or suspected.

After conveying the nature of myth, Lincoln demonstrates the ways in which myths can be used to produce a sociopolitical change. He delineates three most common techniques:

- 1- [Myths] can contest the authority or credibility of a given myth reducing it to the status of history or legend and thereby deprive it of the capacity to continually reconstruct accustomed social forms.
- 2- They can attempt to invest a history, a legend, or even a fable with authority and credibility thus elevating it to the status of myth and thereby make of it an instrument with which to construct novel social forms.
- 3- They can advance novel lines of interpretation for an established myth or modify details in its narration and thereby change the nature of the sentiments (and the society) it evokes.⁶¹

In view of this, the mythmaker whose goal is to agitate a social or a political shift can first repudiate the prevalent existing myth and challenge its veracity. A second option is the employment of historical, legendary, or fabulous stories and turning them into authoritative myth. Finally, the sociopolitical agitator can make use of existing myths through reorienting them towards new goals by means of evoking new attitudes.

Therefore, it can be stated that literary writing in general, and more particularly colonial literature which is the object of this study, integrates myth in a fictional space so as to confer on it a political value able to challenge the reader and make him believe a story invented by the writer’s imagination. It is a highly artificial composition, flowing in the traditional mold of genealogies of the meditated answers to the problems of the colonial society, resulting from the imperial night, in full crisis of integration and self-justification. Moreover, this colonial or imperial society, which encounters problems of function, supervision, and hegemony, invents new modes of the political relation and construct new myths which go hand in hand with their ideology.

⁶¹ Lincoln, *Discourse and Construction of Society*, 25.

The colonial literary myth is therefore a story endowed with a structure and a function, a symbolic substance and a pragmatic value: it presents as a particular scenario. Myth is both a message and a medium, a narrative of social practice and a corpus of stories to be deciphered. As Raoul Girardet argues, “mythe au sens le plus complet du terme [est] à la fois fiction, system d’explication et message mobilisateur.”⁶² In this sense, myth in politics stems from a specifically political imaginary, the use of it has as an equally political purpose, such as the establishment of a regime or the destruction of an established order. Colonial myths as part of political ones, they are employed to discredit the colonized self-rule to substitute it with a colonial enterprise.

In short, this part bases on the assumption that a myth is a fictional creation that mixes reality and fiction in the aim of enhancing the assertions of colonial ideology. As it will be demonstrated in the coming chapters, both Bertrand and Kipling exploit the mythic dimension of literature and follow a mixture of the techniques described by Lincoln. They invest the past and the present to change the future and to establish new political and social lines in the colonies as well as the metropolis. They exploit the impact of mythic literature on the reader to contribute in the achievement of their nations’ imperialist/colonialist targets.

⁶² Raoul Girardet, *Mythes et mythologies politiques* (Paris : Seuil, 1986), 98.

Chapter II: Theoretical Considerations

Believing in the critical role historical context has on literary production, this thesis is situated in the field of Cultural Studies. Its arguments are based on the premises of New Historicist and Postcolonial Literary theories whose theorists agree on the point that the literary text is not a merely autonomous creative entity that stands by itself. They rather regard it as socially, culturally, and historically influenced as well as influencing. This mutual relationship between the text and history is what Louis Montrose calls the “historicity”¹ of the text, and what Edward Said means by the text’s “worldliness.”² Another common point between the New Historicists and the Postcolonials, which serves the analysis of this project, is their interest to and their premises of power issues and their relation with the text. They also share the conviction that the profound analysis of the textual representations simultaneously with the dominant ideologies is the method that leads to a comprehensive understanding of the text and its time and even the current time.

New Historicism is a holistic approach to literature rather than a specialized theory. However, it provides a suitable strategy to deal with the texts under study and the subject matter that requires a background to the French Algerian and the Anglo-Indian history. The way the New Historicists deal with representations enables us to understand how and why the writers shaped their different characters, actions, settings in the manner they did as it allows infer the historical and the political resonance of these representations. It also helps interpret how the French Algerian, the Anglo-Indians, and the colonized are represented in the different colonial sites.

Because the selected texts belong to colonial literature, the study appeals also to Postcolonial theories mainly to Edward Said’s assumptions which are specialized in issues of

¹ Louis Montrose, “Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture,” in *The New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Veeser (New York: Routledge, 1989), 23.

² Edward Said, “The Text, the World, the Critic,” in *The Bulletin of the Midwest Modern Language Association*, vol. 8, no. 2, (1975): 1-2.

power concerned with the colonizer/colonized relationship. Moreover, Postcolonial theories provides a range of concepts that help understand the different imperial and colonial discourses present in Bertrand's and Kipling's writings. Accordingly, the selected theories constitute a complementary effort, which offers a solid ground on which the arguments of this work will be built.

I- New Historicism

New Historicist perceptions were initiated into the academic field in the early eighties with the publication of Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (1980). This theory was not called "New Historicism" till 1982 in Greenblatt's book entitled *The Power of Forms in the English Renaissance*. In fact, its birth was the outcome of its views that counter the formalist theoretical assumptions and the result of being deeply influenced by some poststructuralist theories. It grounded its principles on a tight relationship between the text and history, and the study of "the historicity of the text and the textuality of history,"³ which means the existence of a dialectical relationship between the text and its context. The mutual influence the text and the context have on each other is at the heart of the present study since it is necessary to analyze how Bertrand and Kipling were influenced by the French and the British conditions and how they are reflected directly or subtly in their literary writings.

Compellingly dissatisfied with the text-centered approaches to literature such as New Criticism and Russian Formalism that conceive texts as being "sacred, self-enclosed, and self-justifying miracle,"⁴ new historicists founded a new theory that reads literature in connection with history without discrediting its aesthetics. Greenblatt explains and insists that New Historicist literary critics' inclination towards contextualization of literary texts in history does

³ Louis Montrose, "Professing the Renaissance," 23.

⁴ Stephen Greenblatt and Catherine Gallagher, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2001), 12.

not mean the suppression or the ignorance of the literariness of the text. Instead, the historical affiliation of the text strengthens its literary meaning.⁵ What New Historicism is not in accordance with is the separation of any artistic production from its socio-historical context which led to its emergence and gives it its shape. Greenblatt and Catherine Gallagher affirm that

[their] project has never been about diminishing or belittling the power of artistic representations, even those with the most problematic entailments, but never believe that [their] appreciation of this power necessitates either ignoring the cultural matrix out of which the representations emerge or uncritically endorsing the fantasies that the representations articulate.⁶

That is to say, from a New Historicist view, to distance the text from its social, cultural, historical moment limits the possibilities of interpreting the text's meaning(s). The artistic tenets of the literary text in fact contribute to meaning generation if it is treated in a critical manner and affiliated to its context of production.

Echoing Greenblatt's and Gallagher's view, Jerome McGann argues that the New Historicists' insistence on the historicity of the text does not deny the "purely" stylistic, rhetorical, formal or other specialized analyses"⁷ their ability to generate meaning. Yet, he contends that they "must find their *raison d'être* in the socio-historical ground"⁸ of the text.

Sonja Laden, in her turn, says that

[t]he critical practice of New Historicism is made of 'literary' history whose 'literariness' lies in bringing imaginative operations closer to the surface of the non-literary texts and briefly describes some of the practice's leading literary features and strategies.⁹

In saying so, Laden gives a clearer view of the New Historicist practices concerning the point of "literariness" that the stylistic, rhetorical, and formalist tendencies in literary criticism are

⁵Greenblatt, *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 5-6.

⁶Greenblatt and Gallagher, *Practicing*, 9.

⁷Jerome McGann, *The Romantic Ideology: A Critical Investigation* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1983), 3.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Sonja Laden, "Recuperating the archive: Anecdotal Evidence and Questions of Historical Realism," *Poetics Today*, vol.25, n 01 (spring 2004): 25.

based on. She shows that analyzing some literary elements along with contextualization is what New Historicists assume as literariness. The latter is a central point in the examination of the different literary devices the writers used in their texts and which were informed by and echoed some political and historical events.

It is evident that history is a central point in New Historicist assumptions as it is for what is called Old Historicism before it. They agree that a text is attached to its historical conditions, and they believe in their inseparability. Thus, studying a text requires knowledge of its time of production. In other words, they consider the cultural, social, and historical circumstances of the text's publication in the analysis of this text. However, they remarkably differ from each other in their view of the text/history dialectic. Thus, it was called "new" to be differentiated from Old or Traditional Historicism.

Traditional Historicism defines the literary text from a mimetic point of view as merely mirroring historical reality. Its aim is to investigate how accurately a text reflects its time. Old Historicists count on the objectivity of their method of analysis. For Greenblatt, such analysis is "monological" and it denotes that the view of all literatures and even of real people concerning the same period is "identical."¹⁰ In contrast to Old Historicism, New Historicism refutes the existence of any possibility of neither objective history, nor objective analysis. They argue that neither the historian, nor the author can escape the influence of the pervasive discourses of his time and which influence his writings, and then they can never be objective. In the case of Bertrand and Kipling, their novels stand as an expression of the colonial and imperial ideologies of their time and which deeply influenced the way they wrote them. Consequently, New Historicists hold that any analysis of a text is inevitably subjective and leads to a set of complex and various interpretations. Relying on this assumption, the intention

¹⁰Greenblatt, "Introduction: The Power of Forms and Forms of Power in the Renaissance," *Genre vol.15* (1982): 3-6.

of this study is to decipher the authors' political inclinations as influenced by the surrounding conditions and represented in their texts.

The relevance of new historicist premises to the current investigation resides in the conviction that history has the power to condition the way literature is written and the meanings it encapsulates. Therefore, reading history along with and within Bertrand's and Kipling's texts were written is the way that permits us to unveil their imperial nationalist anxieties and inclinations. This approach to literary analysis "is concerned with finding the creative power [historical condition] that shapes literary works *outside* the narrow boundaries in which it had hitherto been located, as well as within these boundaries."¹¹ This means that literature is historically biased and ideologically motivated by the pervasive discourses (cultural, social, economic, ...) of its own time. So, due to this influence that history has on texts, which for their part, cannot be seen in isolation from their contexts.

History, in New Historicism, is not only influencing texts, but also influenced by them. Moreover, a text has the power to shape and make history and society. According to John Brannigan, New Historicism's central assumption is that the human identities are "fictions" and that are designed and acclimatized by means of "narratives and performances," and at the same time their designs and adaptations are affected by the dominant historical circumstances.¹² Louis Montrose confirms that to speak of "the social production of 'literature' or any particular text [...] signif[ies] that it is socially produced but also that is *socially productive*, which means that is the product of the work and that it performs work in the process of being written, enacted, or read."¹³ Text and history, accordingly, have a reciprocal relationship and equal importance. They are "mutually constitutive" in Lois Tyson terms.¹⁴

Thus, New Historicists' task is to figure out this mutual constitutiveness through the

¹¹Greenblatt and Gallagher, *Practicing New Criticism*, 12. (Emphasis original.)

¹²John Brannigan, *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism* (London: Macmillan, 1998), 61.

¹³Montrose, "Professing the Renaissance," 23.

¹⁴Lois Tyson, *Critical Theory Today* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 292.

interpretation of textual representations and the text's historical and cultural resonance. According to Greenblatt, resonance indicates "[t]he power of the displayed object [text] to reach out beyond its formal boundaries to a larger world, to evoke in the viewer [reader] the complex, dynamic cultural forces from which it has emerged and for which it may be taken by a viewer [a reader] to stand."¹⁵ By means of history, they seek to find out and interpret the discourses by which the writers were influenced. It appears from the quote that a text is influenced and how it influences these discourses and its *milieu*. In the same manner that history fuels the writers' imagination to create a literary text, the latter itself can have a social, political and historical performance in reality. It can influence the course of history. Such an influence of a literary text is evident in, for example, Bertrand's ideas of Latin Africa whose traces are still present in the claims of *Cercle Algérieniste*¹⁶ which continues to call for the recovery of North Africa. Another instance is Kipling's "The White Man's Burden" which has got a persistence influence on the western thought and mind.

Because of the impact that a text can have on its social system, it is considered as culturally, socially, historically and politically engaged. For this reason, New Historicism is also concerned with the question of power in texts. At this level, the influence of Michel Foucault's thinking on this theory manifests itself. Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan states that "[i]nfluenced at once by Foucauldian and Marxist theories of history, the New Historian focuses on issues of power- with a particular interest in the ways in which power is maintained by *unofficial means*."¹⁷ Texts, as discourses, are among these unofficial means, which can generate power through manipulating knowledge. Texts, according to New Historicists, possess the ability to mold people's mind sets and to remold them if necessary, to direct their

¹⁵Greenblatt, "Resonance and Wonder," in *The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, eds., Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavin (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991) 42.

¹⁶*Cercle Algérieniste* is a national federation created on 1st November 1973 by young French Pieds-Noirs who called for the recovery of Algeria believing that it is a French lost province. (www.cerclealgerianiste.fr)

¹⁷Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan, *Literary Theory: An Anthology* (Maiden: Blackwell, 2004), 506.

conduct, to form their identities, and to control their perceptions of what is acceptable and what is not.¹⁸

It derives from such a way of thinking that power is particularly attached to knowledge. Foucault for instance states that “[t]here is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations.”¹⁹ Julian Wolfreys explains,

For Foucault, power implies knowledge, even while knowledge is, concomitantly, constitutive of power: knowledge gives one power, but one has the power in given circumstances to constitute bodies of knowledge, discourses and so on as valid or invalid, truthful or untruthful. Power serves in making the world both knowable and controllable. Yet, in the name of power, as Foucault suggests in the first volume of his *History of Sexuality*, is essentially proscriptive, concerned more with imposing limits on its subjects.²⁰

So, knowledge, to a certain degree, is power. The importance accorded to the text is due to its ability to circulate knowledge and thus shape people’s mind. In this case, the disseminated knowledge internalizes and naturalizes some ways of thinking and behaving. For this reason, Bertrand’s and Kipling’s textual representations of their imperial and colonial creeds, which constitute “powerful political acts,”²¹ can be better understood in the light of the Power/Knowledge dialectic.

Another important point is that the truthfulness of the disseminated knowledge is not at stake. What really counts is how much it serves the agendas of the ruler who decides what is true or not. John Brannigan asserts that “the truth’ was simply a version of events preferred, indeed imposed by the dominant or ruling group in society.”²² From Brannigan’s words it can be inferred that this is the most provocative aspect in reading a text. This aspect is how the

¹⁸Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, “Literary Criticism and the Politics of New Historicism,” *The New Historicism*, eds., H. Aram Veeser (New York: Routledge, 2013), 222.

¹⁹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans., Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 27.

²⁰Julian Wolfreys, Ruth Robbins and Kenneth Womack, *Key Concepts in Literary Theory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 81.

²¹Claire Colebrook, *New Literary Histories: New Historicism and Contemporary Criticism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 199.

²²John Brannigan, *New Criticism*, 42.

dominant power by means of texts which play on meanings and manipulate them for its own ends. These postulations constitute a valid ground on which the colonial myths perpetuated by Bertrand and Kipling can be explored since myth is claimed in the present work to be discursive knowledge.

In addition to its theoretical framework, New Historicism provides a practical procedure to be followed in reading texts. This method is called “thick description,” an expression borrowed from the anthropologist Clifford Geertz’s book *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1937). Greenblatt and Gallagher explain that this thick description is an interpretation through a deep investigation of the significance of any representation, its references, its circumstances, and even other interpretations of it. They continue expounding the idea and assert that if the same representation of an object happened in different places and times, they will inevitably have different interpretations.²³ However, different representations within similar conditions can, and often, have similar interpretations and this is the case of the present study.

New Historicist critical procedure is based on thorough analysis of the text in relation to its surrounding historical conditions and the non-literary texts and trying to find what ties them together. In doing so, the critic can come up with the ideologies and discourses that give the text its shape and the making of which the text contributes. At this level, New Historicism intersects with Postcolonial Literary theories which are also indispensable for the present research because the selected texts belong to the canon of colonial literature.

II- Postcolonial Literary Criticism

This study mainly appeals to Edward Said’s Postcolonial critical insights along with some of Bhabha’s views. Said provides a Poststructuralist way of literary analysis in which the critic should not restrict himself to the intrinsic features of texts. The critic should take into account the “worldliness”²⁴ of this text. By worldliness, he means the circumstances such as

²³Greenblatt and Gallagher, *Practicing New Criticism*, 23-24.

²⁴ Said, “The Text, the World, the Critic, 1-2.

social, economic, historical or political give birth to a text and in fact are the basis on which it is produced. Said believes that a text cannot be cut off from its circumstantialities and that it has a “status as *already* fulfilling a function, a reference, or a meaning *in the world*.”²⁵ He argues that “text as significant form, in which [...] worldliness, circumstantiality, the text’s status as an event having sensuous particularity as well as historical contingency, are incorporated in the text, are an infrangible part of its capacity for producing and conveying meaning.”²⁶ Therefore, he considers that the critic’s role is to read a text in its context, opposing the New Critical theorists who regard it as a “fallacy.”²⁷

Said suggests a theoretical structure in his *Culture and Imperialism* that he calls “contrapuntal reading” for reading, in fact rereading, literary texts in relation to the historical development and expansionism of Western empires mainly the British and the French. His analytical method implies making a connection between the different historical perspectives concerning both the colonized and the colonizer in order to have a comprehensive understanding of the text’s functioning within itself and within its context. Said sees that the critic should not read a text “univocally but contrapuntally, with a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts.”²⁸ A special attention should be given to the text’s underpinnings while reading it since the text is an area in which different histories of the narrator and the narrated overlap. Therefore, missing these histories inevitably is to miss much of the meaning of the narrative.

²⁵ Said, “The Text, the World, the Critic, 13. (original emphasis)

²⁶ Ibid., 08.

²⁷ For the New Critical theorists, the critic should focus only on the literary text away from any other extrinsic factors, such as society, culture, and the writer’s life, which are in their view fallacies. There are two kind of fallacies: Intentional and affective fallacy. The term fallacy was coined by W. K. Wimsatt and Monroe Beardsley. For more information, you can look at *Literary Criticism: A New History* by Gary Day and *A history of Literary Criticism and Theory: From Plato to the Present* by M. A. R. Habib

²⁸ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage books, 1994), 51.

Contrapuntal analysis is meant to make the silent in texts heard, and to uncover the discourse of imperialist ideology that is hidden within it.²⁹ In other words, it “acts to give those absences a presence.”³⁰ Applying this analysis in a text requires a simultaneous reading of imperialism and literature as mutually affected and affecting cultural form of it. Said asserts that literary texts should not be read apart from their contexts because of the interconnection that exists between literature, history and ideology. Reading the selected texts of the current study therefore needs an intense awareness to historical context of the writers, their characters, and the narrated events. Said claims that “we can no longer ignore empires and the imperial context in our studies” since “the crossings over between culture and imperialism are compelling.”³¹ Therefore, a high awareness of Bertrand’s and Kipling’s historical background is required in order to understand the interconnectedness between imperialism and nationalism and how the authors’ texts reflect it.

Said also affirms that literature is an “agent of Imperialism” and he asserts that it is “somehow participating in Europe’s overseas expansion... [As it] support[s], elaborate[s], and consolidate[s] the practice of empire.”³² Before supporting, elaborating, and consolidating the empire, literature as part of culture prepares societies to be dominated. Starting from this view, this study aims to explore the ways in which Bertrand and Kipling employed their literary representations to create myths about the colonized and the colonizer in order to justify the imperial conduct and convince both the colonizer and the colonized of the necessity and the inevitability of colonial rule. More interestingly, shedding light on this issue also leads to unravel the obscured agendas of the writers and their respective empires.

In accordance with Said’s claims, Abdul Jan Mohamed also considers literature as an important factor in the expansionism of empires and that it is laden with its ideologies.

²⁹Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 66.

³⁰Bill Ashcroft and Pal Ahluwalia, *Edward Said* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 96.

³¹Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 13.

³² *Ibid.*, 14.

“Colonialist Literature,” he states, “is an exploration and a representation of a world at the boundaries of ‘civilization,’ a world that has not (yet) been domesticated by European signification or *codified* in detail by its *ideology*.”³³ Thus, reading literature that is produced in a context of an empire is at the same time a reading of imperialism itself. For this reason, the current work follows Said’s approach to literature and uses his contrapuntal reading to analyze the colonial discourse in the novels under study.

Moreover, for Said, literary representations in colonial literary texts are inevitably political representations and politically biased. He believes that the textual images that colonial writers produce are not natural or real, but they are imaginary constructions meant to be seen as natural. He states that a “reason for insisting upon exteriority is that [he] believe[s] it needs to be made clear about cultural discourse and exchange within a culture that what is commonly circulated by it is not “truth” but representations.”³⁴ He means that a text’s cultural portrayals that circulate in society are not mimetic but reformulated according to this culture. Said continues saying that

It hardly needs to be demonstrated again that language itself is a highly organized and encoded system, which employs many devices to express, indicate, exchange messages and information, represent, and so forth. In any instance of at least written language, *there is no such thing as a delivered presence, but a re-presence, or a representation*. The value, efficacy, strength, apparent veracity of a written statement about the Orient therefore relies very little, and cannot instrumentally depend, on the Orient as such.³⁵

So, Said denies the existence of any direct or faithful presentations. In his view, Orientalists’ images about the Orient are not based on reality and, thus, their writings need to be re-evaluated.

“Colonial discourse” is a key concept in this study. For Said, the concept is used to refer to a frame of references, statements and practices made by the colonizers or those holding

³³Qtd in Bill Ashcroft, *The Postcolonial Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 18. (Emphasis added).

³⁴Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 21.

³⁵*Ibid.*

power about colonized and dominated groups and imposed on them. It is a system of knowledge through which the dominating groups see the dominated and even making them see themselves. Said defines it as “a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between ‘the Orient’ and (most of the time) ‘the Occident.’”³⁶ It centers on assumptions about colonies and colonial subjects.³⁷ It is also defined as “the variety of textual forms in which the West produced and codified knowledge about non-metropolitan areas and cultures, especially those under colonial control.”³⁸ Colonial discourse is based on Eurocentric presuppositions about non-Europeans. It identifies the West with aspects of development, modernity, and civilization while it associates the rest of the world as static, primitive, and uncivilized that needs the West to uplift it. The colonial discourse is a discourse of power and superiority that is built on the dialectic of power and knowledge.

While Said expounds his perceptions of the colonial discourse through the whole of his work, Homi Bhabha, drawing on Said’s view, gives it a more straightforward definition. He summarizes it writing that “[i]t is an apparatus that turns on the recognition and disavowal of racial/cultural/historical differences.” This means that colonial discourse works on “difference.” Bhabha also states,

Its predominant strategic function is the creation of a space for a ‘subject people’ through the production of knowledge in terms of which surveillance is exercised and a complex form of pleasure/unpleasure [*sic*] is incited. It seeks authorization for its strategies by the production of knowledges of colonizer and colonized which are stereotypical but antithetically evaluated. The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction.³⁹

According to the quote, Colonial discourse is an indispensable factor in imperialism and colonialism for it manipulates the colonized to see the colonizer as serving a “*mission*

³⁶Said, *Orientalism*, 04.

³⁷ Bill Ashcroft, et.al, *Key Concepts in Postcolonial Studies* (London: Routledge, 1998), 42-43.

³⁸Qtd in, Fatin Abuhila, “The Discourse of Palestinian Diaspora in Edward Said’s ‘Out of Place: A Memoir: A Post-Orientalism Analysis,’” *JPCS* Vol. 4, No. 3 (2013): 31.

³⁹Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 70.

civilisatrice” and thus accepting colonial/imperial rule in their lands. It is in short a system of representation of both the colonizer and the colonized which implies the necessity of the imperial or the colonial control.

In *Orientalism*, Said gives an extended explanation of the notion through the concept of “Orientalism.” Orientalism, as a process of constructing the “Orient” from the “Occident’s” point of view, is itself a colonial discourse. For Said this process should be studied as a discourse because

without examining [it] as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage-and even produce-the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period.⁴⁰

In saying so, Said reveals that reading a text about the “Orient” as a discourse in relation to the context in which it was woven results in grasping how Orientalism and Orientalist texts come into being and how they function.

The colonial discourse is in fact the way used by the West to gain hegemony over the “Orient.” It is “a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the ‘Orient.’”⁴¹ Orientalism is primarily based on a system of representations that Bhabha calls “Stereotypes” that guarantee the European domination over the “Orient.” In these representations, the Orientals or the non-Westerns in general are alleged to be inferiors and primitives in contrast to the Europeans. Providing justification and legitimacy for the accumulation of the colonized lands, they are presented as being under surveillance and in need for supervision and guidance. Said insists on this point saying:

The Oriental is depicted as something one judges (as in a court of law), something one studies and depicts (as in a curriculum), something one disciplines (as in a school or prison), something one illustrates (as in a zoological manual). The point is that in each of these cases the Oriental is *contained* and *represented* by dominating frameworks.⁴²

⁴⁰Said, *Orientalism*, 03.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid., 40. (Emphasis original)

Said in this quote confirms that the Oriental is negatively portrayed and put in a weaker situation. The Oriental is considered as an object to be dominated through representation and containment.

Bhabha's concept of stereotype is in correlation with Said's Orientalism concerning the function of discourse in paving the way to the European domination and control over the non-European territories through representation. He contends that stereotypes like the Orientalists' representations play a pivotal role in supporting the colonial power and consolidate it. He affirms this in the following paragraph:

Racist stereotypical discourse, in its colonial moment, inscribes a form of *governmentality* that is informed by a productive splitting in its constitution of *knowledge* and exercise of power. Some of its practices recognize the difference of race, culture and history as elaborated by stereotypical knowledge, racial theories, administrative colonial experience, and on that basis institutionalize a range of political and *cultural ideologies* that are prejudicial, discriminatory, vestigial, archaic, 'mythical,' and, crucially, are recognized as being so. [...] However, there coexist within the same *apparatus of colonial power*, modern systems and sciences of government, progressive 'Western' forms of social and economic organization which provide the manifest *justification* for the project of *colonialism*.⁴³

From the quote, one can deduce that the use of stereotype is a form of knowledge of the colonized people which propagates the idea of the inferiority of the colonized Other and his need to be civilized by the colonizer. Thereupon, stereotypes enhance the West's colonial project and justify it as being benign. Bhabha considers stereotypes as a colonial apparatus which help govern and ideologically manipulate the colonized people.

From the aforementioned, knowledge arises in the colonial or Orientalist discourse as a crucial factor in obtaining and maintaining authority over the colonized people. Influenced by Foucauldian views of power and knowledge, Said, and Bhabha as well, reveals that the West's power stems from their ability to gain and maintain knowledge about the colonized, the epistemological function of discourse, and to effectively disseminate it. This means that the

⁴³ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 83 (Emphasis added)

more knowledge one has the more power he has. Said explains his view stating that

Knowledge means rising above immediacy, beyond self, into the *foreign* and *distant*. The object of such knowledge is inherently vulnerable to scrutiny; this object is a "fact" which, if it develops, changes, or otherwise transforms itself in the way that civilizations frequently, nevertheless is fundamentally, even ontologically stable. To have such knowledge of such a thing is to *dominate it, to have authority over it*. And authority here means for "us" to deny autonomy to "it"-the Oriental country-since we know it and it exists, in a sense, as we know it.⁴⁴

In this extract, Said mentions that Europeans through knowledge also decree the way in which the colonized exists. Colonial knowledge influences the colonized's perception of himself and convinces him of his ontological difference and inferiority compared to the colonizer. He adds that "knowledge of subject races or Orientals is what makes their management easy and profitable; knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control."⁴⁵ In short, knowledge is a means to facilitate subjugating the other and manipulating it.

Knowledge is obtained and delivered through cultural forms and different and various types of writing about the west. A text is an ideological vehicle by means of which imperial powers impose a consensual dominance (Gramsci's hegemony) over the colonized. Colonial texts, according to Said, "nurtured the sentiment, rationale, and above all the imagination of empire."⁴⁶ They help in internalizing the idea of the need for European intervention in Oriental lands for the benefit of their inhabitants. Elleke Boehmer as well supports this view. He believes that "[c]olonial settlement too was expressed textually... The text, a vehicle of imperial authority, symbolized and in some cases [...] performed the act of taking possession."⁴⁷ From this standpoint, it is claimed that the texts of Bertrand and Kipling were part of the colonial and imperial agendas of the French and the British empires respectively

⁴⁴Said, *Orientalism*, 32. (Emphasis added)

⁴⁵ Ibid., 36.

⁴⁶ Bhabha, *Culture and Imperialism*, 16.

⁴⁷ Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 14.

since they contributed to the formation of the colonial knowledge system used to dominate people.

Furthermore, the importance of colonial texts resides in the fact that they have credibility and acceptability among people, either colonizer or colonized. The credibility of texts among readers results in a “Textual Authority,” i.e. an influence and a power to control the reader’s thoughts. Thus, the knowledge that a text may convey is easily believed and taken for granted to be true. Said explains,

A text purporting to contain knowledge about something actual and arising out of circumstances [in which the author has shown him or herself to be correct] is not easily dismissed. Expertise is attributed to it. This authority of academics, institutions, and governments can accrue to it, surrounding it with still greater prestige than its practical successes warrant. Most important, such texts can create not only knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe. In time such knowledge and reality produce a tradition, or what Michel Foucault calls a discourse, whose material presence or weight, not the originality of a given author, is really responsible for the texts produced out of it.⁴⁸

In this way, texts transfer subjective personal views and they are received as an objective truth and as a reality. Through the use of texts in general and literature in specific, the imperial enterprise and its advocates make use of it to “support, elaborate, and consolidate the practice of empire.”⁴⁹ They play with the minds of the European as well as non-Europeans to adjust them according to their benefits and to convince them of the legitimacy and the nobleness of their project.

The authority that texts have generates a “Textual Attitude” among the readers and even writers. By “Textual Attitude,” Said means the belief in any knowledge one reads without testing either because there is nothing to be tested against, or because the writer is believed to be creditable and trusted.⁵⁰ Those writers, who have textual attitudes and that Said calls them “textual children,” write about the Orient and other distant, unknown territories without having

⁴⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, 94.

⁴⁹Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 14.

⁵⁰Said, *Orientalism*, 93-94.

experiencing them directly. Instead, they write according to what they have read in previous texts as travel writings.⁵¹ These repetitive images found in texts reinforce more and more the negative portrayal the Orientalist writings provide. This textual attitude resembles what Bhabha calls “regime of truth” that the colonizer tries to found through knowledge about the colonized in order to maintain control over them.⁵² Drawing on this, the present study will link the writers’ representations to the process of colonial mythmaking whose influence on the reader is related to textual attitude of the authors’ works. Therefore, the next chapter will be a review of the main historical conditions during which Bertrand and Kipling lived and wrote their works.

⁵¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 88.

⁵² Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 71.

Chapter III: Bertrand and Kipling: Life and Times

As seen in the previous chapter, contextualization is imperative to the analysis of the selected texts. Therefore, the present chapter is an investigation in some biographical elements of Bertrand and Kipling who in addition to their belonging to similar literary traditions, they lived analogous situations which heavily influenced their literary creations. It also examines the other shadowed side of the imperial situation of both France and Britain. It seeks to shed light on the main crises and problems that these two world powers came to confront in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. It is divided into two sections. The first one is a biographical section of the two writers which shows the outstanding similarities between their lives. The second section is concerned with the hard situation in France and the frailties of the British Empire at that time. Such an investigation justifies the hypothesis put by this study which emphasizes the anxiety that dominated the period and that influenced the ideological orientations of the writers Bertrand and Kipling.

I- Bertrand's and Kipling's Life and works:

The second half of the 19th century witnessed the birth of two distinguished writers who vigorously defended the colonial and imperial cause: Louis Bertrand in France and Rudyard Kipling in Anglo-India. The two writers did not only belong to similar literary traditions as mentioned before in the introduction. In fact, they had outstanding similar lives. Exactly on 30th December 1865, Rudyard Kipling was born in Bombay for the Anglo-Indian John Lockwood Kipling and Alice MacDonald.¹ A year later on 20th March, Louis Marie Emile Bertrand was born in Spincourt (Meuse, France) for Ferdinand-Nicholas Bertrand and Emile-Delphine Guilminot.² What is also remarkable is that each of them is the elder brother of only one sister: Kipling's sister is called Alice (Trix) and Bertrand's sister is called Jane.

¹ Norman Page, *A Kipling Companion* (London: Macmillan, 1984), 01.

²Paul Mangion, "Une approche de Louis Bertrand," <http://www.cerclealgerianiste.fr/index.php/archives/encyclopedie-algerianiste/culture/litteratures/ecrivains-algerianistes/399-une-approche-de-louis-bertrand>.

Both writers were detached from their place of birth at an early age which influenced their writings. Having only six years when Bertrand moved with his family to Briey³ bearing with him a very strong sense of the “Other” or the “enemy” (the German invasion of France) that marked most of his works and for which he devoted a whole book entitled *Le Sens de l'ennemi*. At the same age and in 1871⁴, Kipling left India where he spent his first years happily to stay with foster-parents in England. The experience with the foster family away from Bombay and away from his parents were desperately unhappy. Kipling expressed his uneasiness with that experience in different works like his short story “Baa Baa Black Sheep” and his autobiography *Something of Myself* where he speaks of his days of “punishments and humiliation- above all humiliation.”⁵ Accordingly, Bertrand’s and Kipling’s childhood heavily influenced their literary career as it always shows traces of that period in their lives.

The two writers They had similar experiences concerning their relation to their motherland and their new “homes,” Algeria and India. They developed a strong relation with the colonies where they spent their years of fulfillment. Bertrand was seized by the Mediterranean and the new people who settled on this shore. During the nine years of his stay in Algeria, his will to discover it Algeria never stopped. He began by mingling with the small population of immigrants in Bab-El-Oued, then traveling over the country. He did this in the company of the carters. He visited Médéa, Ain-Oussera with them. He discovered Tipasa with his friend Stéphane Gsell and went as far as Laghouat in 1895 and he was fascinated by the Roman ruins of Timgad.⁶ His experience of visiting different places in Algeria inspired his works like *La Cina* (1901), *Le Jardin de la mort* (1905), *La Concession de Madame Petitgand* (1912), *Les Nuits d’Alger* (1929), and *Sur les routes du Sud* (1936) among many others.

³ Paul Mangion, “Une approche de Louis Bertrand.”

⁴ Page, *A Kipling Companion*, 01.

⁵ Rudyard Kipling, *Something of Myself* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1937), 10.

⁶ Daniel Heck, “Un grand oublié : Louis Bertrand,” *Regards sur la vie et l’œuvre de Louis Bertrand*, eds., Cercle des amis de Louis Bertrand (Paris: Via Romana, 2015), 16

Kipling as well was very attracted to India and fascinated by its people, culture, and geography. During his six years there and before going to United States, he accumulated the prodigious treasure of knowledge, experiences, impressions on India which was to be for many years the source of his inspiration. He therefore populates his stories with wild animals, exotic landscapes under a blazing sun, and phrases drawn from Indian wisdom. He describes the life of the Indians, captures of wild elephants, an extraordinary scene for young Englishmen who read the works of Kipling. Among these works, we can note his works of fiction that include the *Jungle Book* diology (*The Jungle Book*, 1894; *The Second Jungle Book*, 1895), *Kim* (1901), *Just So Stories* (1902), *Plain Tales from the Hills* Departmental Ditties 1886 *Plain Tales from the Hills* in 1888 *The Light That Failed* (1890) *Captains Courageous* *Life's Handicap* (1891), *Many Inventions* (1893), *The Day's Work* (1898), *Traffics and Discoveries* (1904), *Actions and Reactions* (1909), *Debits and Credits* (1926), and *Limits and Renewals* (1932).

The strong relation between Bertrand and Kipling and the years they spent in Algeria and India respectively made of them two fervent proponents of the colonial projects of their empires. Bertrand, for example, was one of the founders of Algerianism. It is to Bertrand that belongs the honor of having been the first historian and novelist of French Africa. he devoted his works for the defense and endurance of the French colonial rule in Algeria. Likewise, Kipling became a “‘jingoist imperialist’”⁷ who is known for his fierce advocacy of the British Empire and his justificatory approach followed in his works.

In addition to the influence of their own life on their writings, both Bertrand's and Kipling's literary imaginary was nurtured by the socio-political conditions of their empires. Harald Fischer-Tiné confirms that “The history of colonial empires has been shaped to a considerable extent by negative emotions such as anxiety, fear, and embarrassment, as well as

⁷ David Gilmour, “Preface,” *The Long Recessional: The Imperial Life of Rudyard Kipling* (London: Penguin, 2019).

by the regular occurrence of panics.”⁸ For this reason, the main emphasis is put on the imperial fears that characterized the period during which the two writers produced their works since their influence on both the development of the imperial scene and the reasoning of the writers is inevitable. To give an interpretation of the authors’ orientations in their writings and to comprehend their imperial nationalist creeds, it is fundamental to comprehend the historical situations that molded them as mentioned previously.

II- The Shaken French and the British Empires

For both the French and the British Empire, the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century was a period marked by a sequence of major events which led Louis Bertrand as well as Rudyard Kipling to have serious reconsiderations of the situation of their imperial nations. The fierce competition and rivalry that emerged among the Great European powers of that time, Great Britain, Germany, France, and Russia, in addition to the internal sociopolitical conditions in France and Britain pushed the writers to produce and shape their texts each in his way.

A- France: An Empire in Decay

Having rich lands and strategic situation, Algeria has been envied since the immemorial times. It has been an area of covetousness for many growing powers in the Mediterranean Basin: The Romans, the Arabs, the Spanish, the Ottomans, and finally the French. The story of France with Algeria dates back to the early sixteenth century. Alfred Rambaud, in his book *La France colonial*, says that France had established some trade stations on the Algerian lands since 1520. However, they were a failure because of the taxes they had to pay for the Ottomans, the rulers of Algeria at that time. Rambaud believes that the question of the taxes should be paid is what was behind the “Flywhisk Incident” (1827), a fabricated incident to be an entry to Algeria.⁹

Concerning the aftermaths of the consul Deval’s incident with the Dey Hussein, Martin

⁸Harald Fischer-Tiné and Christine Whyte, *Anxieties, Fear, and Panic in Colonial Settings: Empires on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 1.

⁹ David Clark Cabeen, “The African Novels of Louis Bertrand: A Phase of the Renaissance of National energy in France. PhD thesis (Philadelphia, 1922), 13.

Evans writes that for France “The nest of pirates’ [Algeria] had to be given a bloody nose.” He continues: “Support for invasion came, too, from the Marseille business community. Having already established trading posts on the coast at La Calle and Bône (Annaba), they had long seen Algeria as an inviting economic prize.”¹⁰ As Rambaud, Evans draws the attention to the economic reasons of the French conquest of Algeria. Evans adds that Charles X invested on the same incident to turn the attention of the French people from his domestic unpopularity to his foreign policy wishing to achieve a success through the colonization of Algeria.¹¹ Then, he notices that colonizing Algeria was a Napoleonic plan dating back to 1808 that was not achieved because of the high costs of the invasions and the British rivalry.¹²

France in fact engaged in the conquest of Algeria for mainly economic, political, and imperial reasons. It was intended to get rid of the taxes that should be paid for the Turks, and to put its hand on its fertile lands and strategic situation that permits controlling all the sea routes of the Mediterranean. It was considered a chance for enlarging the French Empire that lost some of its colonies like that in the New World, and to reinforce its economy. Christianizing the Algerians and civilizing them are other reasons that France was mouthing.¹³ France claimed the intention of bringing cultural enlightenment as well as socio-economic betterment to the “ignorant and backward” Algerians.

Yet, the conquest of 1830 was neither pre-planned, nor born out of a consensus. On November 1830, the French Parliament was divided into three groups. The first group was the pro-colonists who were supporting the colonization and calling for a definitive occupation of Algeria. The second was the anti-colonists who were against colonization. They argued that France is not apt to bear the costs of more wars (after the Napoleonic wars) and they asked for

¹⁰ Martin Evans, *Algeria: France’s Undeclared War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 8.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., 9.

¹³ Bachir Bellah, *Contemporary History of Algeria: From 1830 to 1989, the First Part* (Algiers: Dar El Marifa, 2006), 50. (Translation mine)

withdrawal from the Algerian lands. The last group considered conquering Algeria as a fault and they should not commit another by abandoning it.¹⁴ Despite the discord about the conquest, the French presence in Algeria continued. On July 22, 1834, France issued an act which legalized Algeria as a French possession in North Africa and put it under military rule. The Frenchness of the Algerian lands was reaffirmed in the constitution of 1848 that had assimilationist nature.¹⁵

In addition to the military conquest, Europeans from different nationalities were invading Algeria. The number of these European immigrants increased, reaching its zenith in 1889 with the law of naturalization. France reinforced immigration through different laws that guaranteed free lands for the new settlers in the aim of making Algeria a settler colony which, in Jean Ferniot's view, was France's main target in Algeria. He built this claim on General Bugeaud's call for arrogating the Algerian lands declaring, "Partout où il y a de bonnes eaux et des terres fertiles, c'est là qu'il faut placer les colons, sans s'informer à qui appartiennent les terres ; il faut le leur distribuer en toute propriété."¹⁶ Ferniot adds that the French also wanted to instill the French culture and civilization.¹⁷ From the very beginning, France's intention was to deprive the local population from their lands and implant French settlers who would guarantee the persistence of the French presence in Algeria and ensure continuous benefit. In doing so, France got access to the Algerian natural sources and raw materials.

In her endeavor to make Algeria a French settlement, France adopted different strategies. She created the *Bureaux Arabes*,¹⁸ which under the cloak of the pacification of the

¹⁴Daniel Leconte, *Les Pieds-noirs : histoire et portrait d'une communauté* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1980), 24.

¹⁵Bellah, *Contemporary History of Algeria*, 140.

¹⁶Quoted in Jean Ferniot, *De Gaulle et le 13 mai* (Paris: Plon, 1965), 13.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ *Bureaux Arabes*: The Arab Offices date from the period of the conquest. Placed under military authority, they are responsible for controlling and administering the defeated populations. Under the Second Empire, they were accused by the colonists of being "indigenous" like Napoleon III, whose unpopularity with civilians in Algeria is attested by the results of the 1870 plebiscite. For more information, you can consult Jacques Frémeaux, *Les Bureaux arabes dans l'Algérie de la conquête*, Paris, Denoël, « Documents histoire », 1993.

Algerian tribes and administrative regulations of the Algerians' affairs, aimed at understanding the ways in which the Algerians live and think and thus facilitate the French encroachment in Algeria. Moreover, they were established to "define the property rights in terms of the individual and to create definitive tribal boundaries within which the movement of the nomadic or transhuman tribes would be severely restricted."¹⁹ In this way, the French could keep the locals under *surveillance* and expropriate more lands. The Senatus-Consult of 1863 was intended to diminish the Algerians' land properties and simultaneously to increase the settlers' lands. In this way, more settlers were encouraged to come to Algeria with greater numbers in many waves²⁰ and they created a considerable settler community which was the main inspiration of Louis Bertrand's literary creation as well as political writings.

The policy of the settlement espoused by France was a failure at its beginnings due to the fact that the French of French origins were a minority in comparison to Algerians and other European settlers despite the large lands they were given.²¹ What rescued the project was the coming of new settlers of different nationalities from other European Mediterranean countries who got the French nationality and citizenship. France used the laws of "frenchification" to create a « communauté à prédominance française »²² to deeply implant the French presence in Algeria. The Senatus-Consult of 1865 affirmed that Algerian people are French in nationality, but not citizens who could enjoy the civil rights as the French except in case that they forwent their religious belonging. Then, in 1870, the Crémieux Decree declared the Jews of Algeria French citizens. In 1889, France enlarged her project of making Algeria and its inhabitants French through the law of "naturalization" which gave the French citizenship to all people who

¹⁹ Kay Adamson, *Algeria: A Study in Competing Ideologies* (London: Cassell, 1989), 32-33.

²⁰ Abdallah Laroui, *The History of the Maghrib: An Interpretive Essay* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 302.

²¹ Michel Winock, *L'Agonie de la IVème République, le 13 mai 1958* (Paris: Gallimard, 2006), 58.

²² Eric Savarese, *L'Invention des Pieds-Noirs* (Paris: Séguier, 2002), 92.

were born on the soil of Algeria while the Muslims were excluded from it.²³ Bertrand as a proponent of the French colonial rule of Algeria, supported the mentioned laws, however, he thought they lacked what could really make of the settlers a unity whose loyalty pledged only to France. On this basis, he proposed a new collective Christian and Latin identity which could provide the lacking strong tie between the settlers; a point which will be discussed later.

Within the same period France was trying to ensure her control over the colonies, she was losing parts of her own lands to the German Empire. France tried her best to guarantee her possession of and her control over Algeria through a multitude of strategies because during the 1870s France's prestige was damaged. The loss of the Alsace-Lorraine was the first circle in a chain of scandals and troubles in France. The latter was defeated by the Germans in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. In the next year, she signed the Frankfurt treaty that obliged her to cede Alsace and Northern Lorraine to the German Empire. This event was a humiliating defeat that caused doubts over the decay of the French power and shook France's international position as well as its domestic stability. Koenraad W. Swart notes that the year 1870 marked the collapse of the ideal of "*la grande nation*" and the beginning of the *mal de siècle*.²⁴ This military failure generated an atmosphere of disappointment and pessimism among the French citizens.

Kenneth H. Tucker says that "[t] his memory of the Franco-Prussian War compounded fears of French decadence and loss of will, exacerbated by a low birth rate and the high incidence of suicide, alcoholism, and venereal disease."²⁵ As this quote reveals, serious problems pervaded the French society and destabilized it. These social evils aggravated with an economic crash caused by Phylloxera crises (1890s) which destroyed the French wine

²³ Laure Blévis, "L'invention de l'« indigène », Français non citoyen," Jean Pierre Peyroulou, Abderrahmane Bouchène, Oussama SiariTengour, Sylvie Thenault, eds., *Histoire de l'Algérie à la période coloniale : 1830-1962* (Paris: La découverte « Poche/Essais», 2004), 214-218.

²⁴Koenraad W. Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France* (Netherlands: Springer Science+ Business Media Dordrecht, 1964), 138-139.

²⁵Kenneth H. Tucker, *French Revolutionary Syndicalism and Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), 20.

production and decreased the French national income.²⁶ As noted before, France did not only suffer from international threats epitomized by its new rival Germany. It underwent an inner turmoil which could be leading to the collapse of the French imperial nation since internal weakness necessarily leads to international one.

The defeat against Germany also led to the fall of the French Second Empire and the proclamation of the Third Republic²⁷ which couldn't gain the confidence of the people for long. Swart describes the prevailing conditions during that period showing the deep despair that French people were driven to by the Franco-Prussian War and later the Third Republic's strategies. He explains,

Much of the *fin de siècle* pessimism had its origin in the political conditions of the time. It was in the first place the international situation of France that continued to fill many Frenchmen with anxiety. Although France had recovered from many of the wounds inflicted by the War of 1870, its rank among the nations of the world was no longer as high as it had been in preceding centuries. Numerous French patriots were convinced that under the new republic the position of France, far from improving, was becoming progressively worse.²⁸

He confirms that the overthrow of the Second Empire and the shift to a republican system did not bring about any remarkable change. After the costly failure French strategies ended in, French citizens lost confidence in the government as they lost hope in any progression.

The French situation was getting worse and worse with the loss of credibility of the newly established Republic. Koenraad comments,

Even many Frenchmen who had initially welcomed the establishment of the Third Republic lost their confidence in the new regime when the government seemed to abandon any thought of a war of revenge. They reproached the republican Leaders for playing into the hands of Germany by wasting French military strength on futile colonial expeditions instead of concentrating on the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine. The opinion that France was a declining power probably gained widest currency around the turn of the century when serious reverses in French foreign policy (the Fashoda and Tangiers crises) caused many Frenchmen once again to despair of their country's future.²⁹

²⁶ Philp C. Naylor, *France and Algeria: A History of Decolonization and Transformation* (Florida: Florida University Press, 2000), 14.

²⁷ William Smith, *The Second Empire and the Commune* (Essex: Longman Group, 1994), 59.

²⁸ Swart, *The Sense of Decadence*, 140.

²⁹ Ibid.

The above quote shows the extent to which pessimism got hold of the French society concerning their country's domestic as well as international status. The Third Republic was supposed to fix the faults of its previous empire. Yet, it pushed France into new series of crises since it could not satisfy the aspirations of society which was subjected to an intense feeling of humiliation.

Since its proclamation, the Third Republic provoked an increasing discontent which immediately resulted in a serious sociopolitical crisis known as "The Paris Commune." The government of Adolph Thiers³⁰ irritated the French people by signing a humiliating armistice with the Prussians. In addition to the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, the deal included paying harsh war damages of five billion francs, and allowed the Prussians to sections of Paris till the compensations are paid, the thing which was unacceptable for the Parisians who rebelled against the government of Thiers and called for autonomy.³¹ In this context, France entered a disastrous Civil War whose consequences were heavy.

"The Paris Commune proclamation" of governing all of France led the government to the use violence to put an end to the insurrection of the Parisians. The latter fought against the *Versaillais* who crashed them. The insurrection ended in "The Bloody Week" in which more than 20000 people were killed and 50000 were arrested.³² The Paris Commune, though repressed, marked the deep division among the French whose positions towards the governing regime could never come to an agreement.

³⁰ Adolphe Thiers, initially a lawyer in Marseilles, came to Paris in 1821. He distinguished himself as a historian and journalist, a supporter of a parliamentary monarchy. In 1830, after the promulgation of the ordinances of Charles X abolishing the freedom of the press and modifying the electoral law, Thiers drafted the protest of the journalists and pushed Louis-Philippe to the throne at the end of the July revolution. He became a State Councilor and Deputy. Appointed Minister of the Interior in 1832, he proved inflexible in the face of social unrest, crushed the Republican riots of April 1834 in Paris and Lyons, provoked by the prohibition of the right of association, and had the law passed. of September 1835... against press offences. President of the Council in 1836, then in 1840, he had to resign after a few months, the king judging his foreign policy too aggressive. Thiers then joined the opposition. alongside the Republicans. In February 1848, he joined the provisional government of the Second Republic, first with the center-left, then with the conservative right and its candidate, Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, who was elected president in December.

³¹ Robert Tombs, *The Paris Commune, 1871* (London: Pearson Education, 1999), 1.

³² David A. Shafer, *The Paris Commune: French Politics, Culture, and Society at the Crossroads of the Revolutionary Tradition and Revolutionary Socialism* (London: Palgrave, 2005).

The Paris Commune was not the only crisis that France witnessed. In 1886, the Boulangist movement disturbed the French sociopolitical scene. The General George Ernest Boulanger³³ gave the French a new hope for a restoration of *la nation française* and revenge on Germany. He called for a war against Germany to recover the French lost territories. His followers went out into the Camps Elysée reclaiming the overthrow of the republican government which dismissed the General Boulanger because of his opinions. Due to rumors of he would be accused of treason, the Boulangist movement ended with the flight of the General to Belgium and his suicide there.³⁴

Boulangism and other domestic and foreign political crises like the Dreyfus affair let France in a hard situation both nationally and internationally. William Fortescue considers that

the Dreyfus Affair was so significant and had such a profound impact because it raised so many sensitive issues – military espionage, the competence and honor of the French army, and Franco-German relations initially, and then, because Captain Alfred Dreyfus was Jewish, anti-Semitism.³⁵

The affair tore the French social and political scene of the time. Since the defeat of 1870, France, and particularly its army, was in the grip of a deep crisis in which dominated the fear of espionage and the fear of foreigners. In 1894, the discovery of a “*bordereau*” in the bins of the German Embassy suggested that a spy was hiding among the officers of the staff. Captain Alfred Dreyfus³⁶ was accused of treason. His superiors compared his handwriting with that in the *bordereau* in order to establish the resemblance to the spy's writing. Dreyfus was brought before the Council of War of Paris on December 19, 1894, and he was charged with treason.

³³ Georges Ernest Jean-Marie Boulanger was born on April 29, 1837 at La Callionne in Rennes. He is a French general officer, Minister of War in 1886, known for having shaken the Third Republic, leading a movement called Boulangisme. General Boulanger represented a danger for the government. He was forced into exile in Belgium, he kills himself on the grave of his mistress, Mrs. de Bonnemains, on September 30, 1891 (at age 54) in Ixelles (Belgium).

³⁴ Alexander Sedgwick, *The Third French Republic, 1870-1914* (New York: Crowell, 1968), 204-205.

³⁵ William Fortescue, *The Third Republic in France 1870-1940: Conflicts and Continuities* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 50.

³⁶ Captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859-1935), the first Jewish officer admitted to the general staff, was condemned for high treason to lifelong deportation and military degradation. The "Affair", which was to last twelve years, was beginning. It divided France in two, that of submission to reason of state and that of the fight for truth. A case whose traces are still alive, more than a century later.

He was exiled to the Devil's Island in the South American coast.³⁷

The condemnation of Alfred Dreyfus strengthened the anti-Semitic nationalists who wished to place the Jews under surveillance and withdraw their rights as citizens. The conditions of the application of the sentences inflicted on Dreyfus - the great "parade" of his degradation on January 5, 1895, his transfer to La Rochelle where he is recognized and attacked by the crowd reinforced this hostility towards the Jews. France was falling into a flurry of anti-Semitism which, by focusing on one single man, exacerbated the authoritarianism of the Republic.³⁸

For his part, Lieutenant-Colonel Georges Picquart, chief of the secret services, discovered the "little blue" addressed to the German military Schwartzkoppen and carrying the writing of Esterhazy. But his superiors, the generals of Boisdeffre and Gonse refused to hear him and send him on a mission to Tunisia. In October 1896, Colonel Henry drafted a forgery ("the false Henry") to deflect Esterhazy's suspicions and overwhelm Dreyfus. On November 16, 1897, Mathieu Dreyfus publicly denounced Esterhazy as the author of the slip. Henceforth the Dreyfus Affair was a political affair. On January 11, 1898, after a quick trial, Esterhazy was acquitted unanimously.³⁹ On January 13, 1898, in the journal of Georges Clemenceau, *L'Aurore*, Émile Zola publishes a Letter to Mr. Felix Faure President of the Republic better known as "J'accuse ...! ." This letter earned him a trial and a conviction for defamation that drove him into exile.

Public opinion was mobilized in two camps: the Dreyfusards and Anti-Dreyfusards. Faced with the nationalist and anti-Semitic leagues, in February 1898, Ludovic Trarieux and Auguste Scheurer-Kestner decided to found the League for the Defense of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. The same year, the Anti-Dreyfusard Maurice Barres founded the League for

³⁷ Michael Burns, *France and the Dreyfus Affair: A Documentary History* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 1999), 21, 43.

³⁸ Michael Burns, *France and the Dreyfus Affair*, viii.

³⁹ Piers Paul Read, *The Dreyfus Affair* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 161-168.

the French Homeland. Evidence of the conspiracy against Dreyfus and his innocence accumulated while the government and parliament, dominated by military power and an opinion excited by the nationalist press, tried by all means to block the work of the Court of Justice. Finally, on July 12, 1906, Dreyfus was then rehabilitated and reintegrated into the army, promoted battalion commander and officer of the Legion of Honor, while Picquart was reinstated and appointed general. The publication of the *Carnets de Schwartzkoppen* (the German military agent) in 1930 completed Dreyfus's innocence.

The defeat in the Franco-Prussian war was also accompanied by several movements of revolt in Algeria prelude to the great insurrection of El Mokrani which broke out in 1871. It was undoubtedly the most significant since it brought the Algerian people's rejection of the French colonial rule in Algeria and their readiness for fighting it. Supporting the fight of the bachaga Mohamed El Mokrani who went to war against the occupier on March 16, 1871, the sheikh Ameziane El Haddad, who leads the powerful brotherhood of the Khouans Rahmaniya, proclaims jihad to liberate Kabylia from the invader. From the surroundings of Algiers to the Tunisian border, the insurgents destroy farms and villages and they attack various cities. The sending of military reinforcements to quell the insurgency tipped the balance of power in favor of the occupying army. After the death of Mohamed El Mokrani, on May 5, and Ameziane El Haddad's plea for peace in July, the surrender of the Zouara in September sounded the death knell for the insurrection.⁴⁰ Despite the insurrection was ended, its effects on other Algerians continued and it was a push for other revolts.

In addition to the political chaos, an enormous economic crisis hit French society in the 1880s. The crash of the Bank of the General Union in 1882 plunged the economy in the most serious crisis since the mid-century. The crash was accentuated by the international depression that

⁴⁰ Jean-pierre Peyroulou, Ouanassa Siari Tengour, and Sylvie Thénault, "1830-1880 : La Conquête coloniale et la résistance des algériens," *Histoire de l'Algérie à la Période Coloniale : 1830-1962* (Paris: La Découverte « Poche/Essais », 2004), 17-44.

opened in 1873, the French crisis led to a sharp deceleration of growth that generated a difficult social climate. The metallurgy and coal mines of the Center, Norman textiles, the wood, leather and building industries were particularly affected. There were 8,024 bankruptcies in 1885, compared with 5,361 ten years earlier. The miners of the North or the Massif Central, the textile workers of Lille or Roane, the steelmakers of the Creusot were seeing their purchasing power stagnate, even decrease, and the threat of unemployment was omnipresent. In the Parisian building industry, for example, one out of every two workers was unemployed in the 1880s. Social tensions are obviously worsening.⁴¹

The years after the Franco-Prussian war and the successive crises and scandals that France witnessed provoked deep ideological divisions with lasting separation ideals. During the period of fear, disequilibrium, and economic unrest, France and intellectuals such as Louis Bertrand considered Algeria along with other colonies the only way to salvation and regaining power economically and politically. Algeria, more than other French far-away territory, was of great importance because of her situation that made her as a geographical extension of the French mainland. All these conditions that France went through had a deep influence on different writers among whom Louis Bertrand was the most prominent. They gave shape to his novels and his non-fictional writings via which he expressed his imperial ambition and other political stances.

B- British Imperial Uncertainty: Successive Crises and Flaws

Comparatively to France, British rule over the most precious colony (India) and even over less important peripheries was shaken by various events despite the fact that the British Empire became an empire in which the sun never set. Some events engendered an atmosphere of uncertainty and fear among leaders as well citizens. Like Algeria to France, India was of a significant importance for the British Empire. It helped her expand control in the Asian

⁴¹ Jean Garrigues, "Le Boulangisme comme mouvement social, ou les ambiguïtés d'un social-populisme," in *Histoire des mouvements sociaux en France*, ed., Michel Pigenet (Paris : La Découverte, 2014), 239.

continent that was a site of rivalry between the French, the Dutch, and the Russians. Its value was “strategic, symbolic, and economic.”⁴² Holding India under its rule enabled the British to enhance its position in the world and to weaken its rivals’ control in Asia and the Indian Ocean. Moreover, India was a good supplier for the British economy owing to its cheap labor and primary sources as jute, cotton, tea, and spices.⁴³ It was also a good market for its manufactured products.

The foundation of the English East India Company in 1600 was the British first step to gain a foothold in such a strategic area. Thanks to the Company that the British got hold of the Indian lands and put their hands on its richness. However, the power of the Company was limited to administrative duties till it was dissolved in 1858 because of corruption and misrule. The British felt the need to put an end to the Company because of the rising up of the Mutiny of 1857. Henceforth, India became under a direct British rule as Anglo-India.⁴⁴

The Mutiny of 1857, also called the "Revolt of the Sepoys," the "First Indian War of Independence" or the "Great Rebellion," during which garrisons of Hindu and Muslim soldiers engaged in the service of the East India Company in the Indian army, soon followed by part of the civilian population, rose up against the British. It was an event that marked a profound break in the history of British India. Above all, it significantly changed the perception that the British had of their colonial empire, and the literary production clearly echoed it. Even though Kipling did not use the Mutiny in a direct way in his writings, various implied references to the event which can be inferred from his stories proves the deep influence it has on him.

Triggered by the use of pork or beef fat as a lubricant for new British army cartridges - which had to be torn with teeth, forcing soldiers to violate the prohibition of their respective religions as to the consumption of these meats.⁴⁵ This revolt has its origins in a multitude of

⁴²Jeff Hay, *The Partition of British India* (New York: Chelsea House, 2006), 22.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Judith E. Walsh, *A Brief History of India* (New York: Facts on File, 2006), 91.

⁴⁵ Hayden J. Bellenoit, *A History of British India* (Virginia: The Great Courses, 2017), 63.

deeper causes, of an economic, political and geopolitical nature, but in particular of the growing discontent of a part of the Indian population in the face of the mode of the British governance.

Quickly, the mutiny that began at Meerut on May 10, 1857, gained the garrisons of North and Central India. In June, in Kanpur, nearly 900 Britons were massacred, including a large proportion of civilians. Driven by the desire to revenge the massacre and to remove any threat against British rule in India, the British orchestrated an implacable repression against the insurgents. The rebellion was crushed at Gwalior on June 20, 1858, fourteen months after its beginning. In the same year, the East India Company lost its administrative prerogatives in India and the colony passed directly under the control of the Crown. The rebellion remained circumscribed in the North and Center of the subcontinent. But the event had a traumatic effect for the British public opinion, which largely approved the means implemented by the government to quell the rebellion.

After the uprising of 1857 and the transfer of power to the crown, the Indian people began demanding to contribute to the government, especially since the British government made a promise in 1861 (The India Council Act) to establish a democratic system of government through the establishment of a legislative council in India. So, the Viceroy announced the formation of a local government, but it was just promises.⁴⁶ As the educated people of the Indian people felt that the British-appointed legislature did not realistically express their opinion on the management of the issues, the discontent began to appear among the intellectual class, then spread to the broad masses of the people and became a general rampage among the masses.

In 1885, reports have reached the British administration pointed out that a bloody revolution was about to erupt in India, such as the one that exploded in 1857. As the British policy sought to absorb popular resentment through the granting of freedoms and the formation of political parties. In 1885, the aim of British policy behind the establishment of political

⁴⁶ B. N. Pandey, *The Break-up of British India* (London: Macmillan, 1969), 7.

parties was to integrate all the nationalities that make up the people into one nationality as well as to strengthen the links between Britain and India, which kept Muslims away from both sides. The Indian National Congress Party included the Indian elite of the intellectual class.⁴⁷ Despite the fact that the Congress was created on the principle of loyalty to the British rule, it was the first seed of the Indian nationalist movement which later on led to the Indian independence.⁴⁸ This fact is what led Kipling to mock the creation of the party and to warn against it in his works.

In addition to the increasing nationalist spirit spreading among the Indians which constituted a real menace at the very heart of the Empire, Great Britain entered into different conflicts with other Empires due to their conflicting interests in different zones over the world. Britain was involved in many disputes with France, Russia, and later with Germany. Britain and France contested the Middle East Area mainly in Egypt and Sudan the thing which caused many diplomatic and political conflicts like that of the Fashoda crisis in 1898. This latter caused a kind of distrust among the British for losing their prestige in front of the French. These feelings of anxiety were intensified by the signing of the Franco-Russian Treaty in 1894. Such cooperation between two great empires increased the British fears of collapse.⁴⁹

Russia was also considered a danger that threatened the British imperial position since her encroachment in the Indian lands was a direct violation of the British authority in the Central Asian area. Many writers like J.H. Gleason's *Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain* (1950) confirm the state of "Russophobia" in which the British Empire sank during the second half of the nineteenth century. The potential of an invasion of India by the Russian Army was the main cause behind this phobia. Sarvepalli Gopal adds that "Russian presence in the neighborhood might have a disquieting effect on the Afghans and the tribesmen by leading them to believe

⁴⁷ Pandey, *The Break-up of British India*, 42-43

⁴⁸ Bellenoit, *A History of British India*, 120.

⁴⁹ Sarvepalli Gopal, *British Policy in India 1858-1905* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 219.

that there was a powerful force to protect them, if necessary, against the British.”⁵⁰ Such a supposition could result in a second mutiny within India and Afghanistan. The conflicting interest of the British and the Russians led to the emergence of what is called “The Great Game” which refers to the international rivalries for control of Central Asia in the second half of the nineteenth and early 20th centuries and which constitutes a major theme in Kipling’s novel *Kim*.

Another antagonism that brought the British uncertain situation to the surface is its rivalry with the Boers in South Africa, an issue that bothered Kipling who made it the material of different short stories and poems. The first altercation between the British and the Boers was precipitated by Sir Theophilus Shepstone⁵¹ who annexed the Transvaal (the South African Republic) on behalf of the British in 1877 after the Anglo-Zulu War. The Boers protested and revolted in 1880. They were dressed in earth-colored khaki clothing, while British uniforms were bright red, allowing the Boers to easily and remotely fire at Empire troops. After the defeat of a British expedition commanded by George Pomeroy-Colley⁵² in February 1881 at the Battle of Majuba Hill, the British government of Gladstone gave the Boers their autonomy under a British theoretical tutelage.⁵³ The British in simple words lost the war.

Between 1899 and 1902, an armed conflict pitted white South African pioneers from Europe, called the Boers, to soldiers of the British Empire. If this murderous war began in disaster for the British, they took again the top with the sending of additional troops. In September 1900, the Boers officially surrendered. But in fact, they developed a skirmish strategy to harass the British. The latter responded with warlike actions increasingly radical. Under Lord Kitchener’s⁵⁴ leadership, they did not hesitate to burn crops and slaughter herds to

⁵⁰ Gopal, *British Policy in India 1858-1905*, 46.

⁵¹ Sir Theophilus Shepstone (8 January 1817 – 23 June 1893) was a British South African statesman who was responsible for the annexation of the Transvaal to Britain in 1877.

⁵² Sir George Pomeroy Colley was an officer in the British Army. He became Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Natal. Colley was killed in action during the Battle of Majuba Hill.

⁵³ Bernard Porter, *Empire Ways: Aspects of British Imperialism* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016), 173.

⁵⁴ Horatio Herbert Kitchener (1850-1916) a British soldier who commanded the army in the Sudan (1883-5), in South Africa during the Boer War (1900-02) and in India (1902-9). At the beginning of the First

end the rebellion. They also locked up tens of thousands of resistance fighters and blacks in about forty concentration camps.

In 1902, the British proclaimed their victory by signing a peace agreement. This treaty provided compensation for burned land and entails the integration of Boer colonies into a British entity. Despite the fact that Britain won the war, this war revealed the fragility of the empire. It was very clear that the British soldiers were untrained, unfit, and lacking strategic skills, the thing which resulted in thousands of casualties among them. John Marriot amplifies that “the standard of recruits for the Boer War intensified fears that degeneration was consuming the heart of empire.”⁵⁵ Anna Davin comments that the poor military performance in South Africa confirmed the British deficiency.⁵⁶

The British engagement in South Africa and the two Anglo-Boer Wars warned against the weakening of the empire in terms of policies as well as performances. The ill reading of the South African situation in all its dimensions and the lack of efficient war strategies were signs of imperial degeneration and the beginning of imperial disintegration. Gregory Claeys considers the Boer War as a “grand crisis” which stemmed from the British flawed policies.⁵⁷ These policies were also apparent in all aforementioned crises that Britain underwent.

Conclusion

The above reading in the history of both French and British empires in the late nineteenth to the twentieth centuries proves that re-examination of the imperial situation of these two great powers along with its literary representations is needed. It can be easily noted that the Grandeur with which France and Britain at that time were seen is a mistaken veneer.

World War he became Secretary of State for War and was responsible for encouraging more men to join the army. He appeared on a famous poster telling people ‘Your country needs you’. He was made an earl in 1914 and died at sea during the First World War.

⁵⁵ John Marriot, *The Other Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 178.

⁵⁶ Anna Davin, “Imperialism and Motherhood”, in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, eds., Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (California: University of California Press, 1997), 90.

⁵⁷ Gregory Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics: British Critics of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 87.

Even though these two empires had been growing and expanding their powers over the world, they reached a situation of uncertainty and went through difficult situations. This fact is what led this study to reassess the idea of imperialism in the literary works which defend it.

Reading Bertrand's and Kipling's texts with regard to the difficulties and the flaws of their respective empires help to excavate their defensive nationalist orientations based on an imperialist ideology. It also helps read what is "present" and what is "absent" in the texts and explain the writers' motives to escape some realities. Through relating the texts of Bertrand and Kipling to the contexts presented in this chapter, the following part, mainly its first chapter, will delineate the ways in which the authors reflect the events surrounding them and to what extent they influenced their literary imagination. In addition, it will show in what manner, the writers' works could play a role in the flow of the history at that period.

Part II: Bertrand's and Kipling's Fears and Consolations

The goal of every culture is to decay through over-civilization; the factors of decadence, -- luxury, skepticism, weariness and superstition, are constant. The civilization of one epoch becomes the manure of the next.

--Cyril Connolly. *The Unquiet Grave*

All empires fall, eventually. But why? It's not for lack of power. In fact, it seems to be the opposite. Their power lulls them into comfort. They become undisciplined. Those who had to earn power are replaced by those who have known nothing else. Who have no comprehension of the need to rise above base desires?

--Max Barry, *Lexicon*.

Introduction

History has always been showing that all civilizations and empires, no matter how long they last, are predestined to decline as a result of vanity and indiscipline. Likewise, the French and the British empires came in an era when many doubts were raised about their continuity. By the late nineteenth century, warning signs of degeneration had started to appear in both empires the thing which aroused the nationalist sentiments of the Algerianist Louis Bertrand and the British Rudyard Kipling.

The awareness of a nearby danger impending the essence of their national character, which is primarily based on its imperial strain and leadership, pushed both writers to strive against that danger. They confined themselves to the defense of their national and imperial integrity. They tried to bear the fact that their empires and the essence of their identities were in a continuous degeneration, and were at a risk of decay. Thus, they projected the reasons behind the French and the British national as well as the imperial regression to awake the people from their fantasies of power. In an attempt to avoid previous empires' fate, Bertrand and Kipling put forward their schemes to get out of the hard times their nations had been passing through, and to rejuvenate their power.

This part of the research delves into the writers' perception of imperialism as an extended form of nationalism. It seeks to prove that both Bertrand's and Kipling's works

belong to what is called “Imperial Nationalism”. Therefore, the study is carried out on the basis of this concept in addition to the new historicist approach that is presented in the previous pages.

Chapter IV: Bertrand’s and Kipling’s Imperial Nationalist Anxieties

The key aspect to be analyzed in this chapter is the anxiety that haunted both Louis Bertrand and Rudyard Kipling and which arose their feelings of imperial nationalism as mentioned before. The present chapter aims to consider the extent to which the contextualization of their works unveils important aspects of their mindset and their literary and political orientations. Reading the authors’ texts according to the time of their production makes the imperial nationalist fears of the writers clearer as it gives the present analysis its credibility. Therefore, this chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section tries to display the main symptomatic conditions of the French and the British communities that alerted the writers to the eminent decadence of their nations and empires. The main aim is laying down the situation of the French and the British empires in the eyes of the writers at different levels: military, political and social. Both writers have negative images of their nations which they consider as nations into the way of decadence if not already decadent. A close reading of their works directs the attention of the reader to their fear of the continuous weakening of their nations.

The second section seeks to display what Bertrand and Kipling regard as the degenerating factors or the causes that led such nations into decay. It explains the authors’ views through a critical reading of some of their works. Bertrand and Kipling show a deep agreement about the main reasons behind the situation their nations reached. The political movements like Liberalism and Socialism newly adopted by the French and the British represent for them the virus which was going around the empire and which was on the verges of destroying them. More, Bertrand and Kipling observe the lack of attention given to the

instruction of the imperial agents and the indifference of rulers to the national/imperial degenerating situation.

I- The Phantom of Degeneration: France and Britain on the Road to Decadence

The aforementioned signs of the decaying power of the French and the British Empires respectively attracted the attention of Louis Bertrand and Rudyard Kipling as colonial writers whose aims were sustaining their nations' imperial schemes and justifying their expansionist projects and at the same time defending their nations' pride. While Bertrand feared that the French presence in Algeria could be inflicted by these perils as the metropolis, Kipling feared the loss of South Africa and India, and thus the humiliation of the British Empire. The two authors' awareness of the serious situation of their nations appear in their literary works. Therefore, they warned against those perils which were behind reaching such a situation in their works understudy.

Both Bertrand and Kipling grew deeply afraid of their nations' domestic and international politics and the conduct of its leaders and servants and considered them the main causes of degeneration. Such mood of worry characterized colonial enterprises and literature.

M. Reinkowski and G. Thum confirm that

The Colonizers' recognition of the large gap separating assumed imperial capacities and the realities on the ground fed their feeling of vulnerability. It might in fact be said that "helplessness" was really nothing but the fear of helplessness should imperial rule be put to the test. Anxieties, particularly in moments of crisis, have played an important role in the imperialist mindset, reflecting supposed dangers and threats, not necessarily real ones. It is the perception of a threat, not the threat itself, that influences political action.¹

Apart from being real or unreal, anxieties about the stability of empire and its decadence constituted an elemental motive for the writing of Bertrand and Kipling. They tinted their works with feelings of insecurity. For this, they wanted to show the pitfalls of socialist and liberal theories, and the colonial agents' hubris that could lead to the empire's and the nation's

¹ Maurus Reinkowski and Gregor Thum, eds., *Helpless Imperialists: Imperial Failure, Fear and Radicalization* (Bristol: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht LLC, 2013), 11.

disintegration.

Louis Bertrand points out that the defeat of 1870 and its aftermaths including the creation of the Third Republic and its institutions provoked a deep sense of insecurity, malaise, uncertainty, and agony in the French society. People lost their faith in the future, in their nation, in their leaders, and in its army. They were expecting the worst mainly with the threatening and growing power of the neighbor enemy which is Germany.² According to Bertrand's observations of the situation of his country and its people, a deep passivity came to reign and its people seemed to "renoncer à vivre".³

Additionally, Bertrand bewails the fact that such a situation of national retreat even tarnished France's international reputation and caused the diminution of her power. He writes: "le plus lamentable, dans tout cela, c'est la diminution de notre prestige, non seulement aux yeux de nos sujets coloniaux, mais de tous nos voisins."⁴ Bertrand was frightened by the idea of the collapse of the French Empire due to the fact that such a defeat could encourage the colonies to rise against her. France's internal as well as external weakening reached for the author a level that he considers as dangerous and a needed immediate solution.

Furthermore, Bertrand was infuriated more by continuous social, economic, industrial retreat of France while its rivals, mainly Germany, were in an unceasing progress. Envyng the German advance and mourning the situation of his country, Bertrand juxtaposes the two nations:

L'Allemagne, d'un bout à l'autre, sue la prospérité. Partout des usines. Les anciennes villes sont noyées dans le débordement les banlieues industrielles. Dans ces villes, quelle circulation intense ! Quelle rumeur de travail ! Quand on revient en France, on éprouve une humiliation navrante. Ce qu'on y voit vous serre le cœur. A part quelques grands centres, nos villes s'endorment dans la médiocrité provinciale. Nos compagnes se dépeuplent, les logis désertés tombent en ruines... Paris même, Paris la ville lumière, vous produit l'effet d'une cave, au sortir des splendeurs nocturnes de Berlin.⁵

² Louis Bertrand, *Le Sens de l'ennemi* (Paris: Arthème Fayard, 1917), 34.

³ Ibid., 40.

⁴ Ibid., 72.

⁵ Ibid., 36.

The author in this passage shows the prosperous situation of Germany whose cities were full of life and vitality in contrast to the French lassitude. Through the use of technique of comparison, the writer tries to give a clearer image of the faint life in the French cities. He provides the reader with an antithesis to France which is Germany in the sake of awakening the French people and making them understand the seriousness of their case. While her enemy revives and develops his old cities and turns them into sites of energy by means of hard work, Bertrand laments France's loss of its dignity and plunged into darkness. The French society sank into a deep state of decadence that is, according to Bertrand, apparent in the depopulation of the French cities, lack of work, the involvement in less important issues like provincialism rather than caring for the whole nation, and the inertia into which the people lapsed.

Bertrand's point of view is developed further in his novel *Le Rival de don Juan*. His character Michel is astounded at the pervasiveness of apathy in France saying, "partout, dans toutes les villes, où je suis passé! Quel affaissement! Quel ramollissement! Quelle inertie!"⁶ Michel observes that indolence and passivity overwhelmed France and its people. The writer tries to reveal the extent to which the youth whom the nation relies on are indifferent to its problems and they do not participate in solving them. He expresses his view describing France as an old country "où la plupart des jeunes gens s'endorment dans l'oisiveté bourgeoise de la province, quand ils ne gaspillent point leurs forces dans les querelles mesquines d'une politique de clocher."⁷ Bertrand sees that the French youth were indulgent in utopian intellectualism and excessive luxury, the fact that distanced them from reality and lucrative work for the uplifting of their nation.

Bertrand's distress with his nation's problems and the indifference of its people towards them prompted him to use a figurative language to show how close France is

⁶ Bertrand, *Le Rival de Don Juan* (Paris: Société d'éditions littéraires et artistiques, 1903), 275.

⁷ Bertrand, "préface," *Les Villes d'or : Algérie et Tunisie romaines* (Paris: Arthème Fayard & C Editeurs, 1921), 10.

perilously close to dissipation. He compares France with its ills to a house of the dead. Comparing France to Germany, he says “Il semble que l’on quitte la maison des vivants [Allemagne], pour entrer la maison des morts...”⁸ Identifying the French situation with death was a widespread attitude among French intellectuals such as Ernest Renan, years before Bertrand, considered his nation as a body without a soul and analogized it in his book *La Réforme intellectuelle et morale* to a dead planet.⁹ Marja Härmännäa and Christopher Nissen consider death as “the central motif of fin de siècle decadence,” which represents “the culmination of the process of degeneration.”¹⁰ Using the metaphorical language of death, therefore, is an expression of a serious situation that needs an urgent reaction. The latter did not stop at the level of determining the decadence of the French nation. He went beyond this to offer a deeper diagnosis of the diseased French body to find out the causes behind the affliction of this imperial nation.

Like Bertrand, the difficult conditions and the doubts of the power of the British Empire and its servants increased Rudyard Kipling’s anxiety about the continuity of the empire and its vulnerability. In a letter to Dr. Leander Starr Jameson (1902), Kipling openly expresses his fears of losing the Empire and thus damaging the English national dignity. He declares: “I have great doubts on the stability of the Empire.”¹¹ In saying so, he suspects its ability to stand in front of the various national and international challenges came across the British Empire showing its susceptibility to disintegration. In contrast to the seemingly over confidence in the Empire, Kipling questions the degrees to which his imperial nation could resist the perilous conditions and maintain its power and integrity in an attempt to avert from the threats which are underestimated.

⁸Bertrand, *Le Sens de l’ennemi*, 36.

⁹ Ernest Renan, *La Réforme intellectuelle et morale* (Paris : Michel Lévy Frères, 1875), 37.

¹⁰Marja Härmännäa and Christopher Nissen, *Decadence, Degeneration, and the End: Studies in European Fin de Siècle* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 3.

¹¹ Thomas Pinney., ed, *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling: Volume 3: 1900-10* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 93.

In a lecture given at the Sorbonne University, Kipling calls attention to the danger coming from the North epitomized in the barbarian Germans or according to his words “The men who are wolves.”¹² He ascertains that England risks her own integrity and leadership by underestimating the enemy and the need for fighting him, and by overestimating her sturdiness in front of that growing German monster. He denies the existence of any national as well as imperial security in a world of everlasting barbarism.¹³ For this reason, the imperial enterprise should be aware of the dangers surrounding it and acting accordingly.

In his poem “The Rowers,” written just after the difficult Boer war 1902, Kipling expresses his doubts about the Germans. He sees that the British should enter in no agreement with them since they are treacherous. His Germano-phobia is the result of the help Germany offered to the Boers in their war against Britain. It supplied the Boers with arms and ammunition in addition to an intense propaganda about British atrocities against them. Kipling suspects the Anglo-German cooperation against Venezuela since he considers the Germans as treacherous and barbarians like their ancestors “the Goth and the Hun.” He also laments the secret agreement made between King Edward VII and the German Kaiser Wilhelm. He writes after the declaration of the arrangement: “And you tell us now of a secret vow/ You have made with an open foe.”¹⁴ He fears that helping them would result in enhancing their force which could be used against Britain.

In addition to Germany, Russia also constituted for Kipling a source of serious worries because of its expansionist plans in South Asia. Such plans conflicted with that of Britain in the region. The Russian issue appears in some of his stories as the main source of insecurity and uncertainty. The author warns against the encroachment of Russians in India and their continuous will of controlling the whole area in *Kim* through the representation of the spy game played by the Russians. “The Man Who Was” also warns against the threats posed by

¹²Rudyard Kipling, *A book of Words: Volume xxv* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1938), 190.

¹³*Ibid.*, 190.

¹⁴Kipling, “The Rowers,” *Collected Poems of Rudyard Kipling* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth, 2001), 93.

Imperial Russia to British India. The imprisonment of Captain Limmason who was treated cruelly by the Russian spies and his trauma reflects the general fear of the British soldiers of the Russian expanding power.

Another illustrative example is “The Man Who Would Be King,” which is a story of two men who wanted to build a nation and be its kings. It narrates the failure of Dravot and Carnehan in their attempts to be rulers over the natives since they did not manage to respect the charter they put. In fact, this tale is an overt expression of Kipling’s trepidation about the permanence of the empire in India. It can be noticed that Kafiristan stands for India while Dravot and Carnehan epitomize the whole British enterprise. Thereby, the inability of these two men to keep the land and its people under control is an allusion to the decay of British India in case its rulers did not follow the right strategies.

“The Bridge Builders” is another story in which Kipling’s anxiety is felt. The bridge in this story is a symbol which represents the British Empire. The attempts of the engineers to build it in the Gangs represent a metaphor of the efforts of the establishment and the installation of the British Empire in India. So, Kipling seeks to show the vulnerability of the empire when he puts the Bridge against the dangers of the river. He questions its integrity in the face of the natives. Kipling’s estimation of the national/imperial situation has reached the degree that he calls for a reconstruction of the nation, the empire and even the whole world.¹⁵ He insists on the pressing need to re-establish the British civilization through employing “all men, all capacities, [and] all attainments.”¹⁶ Kipling’s call implies the gravity of the British standing and the profundity the writer’s fear.

Throughout the writings of Bertrand and Kipling, the French and the British empires are presented as being under permanent jeopardy that profoundly affected the writers and their ideas. For this reason, they took the responsibility of demonstrating the points of weakness of

¹⁵Kipling, *A Book of Words*, 119.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

the two empires and of warning against the dangers which threatened them as part of the process of national and imperial reconstruction that they called for. The next section tries to display what in their views constitutes the main perils of imperial integrity and reasons of enfeeblement.

II -Bertrand's and Kipling's Perceptions of the Empire's Degenerating Factors

A- The Impact of Political and Social Liberalism

The apogee of political liberalism lied between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the First World War. It appeared above all, and especially from the mid-eighteenth century, as a criticism of political and religious powers and of the *Ancien Régime*. Liberalism then applied to the political domain. It emerged as an opposition to the absolutism of monarchies of divine right and identified with democracy. Liberalism, as a political project, opposed the authoritarian states of the "*Ancien Régime*," as conceived by Adam Smith or John Stuart Mill. Liberalism can also refer to tolerance of the actions and opinions of others whose independence and individual freedom are respected. We can then call it individual or moral liberalism or liberalism of morals. Man is free to act within the limits of respect for the freedom of others. The state recognizes the autonomy of civil society, freedom of movement, of thought, of religion, of association, of speech. Liberalism strives to secure the religious opinions of individuals, citizens, do not interest the public authority. This liberalism is fully articulated with political liberalism and also refers to democracy an ideology opposed by both Bertrand and Kipling as it will be proved in the next pages.

The policies pursued by France and Britain, whether at home or in the colonies, were considered by Bertrand and Kipling as the main factor behind the situation of doubt and fear in France and Britain. For Bertrand, the Third Republic's regulations and principles were sterile and brought only about disastrous results. Kipling, for his part, believed that the spread of liberal ideologies among leaders and people together with the government's irresponsible

decisions could destroy the British Empire and damage the English nation whose identity is based on imperial expansion.

Bertrand's fictional as well as non-fictional works demonstrate his convictions about the reasons behind the French decadence. For him, all the perils of the *fin de siècle* France are the result of revolutionary and republican theories. He puts the blame on the adoption of a series of useless principles such as universal fraternity, equality, democracy and humanitarianism at an unsuitable time. For the writer, at a time of imminent dangers from within the nation and outside it, such empty emblems could lead to nothing but to anarchy. In this respect, Paul Christopher confirms that Bertrand "[dénonce] la sottise et l'ingratitude de la République, la France égalitaire, matérialiste, et révolutionnaire."¹⁷ Bertrand accuses the Republic of putting an end to a glorious era in the history of France because it is the responsible for destroying what gave his nation its previous leadership among nations.¹⁸

France's decrepitude was prior to the defeat of 1870 which was just a result of successive years of fatigue.¹⁹ A fatigue that was the outcome of changing the monarchical system into a republican regime, whose revolutionary principles and liberal democracies were the basis on which the Third Republic was built. For Bertrand, the revolutionary creed, epitomized in the trilogy of the Declaration of Rights of Man "Fraternity, Equality, and Liberty," is inconvenient to any modern nation which lives in a continuous competition for existence.²⁰ He believes that the three conceptions are illusions that enfeebled the nation and led it out of its road to leading the world. He argues that "Il suffisait de sortir de France, et l'on s'apercevait aussitôt que tous les peuples tournent résolument le dos aux Droits de l'Homme et à la fraternité universelle, pour s'enfoncer à l'écart dans leur égoïsme sacré, ou se

¹⁷ Paul Christopher, *1939-1940 : Les Catholiques devant la guerre* (Paris : Les Editions Ouvrières, 1989),

¹⁸ Bertrand, "Mes Ambassades," *Revue des deux mondes*, tome LIII (1939), 285.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 727.

²⁰ Bertrand, *Le sens de l'ennemi*, 16.

précipiter dans le plus violent impérialisme.”²¹The author admonishes the fact that France was busy calling for delusive universal aspects whilst her neighbor states and empires were enlarging their zones of control and were at the threshold of the French territories.

Moreover, the writer ridicules the revolutionary heritage and the Frenchmen’s adherence to its theories. In addition, he trivializes the fact that the Frenchmen believe in the universality of their ideas and their worldwide influence as well as being a lovable people. He wonders at this self-deception saying, “[l]e monde entier nous écoute et n’écoute que nous ! La pensée française « rayonne » d’un bout à l’autre de l’univers !”²² Then, he comments: “j’ai quelque peu voyagé. Nulle part je ne me suis aperçu de ce rayonnement en dehors nos frontières. [...] Sans l’hégémonie militaire de Louis XIV, n’eût point dominé l’Europe.”²³ Having said that, Bertrand conveys his anti-revolutionary stance and shows his faith in military power and practicalities rather than philosophical abstractions.

In Bertrand’s perception, revolutions such as that of 1789 are sterile and dangerous for the stability of the nation. He straightforwardly declares his contempt for revolutions demonstrating that he “hates” and “condemns” all of them. He argues,

Elles ont beau prendre le masque de la justice et de la raison, elles ne sont jamais que l’assouvissement de bas appétits et de ce besoin de violence et d’oppression qui travaille les masses. Elle ne laisse jamais derrière elles que des ruines, qu’il faut ensuite réparer à grands frais, quand elles sont réparables.²⁴

He asserts that they are hollow of any real value and they instigate a disastrous situation. They resulted in massive bloodshed²⁵, continuous warfare, economic hardships, and social

²¹ Bertrand, *Le sens de l’ennemi*, 16.

²² Ibid., 54.

²³ Ibid., 54, 57.

²⁴ Bertrand, « La nouvelle éducation sentimentale : dernière partie,” *Revue des deux mondes*, tome XLIV (1928), 369.

²⁵ In *The Government and Politics of France*, Andrew Knapp and Vincent Wright write: “Most régime transitions involved popular (often Parisian) insurrections and bloodshed. The first Revolution, for example, left 20,000 dead as a result of the Terror of 1793, and as many as a quarter of a million more through the suppression of a Catholic rebellion in the *Vendée*, to say nothing of the European wars that followed in its wake. The overthrow of the Restoration monarchy in 1830 caused 500 casualties. The ‘June days’ of 1848, when the Second Republic suppressed its more radical working-class elements, claimed perhaps 3,000 lives. The Third Republic’s repression of the radical Paris Commune in 1871 was bloodier still: 20,000 *communards*

volatility. Bertrand also negates the heroism of revolutionaries and he describes them as delirious romantics who, instead of participation in the progress of their nations, betrayed their ancestral tradition and shook their home's stability. He compares them to a heavenly curse that burns everything around it.²⁶ He insists that revolutions empty the national character of its identity and/or distort it through the introduction of foreign ideas that are incompatible with the nature of the nation and its people. Bertrand deems that rewarding revolutions are those made against intruding principles rather than against the traditions. For him, the true revolutions are "un retour à la tradition nationale."²⁷

As a revolutionary principle, universal fraternity is considered by Bertrand as a sentimental utopia for which a whole century of the French history was spoiled.²⁸ He formulated this view due to the fact that this century was a period during which the French people turned into an introverted community living in an imagined world and unconscious of the real world conditions around them. He affirms that this introversion along with the ignorance of reality was a suicide and that, amidst the lived conditions, France cannot be the only country that is outside the play.²⁹ She had no other options except being a predator or a prey. She had to renounce her belief in the fraternity of all humans and peoples to avoid an imminent collapse.

Bertrand also vilifies republican democracy as a deadly virus decomposing the French nation.³⁰ He believes that it is a deplorable lure which is blindly followed by the people. He asserts that this democracy corresponds to its meaning in no way. He explains that it is neither

are estimated to have lost their lives. The Vichy régime enthusiastically collaborated with the German Occupation troops in fighting the Resistance forces (as well as in deporting Jews): 20,000 *résistants* are estimated to have fallen within France, many at the hands of the Vichy *milice*; some 30,000 civilians were shot or massacred. They were avenged, in part, at the Liberation in 1944, when some 10,000 collaborators were summarily executed," 3.

²⁶ Bertrand, "Les ville africaines : Thimgad," *Revue des deux mondes*, tome XXVIII (1905), 169.

²⁷ Bertrand, "La Renaissance classique," *Les Chants séculaire*, Joachim Gasquet (Paris: Société d'éditions littéraires et artistiques, 1903), IV.

²⁸ Ibid., XLI.

²⁹ Ibid., XXXVII.

³⁰ Bertrand, *Le sens de l'ennemi*, 13.

a government of/by people, nor a government for people. He sees that it is a cloak under which a group of people try to satisfy their greed for riches and power and an emblem which legitimizes their conduct. On this account, he regards it as “une utopie arriérée et meurtrière, qui a failli tuer la France et dont il faut à tout prix nous guérir.”³¹ In *Le Rival de don Juan*, Jean pleads for the fight against the contagion of democracy, otherwise, it is an abdication to an incontestable downfall.³² If France did not get rid of the murderous utopia of democracy, it would never regain its previous position of grandeur.

Democracy brings about what Bertrand calls “the reign of mediocrity”³³ since it paves the way to mediocre people to rule the nation and its affairs. Bertrand came to this conviction very early in his career when he was still studying *au Lycée*. He narrates,

C'est vers cette époque qu'un jour, en classe, les externes firent passer de bane en bane des portraits en couleur d'un Monsieur Grévy, qui venait d'être élu Président de la République. Je me rappellerai toujours ma consternation à la vue de ce vieil homme, en habit noir avec sa lippe rasée et ses favoris de chicaneau. J'avais encore dans les yeux le diadème et les colliers de perles de l'Impératrice, le bel uniforme chamarré et le chapeau à plumes du maréchal de Mac-Mahon. Mais ce n'était pas seulement pour d'enfantines raisons d'insuffisante magnificence que je méprisais Grévy-le-Jurassique. Une foule d'autres raisons plus profondes déterminèrent alors l'espèce *d'humiliation* que j'éprouvai en mon âme de jeune Lorrain. Ces raisons inconscientes procédaient toutes du sentiment très fort et très désolant qui, en ces brefs instants de contemplation, s'empara de moi : c'est que *cet avènement de la médiocrité, c'était la fin des grandeurs de la France*. Ce petit incident me laissa une *inquiétude latente*, que j'oubliai vite, avec la belle insouciance des enfants, mais lui, plus tard, reparut, affleura en pleine conscience, chaque fois que je sentais, auteur de moi, l'esprit public trouble, ou sourdement hostile.³⁴

On this account, Bertrand dismisses the fact that democracy, through egalitarian creeds and universal suffrage laws, opens the doors to both inadequate candidates for the presidency and to ineligible voters. Furthermore, democratic regimes create a sort of political struggle among greedy people willing to get power for selfish interests.

Concerning his attitudes to democracy, Bertrand seems to agree with many other

³¹ Bertrand, *Le sens de l'ennemi*, 24.

³² Bertrand, *Le Rival de Don Juan*, 283.

³³ Bertrand, *La Cina*, (Paris : société d'éditions littéraires et artistiques, 1901), 226.

³⁴ Bertrand, “La nouvelle éducation sentimentale, 2eme partie,” *Revue des deux mondes*, tome XLIII (1928), 72-73.

writers like Paul Bourget, who was known for his political engagement and anti-republican doctrine, and the Marquis Renaud d'Allen who maintains that it was "Napoleon III and the republican party that had brought the country to its unfortunate position."³⁵ Bertrand considers him as "Le prophète et l'annociateur"³⁶ whose traditionalist and religious ideology exercised a deep influence on Bertrand himself and his colleagues in the *lycée*. Bourget attests that "les mœurs démocratiques ne sont point favorable au développement de l'homme supérieur."³⁷ Both writers share the same stance towards democracy with Ernest Renan, who has a deep faith that France's military as well as social weakness is the outcome of a democratic dogma.³⁸ Bertrand is, therefore, an anti-republican conservative writer in support of monarchical regime, and he calls for the return of the royalist rule.

Not much different from Bertrand's viewpoint of the liberal policies of the Republic, Kipling also disapproved the liberalist wave that had engulfed the English government and its regulations. As Beetoshok Singha puts it: "Endowed [sic] with a prophetic farsightedness Kipling sets about the task of warning British people about the danger from within and without: from the Liberals in England and from the colonies where White rulers proved themselves unworthy of the burden assigned to them."³⁹ Indeed, Kipling was against the liberalist conduct at the national as well as the imperial level. He believes that such government destroys the image of the English master who leads the world and that it debilitates the Empire.⁴⁰ He confesses that, for him, the liberalist rule represents a more dangerous factor on the national/imperial integrity than the enemies themselves.⁴¹

Kipling admonishes the pacifist doctrine followed by the liberalists at a time of

³⁵ Renaud d'Allen, *L'Empire, La République, la Monarchie devant la nation* (Marseille: H. Seren, 1871), 04.

³⁶ Bertrand, "L'œuvre de M. Paul Bourget," *Revue des deux mondes*, tome LX (1920), 730.

³⁷ Paul Bourget, *Essais de psychologie contemporaine* (Paris : Alphonse Lemerre, 1883), 102.

³⁸ Ernest Renan, *La Réforme intellectuelle et morale* (Paris : Michel Lévy Frères, 1875), 43, 54.

³⁹ Beetoshok Singha, "Kipling's Imperial Anxiety: A Study of *The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes*," *The Criterion*, vol. 05, issue 01 (February 2014), 262.

⁴⁰ Thomas Pinney, *Letters of Rudyard Kipling volume vi*, (Iowa: Iowa University Press, 2004), 35.

⁴¹ Thomas Pinney, *Letters of Rudyard Kipling vol iii*, 56.

ferocious power contest against other nations. He argues that the liberalists call for demilitarization necessarily puts England in an embarrassing situation at a time of need for arms and armies. He asserts that the inclination towards “intellectual penetration” they adopted is futile. He confirms his apprehension of barren intellectuality that cannot serve England and the British Empire.⁴² Kipling considers that abstractions and great thoughts without being implemented are of no use that is why he says in his poem “If,” “if you can think- and not make thoughts your aim.”⁴³

Furthermore, Kipling accuses the liberals and their followers of taking significant part in weakening the empire and leading it towards disintegration. He fiercely condemns the English electorate for the elected liberals to government neglecting the implications of their choices on the empire in overseas colonies. He criticizes them saying,

The whole English ministry went to smash at the elections and we [in South Africa] sat like so many Mariuses in the ruins of Carthage while the Dutchmen and the rebel *and* the native crowd over us. It was, for some the work of years chunked away for a whim of the English electorate.⁴⁴

Kipling sees that the results of this election affected England’s home stability and international standing.

For Kipling, liberalism is a virus which distorted the British hierarchical system and threw the nation and the whole empire into an enormous disruption. Kipling indicts the liberalists for introducing into the English government and society new alien and poisonous ideas which would be the reason of tearing up the British integration. Angus Wilson names these ideas “the enemies” which are

progressivism, liberal individualism, egalitarianism, little Englandism, class divisions – all the elements in the Liberal Government’s rule that worked against a cohesive, well-armed empire ready both physically and psychologically to resist the growing

⁴² Kipling, *Something of Myself* (London: MacMillan and Company, Limited, 1937), 91-92. (Emphasis added)

⁴³ Kipling, “If,” *Rudyard Kipling: 100 Poems Old and New*, ed., Thomas Pinney (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), 137.

⁴⁴ Quoted in Thomas Pinney, *Letters of Rudyard Kipling vol3*, 119.

German menace to the English world-civilizing mission.⁴⁵

Therefore, Kipling expresses his hate for liberalism in a wide range of fictional as well as non-fictional works.

Kipling views democracy, a cornerstone of the liberalist creed, with a deep sense of revulsion. He deems it a “contagious cutaneous disorder”⁴⁶ as he writes to Charles Eliot Norton in 1908. In his “As Easy as ABC” that Bonamy Dobrée considers “a major attack upon democracy,”⁴⁷ Kipling depicts it as a source of chaos that needs to be stopped by preserving the status quo. He represents the people claiming popular government and democratic rights as outlawed who inevitably cause social unrest and violence. For this reason, he calls democracy a “disease”⁴⁸ that rots nations.

Kipling admits the vulnerability of the British Empire and at the same time believes in the aptitude of the English to re-strengthen her in the case that the spread of democracy is limited. In one of his travel letters, he declares,

By drawing upon England we can swiftly transfuse what we need to her [the empire’s] strength into her veins, and by that operation bleed her into health and sanity. Meantime, the only serious enemy to the empire, within or without, is that very Democracy [*sic*] which depends on the empire for its proper comforts, and in whose behalf these things are urged.⁴⁹

Democracy constitutes a serious threat not only to the empire, but to the mother country as well. Therefore, Kipling conveys its danger in different works.

“The Mother Hive” is one of Kipling’s political allegories that lay out his antipathy to deceitful imported democratic thoughts and show their implications on the nation. In this short story, Kipling allegorizes the whole political scene of the early twentieth century during which liberalists came into power and democratic principles started to circulate among citizens and influence them. England is epitomized in the beehive, where the permission for

⁴⁵ Angus Wilson, *The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1977), 247.

⁴⁶ Thomas Pinney, *Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, 308.

⁴⁷ Bonamy Dobrée, *Rudyard Kipling: Realist and Fabulist* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 115.

⁴⁸ Kipling, “As Easy as ABC,” *A Diversity of Creatures* (London: Macmillan, 1917), 20.

⁴⁹ Kipling, *Letters of Travel* (1892-1913) (London: Macmillan, 1920), 183.

the wax moth to enter and spread her strange eggs cause its destruction. Kipling wants to convince the reader that the England's fate will be the same as the hive, if the democratic ideals continue to penetrate the English society.

In disclosing the way in which the progressivist ideas are propagated among the members of society, Kipling employs the character of the wax-moth which stands for the liberalists. He identifies the intrusion of their thoughts with the wax-moth's eggs that spread all over the hive by means of malice. By depicting the wax-moth as deceitful and double-dealing, Kipling aims at conveying the liberalist suspect plans and goals. He infers that they are opportunists using people's innocence and enthusiasm to reach their own end because as Kipling writes, "young bees [young people] will tolerate any sort of stranger."⁵⁰

Kipling's "The Mother Hive" implies that the liberalists' claims are covers for unrevealed purposes. He compares them to the wax-moth's caresses and impressive words used to infiltrate and then dominate the hive. For him, like the wax-moth, the liberalists mouth empty democratic principles in order to get access to power and achieve their ends by gaining people's confidence. In Kipling's view, they use them "to cut loose from the conventions of their class which gave them stability and dignity,"⁵¹ writes Noel Annan. In other words, the democratic ideology is nothing but a means by which these people get rid of the socio-political systems.

According to this fable and to Annan's previous assumption, Kipling rejects democracy because that it destroys the socio-political stability of the nation by its claims of egalitarianism and man's rights. Kingsley Amis maintains that

Kipling was an authoritarian in the sense that he was not a democrat. To him, a parliament was a place where people with no knowledge of things as they were could dictate to the men who did real work, and could change their dictates at whim. His ideal was a feudalism that had never existed, a loyal governed class freely obeying incorrupt, conscientious governors. He was vague about how you became a governor:

⁵⁰ Kipling, "The Mother Hive," *Actions and reactions* (New York: Doubleday and Page, 1925), 89.

⁵¹ Noel Annan, "Kipling's Place in the History of Ideas," *Victorian Studies*, vol. 03, No. 04 (June 1960),

you probably (as in the Empire) just found you were one. Nevertheless, birth, influence, money, educational status and the like must not count as qualifications for leadership. Merit, competence, and a sense of responsibility were what did count: 'the job belongs to the man who can do it'.⁵²

Kipling according to Kingsley opposes democratic systems and governments. Rather, he supports systems like Feudalism. Kipling resembles Bertrand in this point. He believes that the political hierarchical system that is primarily based on merit is the right system. There must be an authoritative rule which guarantees effectiveness in making and executing decisions and which gives no opportunity for irresponsible and reluctant.

Both authors reckon that democratic dogma creates political and social conflicts. It ruins the traditional hierarchical system in which every member is born for a specific mission according to the class he belongs to. Democratic egalitarianism generates confusion in men's roles in society and enables inapt people to rule. As a conservative, Kipling believes that class distinctions and limits are imperative for maintaining social order through determining each man's role in relation to other men.⁵³ Therefore, he contrives the end of the story to be the destruction of the hive as a result of the roles disorder and class transgressions.

Kipling also blames the liberalists of jeopardizing the empire. Native self-government, that the liberalists call for, dreadfully worries him. He is absolutely convinced of the native's inappropriateness for governance for different reasons in addition to the threat they pose on British rule in the colonies and on the Anglo-Indians. His writings either trivialize the local population, or represent them as savage heathens. "The Head of the District" represents an incisive criticism of the democratic principle of self-government in India. It demonstrates Kipling's opposition to the Indian National Congress created in 1885. Through this story, Kipling stresses the idea that the Indians cannot govern India with its diversified populations and divergent mentalities. He labels the Indian Government as unwise and irresponsible. The fact of appointing the Bengali Grish Chunder Dé, as a successor of Orde Sahib at the head of

⁵² Kingsley Amis, *Rudyard Kipling and His World* (London: Scribner, 1975), 52.

⁵³ Noel Annan, Annan, "Kipling's Place," 336.

a district inhabited by tribesmen whose hatred for the Bengali is enormous, is “a piece of cruel folly”.⁵⁴ The limited mind of the Indian Government prevents them from taking into account this hatred. They cannot anticipate the implications such decision on the people and the future of the district.

Kipling further satirizes the Indians by belittling them. Addressing the Indians, Order Sahib says: “my children, - for though ye are strong men, ye are children.”⁵⁵ Kipling wants through this articulation to reinforce the idea that the Indians are never-growing children whose need for paternalistic instruction and English guidance is lasting indispensability. His character Thunder Dee is the embodiment of his belief. In spite of the fact that Dee has received an English education, Kipling asserts that he can never subdue his innate degeneracy. This character implies that the Indians are genetically and racially inferior, and they cannot get over this inferiority.

Despite his education, Dee is “unfit to run at the tail of a potter’s donkey,” confirms Rhoda Dad Khan. He dismally fails at commanding the district. His indecisiveness and infirm personality turn him from a leader to a subaltern and a family servant. The narrator declares that “he did no more than turn the place into a pleasant little family preserve, allowed his subordinates to do what they like, and let everybody have a chance at the shekels.”⁵⁶ On that premise, the district becomes a site of anarchy where the people are controlled by no laws. Because of his failure and fear, he escapes the district. He is replaced by Gallantries Sahib who settles the situation in the area and rules properly. Kipling creates this contrast between the Indian inadequacy epitomized in Dee and the English wise mastery to convince the reader of the futility of the liberal democratic ideals in India and that every race exists to achieve a special role. Kipling thus refutes the applicability of the principle of “a man of the people to

⁵⁴ Kipling, “The Head of the District,” *Life’s Handicap* (New York: Doubleday and McClure, 1899), 192.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 192.

rule the people.”⁵⁷

Dé is not Kipling’s sole example of the Indian incapability of self-rule. Huree Babu, in *Kim*, is one Kipling’s tool to show the deficiency of the natives to rule and to defend their lands against outsiders without the help of the English. He utilizes him to criticize the Indian National Congress and its educated members to which he is vehemently against. In his book *From Sea to Sea*, Kipling insists that

it seems not only a wrong but a criminal thing to allow natives to have any voice in the control of such a city [or the whole land] – adorned, docked, wharfed, fronted, and reclaimed by Englishmen, existing only because England lives, and dependent on its life in England.⁵⁸

Kipling illustrates his vision through trivializing Huree Babu and presenting him as a fearful and an awkward agent that he cannot fulfill his mission without “European” help. He reinforces the image of the “clinging dependence of the native on the Anglo-Indian.”⁵⁹ Therefore, he asks for Kim’s support in foiling the Russians’ plans, and it is due to Kim’s assistance, that they finally succeeded in doing so.

Moreover, Kipling deems that giving the Indians an access to rule and power can threatens the British presence in India. Kipling makes Khoda Dad Khan wonder: “is it true that the English have set *the heel of the Bengali on their own neck*, and that there is no more English to rule in land?” in doing so, he relates the end of the English mission in India to the Indians sanction to government. In “The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes,” he vividly portrays his vision of the situation when the Indians are allowed a minimum of command. In fact, this story is what Kipling envisions in the aftermath of the Indian National Congress which is created in the same year the story first appeared. Louis. L. Cornel corroborates that by writing this story, he “has created a genuine Anglo-Indian nightmare, a vision of what

⁵⁷ Kipling, “The Head of the District,” 189.

⁵⁸ Kipling, *From Sea to Sea* (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1914), 6.

⁵⁹ Lalita Pandit, “Caste, Race, and Nation: History and Dialectic in Rabindranath Tagor’s *Gora*,” *Literary India: Comparative Studies in Aesthetics, Colonialism, and Culture*, eds., Patrick Cohn Hogan and Lalita Pandit (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 209-210.

would be like be one of the least of the ruled instead of one of the rulers.”⁶⁰ Thereupon, the Indian government does not worry Kipling alone, but the whole Anglo-Indian society which is obliged to face the new situation. The story suggests that the Indians would not tolerate the Anglo-Indians and they would persecute them. India would be a site of savagery and anarchy. “The British,” explains John McClure, “would be at the mercy of their earnest while subjects. Thus, Jukes’ ride takes him into a nightmarish future as well as a haunted past.”⁶¹ “The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes” insinuates that with such liberalist policies India becomes exactly like “the village of the dead” in which Anglo-Indians would face Jukes’ fate.

In addition to the liberalist ideologies, Bertrand and Kipling consider Socialism as another jeopardy which menaces the continuity of the French and British imperial rule and then destroys the French and British national dignity. The next subsection illustrates the writers’ worries about the spread of Socialism and other progressivist doctrines.

B- Social Progressivist Policies

Another republican ideology that arises Bertrand’s disgust is Socialism which he considers a mortal sickness that decadent nations suffer from.⁶² Despite the manifest altruism of the socialist systems, Bertrand warns of its latent danger which leads to anarchy and social conflicts.. He claims that Socialism is a tool to stupefy the people and manipulate them.⁶³ He argues that socialist issues distance people from the nation’s situation and from religion through engrossing them with individual materialist interests. ⁶⁴ Bertrand affirms his ideas through showing the pervasiveness and perpetuity of the syndicalist strikes calling for the improvement of the worker’s life conditions, ignoring the situation of their nation which was on the verge of decline. In addition, those strikes and disputes exacerbate the difficult

⁶⁰ Louis. L. Cornel, *Kipling in India* (London: Macmillan, 1966), 105.

⁶¹ John A. McClure, *Kipling and Conrad: The Colonial* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1981), 34.

⁶² Bertrand, *Le Sens de l’ennemi*, 23.

⁶³ Bertrand, “Nietzsche et la guerre,” *Revue des deux mondes*, tome XXIV (1914), 735.

⁶⁴ Bertrand, “Dans un monde troublé et barbare,” *Revue des deux mondes*, tome LI (1939), 485-486.

conditions of the country. Bertrand assumes that these strikes are not less dangerous than a volcano.⁶⁵

Moreover, Bertrand criticizes Republican Socialism that the French settlers brought with them to Algeria. He denounces the inability of the French new-comers to Algeria to comprehend the difference between the metropolitan France and the colony and the way they have to conduct there. Bertrand posits through Emile Schirrer that “socialisme est sans doute une forte belle chose en Europe. Dans un pays neuf comme celui-ci [Algeria], il est *incompréhensible*.”⁶⁶ Michel Botteri is an example of the French settlers who endorse socialist ideals which push him to promise Rafael to create a syndicate in the aim of helping wine workers who find difficulties in their work. Bonmarin condemns his engagement in such a question. He says: “[d]’abord, vous patron, vous agissez contre vos intérêts.”⁶⁷ He sees that syndicalism negatively affects his position and his plans in the colony.

Bonmarin explains to Michel that “ce qu’il y a de plus grave, c’est que vous allez vous mettre à dos tous les propriétaires du pays.”⁶⁸ He means that such a decision can turn the land owners against him since this syndicate project is against their benefits. It can cause enmity between them and the loss of their support in the election. Schirrer, in an attempt to clarify things for Michel, points out that he must be cautious of his actions. He must only care of the stimulation of work and accumulation of Algerian lands by all means regardless of their nature. Schirrer insists that it is not important whether these means are charitable and humanitarian, or not.

On the same basis that Bertrand rejects the socialist creed, Kipling builds his objection to its imperatives. He maintains that it is a demagoguery, which entails the exploitation of people’s emotions to achieve selfish interests. He emphasizes the point that socialist claims

⁶⁵ Bertrand, *Le sens de l’ennemi*, 68.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 146.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

are fools used to climb on the shoulders of the naïve who can be easily agitated and manipulated. To illustrate his stance, Kipling resorts again to animal allegories. “A Walking Delegate,” for instance, discloses both the nature of the socialist and their methods to influence people. Boney, the yellow horse of the story, typifies the socialist activists attacked by Kipling. The latter attributes to this horse degrading qualities that dismiss his claims. Kipling depicts it as a lazy, voracious intruder. Boney has “not worked for weeks and weeks”⁶⁹ and has eaten more than three of the farm horses since its arrival.⁷⁰ Furthermore, Kipling professes that the socialist demands are based on envious reasons rather than the benefit of the society. Rod, one of the farm horses, conveys Boney’s jealousy towards men saying, “killin’ them as never done him no harm, jest [*sic*] beca’sse they owned horses.”⁷¹ So, in narrating this story this way, Kipling allegorically instantiates the relationship between labor organizations and the owners of the means of production.

With regard to the approaches adopted by the socialists, Kipling argues that they are founded on no logic and reasonable basis. Instead, they make use of the people’s emotions through eloquent speeches which either elevate the listener’s hatred and anger for the rich, or manipulate them to get their support. These emotive strategies are apparently exemplified in both “A Walking Delegate” and “The Mother Hive.” As far as the first story is concerned, the yellow horse uses heated words when talking to the other horses. For instance, he says: you are “*bowin’* your heads before the *Oppressor* that comes to spend his leisure *gloatin’* over you, [and] *fawnin’* on them for what is your *inalienable right*. *It’s humiliatin’*.”⁷² In saying so, Boney puts the horses in the position of the oppressed whose job is to please the oppressor and obey his orders without getting any rights.

To give credibility to his statements, Boney pretends that he is not against work,

⁶⁹ Kipling, “A Walking Delegate,” *The Day’s Work* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1921), 54.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 54-55. Emphasis added.

knowing that he is an idler, but against man's injustice. He trivially boasts that "work is the finest thing in the world. [...] I only ask that each horse should work for himself, an' enjoy the profit of his labors. Let him work intelligently, an' not as a machine."⁷³ Boney's announcement testifies to the need to free the employee from his employer and to be the only beneficiary of his work's outcome. It indirectly calls for the equality between the proletariat and the aristocracy. In "The Mother Hive," the wax-moth also claims that all the workers have the right to do the same work as the Queen, in an allusion to that all laborers are equal in getting access to the means of production and that the industrious monopoly is rejected. The moth says to Melissa, "we could all lay eggs like Queens if we chose."⁷⁴ To fulfill such socialist aims, tricky methods and misleading plans are used. This is illustrated in the malice with which the wax-moth enters the hive and tries to convince the young bees of the legitimacy of her deeds.

Kipling, via these two stories, goes further to show the impact of socialism both nationally and imperially. In "A Walking Delegate," he confirms that such an ideology destabilizes the community and generates incurable problems. Boney itself admits that his call leads to social clashes, but it shams that these clashes are episodic. He considers that "the conflict will be but short, an' the victory is certain."⁷⁵ Kipling is totally against this assumption and believes that socialist changes will destroy the whole socioeconomic system of the nation and in turn, will enfeeble the empire.

Kipling is a conservative who regards class system and hierarchy as an essential factor in the integrity of the traditional society of England. He is against the elimination of class limits. Daniel Karlin assumes that Kipling is interested in what [he] would call functional as opposed to organic unity: that is, the co-operation or co-ordination of parts in a system to work, to do its job. The breakdown of such a system horrified him, as it does in 'The Mother

⁷³ Kipling, "A Walking Delegate," 69.

⁷⁴ Kipling, "The Mother Hive," 98.

⁷⁵ Kipling, "A Walking Delegate," 63.

Hive.”⁷⁶ The latter is a portrayal of the apocalyptic scene Kipling envisions in case socialism dominates the nations.

Besides their hate of Socialism, Bertrand and Kipling also despise humanitarianism and sentimentalism. Bertrand considers these doctrines, which the Frenchmen were attuned to, as having negative if not calamitous results for the nation. He testifies to the naivety and fatality of these principles.⁷⁷ He emphasizes that his society “sans cesse menacée de ramollissement par excès de bien être ou de sentimentalité humanitaire,”⁷⁸ and that “[i]l faudrait cependant en finir avec, cette désastreuse mystification !”⁷⁹ Accordingly, he calls for more rationality in the people’s behavior with the monstrous enemies around them. They have to follow more pragmatic approaches without caring for sentimentality.

Bertrand conceives that the doctrines emasculate the individual and render him incapable of effective and decisive action. In other words, humanitarian and sentimental citizens can never fight vigorously against the barbarians “dans le monde troublé et barbare” where they live. They endorse romantic illusions which made Bertrand see them as “des affolés de ce Royaume chimérique, des Croyants d’Irréel.”⁸⁰ They believe in universal peace, fraternity, and in the rights of man. Therefore, Bertrand associates these ideologies to the “culte de la mort” of the naturalist and romantic schools.⁸¹

As an illustration, Michel’s sympathy for the Jews who are persecuted in Algeria is another unforgivable thing for Bertrand. His defense of the Jews, which is based on his humanitarian and sentimental gospels brought from the metropolitan France, is considered as a reaction against the rules and the interests of the settlers. His refusal to exploit the question of anti-Semitism in the election caused him many troubles. He is excluded from the election

⁷⁶ Daniel Karlin, “Actions and Reactions: Kipling’s Edwardian Summer,” in *Time’s Eye: Essays on Rudyard Kipling*, ed., Jan Montefiore (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 116.

⁷⁷ Bertrand, “Nietzsche et la guerre,” 737.

⁷⁸ Bertrand, *Les ville d’or*, 10.

⁷⁹ Bertrand, *Le Rival de Don Juan*, 280.

⁸⁰ Bertrand, *Le Sens de l’ennemi*, 21.

⁸¹ Bertrand, “La Renaissance classique,” vii.

and comes to a situation of alienation among the settlers' society. Michel loses everything in the novel because he acts in opposition to the settlers' benefits, which leads them to react against him in order not to lose the Algerian lands and their positions for the profiteering Jews. This example shows the extent to which the settler society is anti-republican and that is in opposition to the metropolitan France's policies.

Moreover, Bertrand worries the fact that the French individual meekly submitted to his failures. He accepted the demolition of the country as natural, and accordingly, he lapsed into a deep state of lassitude and inertia. Bertrand declares,

Nous nous acheminions tout doucement vers l'esclavage, parce que nous ne voulions plus travailler, c'est-à-dire, lutter, nous défendre contre l'ennemi toujours présent et gagner sur lui. Les intellectuels ne voulaient rien savoir du monde extérieur, les autres, les politiciens et la masse de la nation se comportaient comme s'il n'existait pas.⁸²

He adds that during this period of weariness "nous crûmes avoir perdu, avec le goût de l'action, le goût même de la vie."⁸³ So, from Bertrand's perspectives, all segments of the French society –intellectuals, politicians, and the public- withdrew from fulfilling their national duties, and announced themselves "démissionnaires".⁸⁴

While the politicians indulged in their utopian republican creeds and the masses preoccupied themselves with their socialist demands, the French intellectuals were busy proclaiming theories that serve the nation in no way. In order to convey his view, Bertrand makes his character Jean criticize his friends' scientism adopted by naturalist writers with whom the writer is in discord. Jean says:

En abusez-vous, vous autres gens de lettre, de ce jargon scientifique ! Vous n'avez à la bouche que « sélection, dissolution, sénescence », que sais-je encore ? [...] Certes, je ne suis pas un savant, j'ignore ce que valent au juste ces termes en histoire naturelle ou en physiologie, mais je suis certain que cette phraséologie étrangère transportée dans la politique ou la littérature n'est que de la *creuse rhétorique*.⁸⁵

⁸²Bertrand, *Le Sens de l'ennemi*, 18.

⁸³ Bertrand, "L'œuvre de Paul Bourget," 727.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Bertrand, *Le Rival de Don Juan*, 282. (Emphasis added)

The passage illustrates the way in which Bertrand points to the deceitfulness of these ideas and confirms elsewhere that naturalist writers, including Emile Zola⁸⁶, try to convince the people that regression is inevitable and present in all times and places.⁸⁷ Jean refutes Michel's and Mautoucher's suppositions and confirms that all significant and glorious eras were the outcome of violent and energetic reactions against what they perceive to be natural circumstances.⁸⁸ He substantiates his conviction through giving the example of Germany. He writes,

L'Allemagne d'aujourd'hui en est la preuve. Elle n'est devenue si grande que parce qu'un beau jour, contrairement à son caractère, contrairement à tout son passé, elle a voulu rompre brusquement avec son idéalisme spéculatif et son inertie bourgeoise pour se faire la plus positive, la plus conquérante et la plus agissante des nations.⁸⁹

Jean, thus, alludes to that intellectuals, who instead of helping the people get out of their shell, contribute to dampen their resolve.

A similar stance appears in Kipling with regard to the military dysfunction of the British troops in South Africa is due to the spread of liberal ideals among the British people and soldiers according to Kipling. Liberal beliefs pushed many to sympathize with the Boers and their right to self-determination, or at least to consider the army's deeds as unjust. The liberals, says Lain Sharp, "opposed overseas expansion and entanglements as wrong in themselves and as drains on the exchequer. Many back-bench Liberal MPs felt that it was a fundamental purpose of the party to maintain what they saw as the 'Liberal tradition' of a

⁸⁶ Émile Zola (1840-1908) was a writer, journalist, art critic, and leader of the naturalist movement. He was born in Paris, but he spent his childhood in Aix-en-Provence. The death of his father left the family in financial difficulty, and Émile was very quickly forced to abandon his studies. He worked as a clerk at Hachette and ended his career there as an advertising manager. In 1866, he decided to live from his pen. In 1867, *Thérèse Raquin* appeared, causing a scandal for the darkness of the story and the depraved traits of its characters. Above all, this novel lays the foundations of the naturalist movement, which associates the narrative with a quasi-scientific study of human behavior. *L'Assommoir*, the seventh novel in the Rougon-Macquart cycle, published in 1877, was his first great literary success. In 1894, the affair of Captain Dreyfus broke out and divided France and Émile Zola defended him in a historic article, "J'accuse...!" published in *Aurore* and which earned him a conviction for defamation, pushing him into exile. He died shortly after his return to Paris and his ashes were moved to the Panthéon in 1908.

⁸⁷ Bertrand, "L'œuvre de Paul Bourget," 729.

⁸⁸ Bertrand, *Le Rival de Don Juan*, 282.

⁸⁹ Ibid (Emphasis original)

pacific foreign and imperial policy."⁹⁰ The liberal orientation directly affected the Imperial enterprise in South Africa. As Richard Price confirms, the Boer War is the culmination of Britain's fears for the empire's continuity and the nation's future.⁹¹ The loss of the South African colony is a loss at the economic, the military, and the political level. This fear is clearly displayed in different works by Kipling.

In "The Captive," Zigler's observations of the army illustrate Kipling's fears of the pacifist and humanitarian ways in the war. He declares that the Boers "fought to kill, and by what [he] could make out, the British fought to be killed."⁹² He comes to this conclusion due to indecisive deeds of the British officers who, in a time of war, help their enemies when they get wounded and that is what happened to the Dutch Van Zyl. Worse, the officers have relations of friendship with their supposed enemies like the friendship between Van Zyl and Captain Mankeltow. Because of this, Zigler calls this war, a war of fools.

Kurban Sahib in "The Sahib's War" also reproves the unserious conduct of the soldiers who "foolishly show mercy to this Boer-log because it is believed that they are white."⁹³ Umr Singh, the Hindu servant of Kurban Sahib, alerts to the sterility and the implications of this irresponsibility, which results in killing his master. He insists that the British should be aware of that the Boers are exploiting to their advantage this point of humanist conduct to their benefit in a malicious way. They get certificates of being "people of peace and good will"⁹⁴ to use them as a cover for their hidden schemes against the British. As Singh says, the Boers are "farmers to-day and fighters tomorrow."⁹⁵ In short, Kipling wants the British to be more committed and more careful of what happens around them.

⁹⁰ Lain Sharp, "The Liberal Party and the South African War 1899-1902," *Journal of Liberal Democrat History*, 29 (Winter 2000-01), 3.

⁹¹ Richard Price, *An Imperial War and the British Working Class: Working-Class Attitudes and Reactions to the Boer War 1899-1902* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 1.

⁹² Kipling, "The Captive," *Traffics and Discoveries*, 4.

⁹³ Kipling, "The Sahib's War," *Traffics and Discoveries*, 38.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 41.

C- The instruction of the imperial agent:

For Bertrand, all the unhealthy theories and principles previously mentioned were mainly inculcated in people's minds through the educational system developed under the Third Republic. His criticism of the French educational system is surveyed in the following passage:

L'enseignement que nous recevions nous prédisposait à accueillir joyeusement toutes ces basses attaques contre les prêtres et même la religion traditionnelle. La grossièreté naturaliste et démocratique nous envahissait. D'un cœur léger, nous roulions en cloaque.⁹⁶

Bertrand assumes that the French republican education is responsible for softening his generation and for the regression of the whole nation. He asserts that instead of forming vigorous individuals, that kind of education saps the energy of the people.⁹⁷ Bertrand relates the youth's unawareness of their nation's conditions and lack of action to the education they received under the Third Republic. He describes it as too hasty, too embracing, too speculative and too far from reality.⁹⁸ He confirms that it is worthless to have great ideas if they are not implemented⁹⁹. The author does not deny the role of intellectuality, but he insists on the need to be sustained by action and work. Abstract intellectual speculations promoted by the republican educational programs contribute to widening the gap between the individual and reality. "Abstraction," upholds Bertrand, "est un filet trop étroit entre les mailles duquel la réalité s'écoule et fuit de toutes parts."¹⁰⁰ So, for the writer, education turned from a constructive tool into a destructive one.

Moreover, the negative impact of this education was so profound that it could hardly be escaped. It is difficult to make the people who received it change their ideas. Bertrand emphasizes that "Il est même, chez nous, des gens tellement hébétés d'utopies sociales,

⁹⁶ Bertrand, "La nouvelle éducation sentimentale, dernière partie," 362.

⁹⁷ Bertrand, *Le Sens de l'ennemi*, 40.

⁹⁸ Bertrand, *La Cina*, 17.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Bertrand, "La Renaissance classique," v.

tellement amollis par la douceur de notre éducation, que le contact immédiat de la réalité ne leur apprendrait rien.”¹⁰¹ Bertrand confirms that the republican education has been creating generations of chimerical dreamers. These generations cannot easily get out of their shell of utopianism and adapt to the cruelty of the world. Michel and his friend Mautoucher are perfect examples for such irreparable dreamers. Michel himself admits this when he proclaims: “nous sommes incorrigibles.”¹⁰² This education created in them a sort of snobs, or as Bertrand puts it, they are people who don’t want to sacrifice their refinements of education and open their eyes to the harshness surrounding them.¹⁰³ It has to be noted that Michel is unable of changing himself and his conduct despite the fact that he is aware of the futility of his convictions. This inflexibility of Michel is apparent in his inadaptability to the conditions in Algeria.

Kipling criticizes the British soldiers in South Africa in nearly similar terms as those employed by Bertrand. Kipling’s novels are centered on a widespread disempowerment of colonizers and colonists in colonial space. It would have been expected that colonial literature would strictly emphasize the bravery of the servants of the empire without presenting them in distress. But it is precisely the opposite that occurs in the novels of Kipling. Where colonialist literature, imbued with ideology, produces the prototype of the imperial colonizer in the most authoritarian sense of the term, Kipling’s works produce it as constantly in a state of insecurity in the colonial world.

Kipling shows a deep dissatisfaction with the soldiers participating in the second Boer War. He holds that they are frivolous soldiers without a serious cause to fight for. In “The Comprehension of Private Copper,” Copper admits to his prisoner that the servicemen “don’t

¹⁰¹ Bertrand, *Le Sens de l'ennemi*, 284.

¹⁰² Bertrand, *Le Rival de Don Juan*, 296.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 323.

know what they'r fightin' for.”¹⁰⁴ One interpretation of such a claim can be that there is a wide gap between the Empire and its servants. There is incomprehension of the British imperial project and a loose relation of the British people with their Empire. For this reason, Kipling wants to show the dangers of the insensitivity to the British imperial mission.

Anna Davin remarks that the poor military performance in South Africa augmented the fear of the British deficiency.¹⁰⁵ John Marriot adds that “the standard of recruits for the Boer War intensified fears that degeneration was consuming the heart of empire.”¹⁰⁶ Kipling is one of those frightened by both the inadequate performance of the army and the system of recruiting soldiers. “The Sahib’s War” is one of his Boer stories, which severely attacks the military system. Kipling states that “the whole business was managed without forethought by new sahibs from God Knows where, who had never seen a tent pitched or a peg driven. They were full of zeal, but empty of all Knowledge.”¹⁰⁷ Through this quote, it can be understood that Kipling upholds that enthusiasm to fight for one’s Empire stands on shaky grounds if it is not armed with experience and knowledge. Thus, Kipling blames the service of recruitment of bringing laymen without any previous training, hoping to win it.

In addition to the colonizers’ unawareness of their weakness and frailties, their arrogance constitutes an additional threatening aspect of the integrity of the Empire. Bertrand, for instance, condemns snobbism and attests that it misleads men and diminishes the effectiveness of their actions in addition to turning them into ridicule.¹⁰⁸ To certify his stance, he uses Michel to show the consequences of having a haughty and stubborn personality and whose idealist thoughts and irrational Romanticism are barren. Michel refuses to change his beliefs and accepts the reality that he can achieve nothing without being flexible. By

¹⁰⁴ Kipling, “The Comprehension of Private Copper,” *Traffics and Discoveries* (London: Macmillan, 1904), 81.

¹⁰⁵ Anna Davin, “Imperialism and Motherhood”, *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, eds., Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (California: University of California Press, 1997), 90.

¹⁰⁶ John Marriot, *The Other Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 178.

¹⁰⁷ Kipling, “The Sahib’s War,” 38.

¹⁰⁸ Bertrand, “L’œuvre de Paul Bourget,” 745.

following his own deluded perception of the situation in Algeria and defending the Jews, Michel is destroyed politically and socially by the end of the novel. He loses the election, his intimate friend, and even his psychological rest.

The same stance can be found in the writings of Kipling for whom the reason behind the retreat of the British military power and decadence by linking it to the megalomaniac sense that got hold of the British politicians, soldiers, as well as citizens. They became arrogantly complacent with their previous great achievements, forgetting the need to guard what they had gained. In his 1897 poem "Recessional," he alerts to the endurance of the empire. "Recessional," writes Rashna B. Singh, "celebrates the sacrosanct nature of the civilizing mission and chastises those who cheapen it through 'tumult' and 'shouting.'" She adds that "it serves as a reminder of the fate of empires that forget divine providence and indulge in displays of pride and pomp."¹⁰⁹ In doing so, he calls for a reform in the way the colonies are perceived and calls for giving up arrogance for hard work.

We notice that Kipling's short story "The Sahib's War" denounces the hubris of the colonizer. The narrative delineates the tragic end of Kuban Sahib who stands for the empire's guard. Kurban's over self-pride and his fellow servicemen dissuade non-British people to assist in the war. For the latter, the Boer War was a sahib's war. Kurban's refusal of help from Umr Singh and Sikandar Khan brings about his death. Instead of thinking on the right way to defeat the Boers and save their lives, the English men die for useless unreasonable slogans.

Another point that frightens Kipling and which is not found in Bertrand's oeuvre is the nature of the relationship between the colonizer (settler) and the colonized. Kipling insists on the necessity of the British agent for a well-controlled association with the local people. He demonstrates that "total exposure, like total withdrawal, makes the domination impossible,"¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Rashna B. Singh, "Kipling's Other Burden: Counter-narrating Empire," *Kipling and Beyond: Patriotism, Globalisation, and Postcolonialism*, eds., Caroline Rooney and Koari Nagai (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 101.

¹¹⁰ McClure, *Kipling and Conrad*, 45.

according to McClure. Both extremes destroy the imperial servant. In the first situation, he runs the risk of being swallowed by the indigenous society and in the second, he exposes himself to the dangers of the unknown native. In both cases the imperial presence is endangered.

In Kipling's view total exposure to the native culture jeopardizes the essence of imperial agent's Englishness, and inevitably leads to his racial degeneration. The writer worries about the spread of the "going native" phenomenon since "[i]n most big cities natives will tell you of two or three Sahibs, generally low-caste, who have turned Hindu or Mussulman, and who live more or less as such."¹¹¹ Kipling depicts the results of unrestrained openness to the indigenous society in different stories. Among these, we cite "To Be Filed for Reference" and "Beyond the Pale."

"To Be Filed for Reference," writes William B. Dillingham, "is a relentless account of the degeneration of this Oxford man of brilliance now reduced to living with a native woman in direst poverty and hopeless addiction to drink."¹¹² Kipling relates the deterioration of the well-educated McIntoch Jellaludin. The latter gives up of all the constituents of his English Identity and to crossing the limits of his cast. He declares in a distressful tone that he "was once [...] an Oxford Man."¹¹³ Jellaludin converts to Islam, changes his name and lifestyle, and becomes a useless drunkard. In doing so, he forfeits the western rationality for the native's irrationality. The narrator tells the reader that Jellaludin himself expresses his own degradation from rational to irrational. Jellaludin "told me that [the narrator] was the only rational being in the inferno into which he had descended, "and that he had [reached the uttermost depths of degradation."¹¹⁴ This gives tragic end to Jellaludin's career. Kipling believes that people like Jellaludin, who go native are burdens on the shoulders of the empire.

¹¹¹Kipling, "To Be Filed For Reference," *Plain Tales From the Hills* (New York: The Rottingham Society, 1909), 442.

¹¹² William B. Dillingham, *Rudyard Kipling: Hell and Heroism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 34.

¹¹³Kipling, "To Be Filed For Reference," 443.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, 446.

In "Beyond the Pale," Kipling confirms his opposition to and fear of the power of native culture over the empire's servants. He portrays the colonial space like a space teeming with tangible and / or latent dangers. He says that "[t]his story the story of a man who willfully stepped beyond the limits of decent everyday society, and paid for it heavily. [...] He took too deep an interest in native life; but he will never do so again."¹¹⁵ Trejago, the protagonist, permits himself to delve into the depth of the Indian society through his relation to the young widow Besisa. Trejago's thirst for knowing more about the India and Indians and his reliance on his vast knowledge gives him an unforgettable lesson. He learns that the oriental can never be fully known. Trejago's relation with Besisa is an entrance to a world of unexpected dangers.

"Beyond the Pale" illustrates the danger of the native culture for the colonizer with excessive curiosity. The English protagonist is forced to decode a message that was sent to him by an Indian girl: "Next morning, as he was driving to office, an old woman threw a packet into his dogcart. The packet contains a piece of a broken glass-bangle, one flower of the bloodred dhak, a pinch of bhusa or cattle-food, and eleven cardamoms." The hero, endowed with scholarly knowledge of India, thinks that he has succeeded in interpreting the young woman's message despite the polysemy of certain signifiers. The narrator clarifies that "flower of dhak" can be interpreted in many ways. It has a whole range of meanings: " desire, "" come, "" write, "or" danger."

Obviously, the fatal fate reserved for Trejago and Bisesa shows that the character was unwise in his endeavor to interpret the message from the Indian world. For the narrator who, the excess knowledge is akin to a disability. The misfortune affecting the two characters at the end of the story suggests that the meaning of danger should not have been obscured by Trejago. The demonstration indicates that the danger, although evaded in appearance, remains

¹¹⁵ Kipling, "Beyond the Pale," *Plain Tales from the Hills*, 237.

a latent threat for the Anglo-Indian protagonists, as well versed in the Indian customs as they are.

Not accidentally, for Kipling, the relation between the Englishman and the native woman is impossible. He upholds such relations as perilous for the purity of the English blood and the stability of the empire. Allen J. Greenberger argues that “[t]he keystone to maintaining their position of leadership is not to be found in the treatment of the Indians. It is, after all, in the English *blood* and the important is to keep blood ‘pure’. For this reason intermarriage is dangerous.”¹¹⁶ He adds, “[e]ven a drop of English blood is, in the absence of a full-blooded Briton, sufficient to bring out the leadership qualities in an individual.”¹¹⁷ In other words, relations between Englishman and native women can result in the creation of a class of people who will claim Englishness and the English leadership. It means that the natives will ask for equality which will threaten the English mastership.

Total withdrawal from the native society implies the ignorance of the ruled people and their culture. Such an ignorance is “a dangerous foundation for [the British] rule.”¹¹⁸ It undermines the domination of the colonized over the colonizer. Imray’s fate in “The Return of Imray” epitomizes the outcome of the Briton’s lack of knowledge about the Indians. Because of his unfamiliarity with the Indian mentality and culture, he was murdered and hidden by his servant.

Climate of the colony represents for Kipling another threatening factor for the existence of the colonizer. Climate is a threat to the integrity and morality of Anglo-Indians. It must be recalled that the question of the colonial climate and its potential influence on the psyche of those who suffer from it constitute one of the principles of colonial discourse. The Indian climate is marked by extremes; India is sometimes struck by torrential rains,

¹¹⁶ Allen J. Greenberger, *The British Image of India: A Study in the literature of Imperialism 1880-1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 15. (Emphasis original)

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹¹⁸ McClure, *Kipling and Conrad*, 39.

sometimes by intense heat as in "The Conversion of Aurelian McGoggin." The colonial space is suffocating as the combination of the terms "hot" and "close" to "air" suggests. The image of panting colonials contributes in conveying the idea of suffocation. The adjective "dead", associated here with the air, brings out the topic of death in the narration. A reference similar to the climate is present in "At the End of the Passage", where the mention of the unbreathable character of the air is often repeated.

Conclusion

Louis Bertrand and Rudyard Kipling have many common points concerning their perceptions of the colonies they lived in and their imperial nationalist sentiments. They were tightly attached to the peripheries of their empires. The attachment fuels their nationalist spirit since these colonies were never conceived out of the empires they were affiliated to. The imperial nationalist sense strongly holds sway over the characters of both writers. The defense of the pride of their nation (the French and the English) against any threat to any area under their control is their main concern. It is an expression of their "special sense of themselves and their destiny." In Kumar's words, great powers struggle to keep their positions in the world. It is a sense that charges the mission to revitalize their nations and to overcome the sense of weakness or decadence of their empire through colonial expansion

The two authors choose to awaken authorities as well as people to the vulnerability of their national and imperial integrity. They want to convince the reader of the interconnectedness of the imperial situation and the national status. Both Bertrand and Kipling believe in the existence of a series of dangers which could lead to the degeneration of the national and imperial power of France and Britain. To ward off the danger, they exaggerated these perils. It is noted that both writers agree that most of the problems their empires face are the result of one major reason, the over civilization epitomized by liberal progressivism. Through the analysis of their works, Bertrand and Kipling prove to be a traditionalist and

authoritarian writers. They are against the adoption of the new ideologies of democracy, liberalism, socialism and humanitarianism. They consider these dogmas as sources of anarchy and emasculation. Bertrand has faith that these ideologies are the cause of softening the traditional powerful French character. Kipling, as well, reckons that these creeds effeminate the Anglo-Saxon spirit of the English and weaken it.

Bertrand and Kipling are both convinced that racial degeneration of the French and the English would inevitably lead to the loss of their ancient greatness. They see that the pernicious illness of liberalism and its related convictions afflict the core of these nations and empires. They go further to suggest different strategies to revitalize their imperial nations and strengthen them. These schemes are the major concern of the following chapter.

Chapter V: Bertrand's and Kipling's Rehabilitating Schemes

After reviewing the main causes of the French and the British imperial uncertainty in Bertrand's and Kipling's views, this chapter is an attempt to demonstrate the writers' hopes in recovery and the strategies should be followed to realize these hopes. Despite the hard conditions, they believed in the possibility of rehabilitation. They used their writings to propose different ways to get over the hardship of their imperial nations. Bertrand explicitly expresses his opinion through his project of "Latin Africa" while Kipling's aspirations are implicit in his writing. Andrew Porter in his "Empires in the Mind" observes that "To a certain extent, Kipling's appeal lay in his endlessly reiterated faith that all these defects and frailties could be remedied."¹ The chapter is divided into three sections each of them discusses one of the writers' rehabilitating schemes.

Bertrand is a leading figure in the intellectual history of France whose initiatives are of significant importance in the issue of nationalism. He took French nationalism out of the French borders to give it a wider scope and an imperial tint. Stephen Wilson claims that "through his novels, his historical works, and his books on Africa, he gave French nationalism a new direction and a new dimension. [...] Louis Bertrand was the first to put the emphasis of his nationalism on the Empire."² Wilson continues asserting that Bertrand "never forgot Lorraine, but in fact North Africa became his Lorraine, and he pointed the way to l'Algérie *Française* and all that went with it."³ Hence, according to him, Bertrand's imperial spirit that he adds to the notion of French nationalism is primarily based on the Lorrain affair and his views of French Algeria.

¹ Andrew Porter, "Empires in the Mind," *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire*. Ed., P. J. Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 219.

² Stephen Wilson, "The *Action Française* in French Intellectual Life," *The Historical Journal*, vol. 12, no. 2 (1969): 346.

³ Ibid.

François Belot's doctoral dissertation entitled "Figures of Degeneration in *Fin-de-siècle*-French Literature" (2013) is among the most recent investigations in the French literature of the *fin de siècle* that is interested in the question of degeneration. It sheds light on Bertrand's equation of colonization/regeneration in *Le Sang des races*. However, Belot's analysis is restricted to the "rebarbarazation" of the settler and his individual regeneration and skips different essential elements of the writer's vision. In contrast to *Le Sang des races* with a plot that centers on the protagonist Rafael and his itinerary in Algeria, *La Cina* is a more complex and mature novel that encapsulates various prominent characters and several interconnected issues. Therefore, *La Cina*, in addition to other works of Bertrand, better epitomizes his imperial nationalist project in all its aspects. It delineates his motivations and his aims as it envisions the realization of his aspirations.

Kipling does not differ much from Bertrand in the way he envisioned the situation of his imperial nation. Kipling over time grew more and more suspicious of the power and efficiency of "Greater Britain." Cecil D. Eby clarifies that

It would appear that his personal contact with empire builders like Rhodes (who gave the Kipling family the use of a house for their lifetime) and Lord Roberts (with whom Kipling later collaborated in schemes for the national defense) gave Kipling a vivid sense of how fragile the empire truly was, and these experiences turned him from a theoretical critic of English decadence into an activist whose mission was to employ his literature both to war of lurking dangers from outside powers and to support movements or schemes which attempted to reinvigorate the effete body or languid will of the nation.⁴

According to the writer, Kipling was influenced by the direct contact with empire builders whose ideas pushed Kipling to enthusiastically contribute in the British imperial projects through his texts. Kipling was in awe of the decline of the British Empire the thing which would hurt the English national pride. For this reason, he oriented his writing to the revitalization of this enfeebled empire and its weakened citizens.

⁴ Cecil D. Eby, *The Road to Armageddon: The Martial Spirit in English Popular Literature* (London: Duke University Press, 1987), 160.

Because of their nationalist feelings aroused by the different aforementioned threats of the French presence in Algeria and the British dominance over her colonies, the two writers outline, in their works understudy, plans to prevent the decay of their empires and to regenerate their power. The way their characters, settings, and symbols were developed shows the writers' perception of the right ways to overcome the imperial nationalist anxiety and to consolidate the imperial enterprise. From their fictional constructions and non-fictional declarations, it can be concluded that both believe that the way to recapture their previous states of certainty and grandiose is to know the right way to deal with the colony, hard work, union of the empire's subject, and resort to barbarism.

1-Colonial Knowledge: A Decisive Factor of Empowerment

Ignorance and lack of knowledge constitutes a dangerous threatening factor in all man's steps of life. They lead to wrong decisions and disastrous results in some cases like wars and imperial expansions. Therefore, knowledge is constitutive element in the process of colonization and imperial spread. While colonization, historically speaking, is gradually becoming the implementation of a modern ideology based on the promotion of values such as civilization, progress, reason - values presented as universal at the time of the Enlightenment, it also implies an ambition of power that goes hand in hand with that of exhaustive knowledge of the other. As Michel Foucaults puts it "il n'y a pas de relations de pouvoir sans constitution corrélatrice d'un champ de savoir, ni de savoir qui ne suppose et ne constitue en même temps des relations de pouvoir."⁵ Accordingly, there is an intimate interconnectedness between power and knowledge since knowledge forms power and power necessarily requires knowledge.

Standing on Foucault's claim, Edward Said stresses the importance of knowledge in the creation of colonial hegemony as it is a source of power. Knowledge of the colonial subject means dominating and having authority over him. He writes that "knowledge of subject races

⁵ Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et Punir : naissance de la prison* (Paris : Gallimard, 1975), 36.

or Orientals is what makes their management easy and profitable. Knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control.”⁶ The knowledge, that Orientalists and colonialists produce about non-European peoples, gives colonial Europe the means to guarantee the enslavement of these peoples and subjugate them to the European will.

Said shows the mechanisms of making knowledge material authority which lashes the non-European peoples and robs them of the will to resist. Knowing the other, his race, character, culture, history, traditions, society, and possibilities, proved to be effective.⁷ Said argues that

Under the general heading of knowledge of the Orient, and within the umbrella of Western hegemony over the Orient during the period from the end of the eighteenth century, there emerged a complex Orient suitable for study in the academy, for display in the museum, for reconstruction in the colonial office, for theoretical illustration in anthropological, biological, linguistic, racial, and historical theses about mankind and the universe, for instances of economic and sociological theories of development, revolution, cultural personality, national or religious character. Additionally, the imaginative examination of things Oriental was based more or less exclusively upon a sovereign Western consciousness out of whose unchallenged centrality an Oriental world emerged, first according to general ideas about who or what was an Oriental, then according to a detailed logic governed not simply by empirical reality but by a battery of desires, repressions, investments, and projections.⁸

Said sees that the West defined the East as a subject for study whose static nature refutes any possible change in the Oriental character. The subject is described and diagnosed, through different sciences and disciplines, and thus given a strange nature which permits to be controlled by the West. In this way, the West gains more strength and clarity of identity by placing itself in opposition to the East.

Therefore, the two imperialist writers Bertrand and Kipling bluntly warn against ignorance. They try through their works to show the importance of knowledge and preparedness to keep the colonized under supervision and control as well as to expect, know, and control his action and reactions. Hence, they show their significance for the continuity of the imperial

⁶ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 36.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 07-08.

projects and the avoidance of decay and failure. A good imperial ruler should know every detail about the native in all aspects of his life: his beliefs, his religion, his fears, his frailties, his strength, and his limits. In this way, the colonial rule will be protected from any unexpected actions and reactions.

The Algerianist writer Bertrand proves to be one of the Orientalists who give a great importance to knowing the Orientals and their histories. He expresses in one of his articles that the French future would be crushed because of ignorance and incomprehension of the African lands and things. He insists on calling the colonists "African men" since he believes that they are the real sons of the land who should not lose consciousness of their origins. They should know that they were returning here to a lost province of Latinity. Consequently, it is necessary to investigate everything that has a relation to Africa and its inhabitants.⁹ As part of his project of knowing and controlling, Bertrand's non-fictional as well as fictional works can be read as historical investigations based on anthropology and primarily on archeology. They explore the Roman archeological sites and study their connotations in the aim of providing tools to gain control over Africa and mainly over Algeria.

Kipling also stresses the utility of knowledge as an essential tool of imperial power. He considers it indispensable in imposing the colonial hegemony over the colonized. For this reason, his characters Kim and Strickland are made as a knowing-all empire servant. In the tale "Miss Youghal's Sais" Strickland "holds the extraordinary theory that a Policeman in India should try to know as much about the natives as the natives themselves."¹⁰ This knowledge of the colonized's vernacular languages, their lands, their customs, their casts and their religions enables the characters to predict their actions and reactions as it facilitates manipulating them according to the British will.

⁹ Louis Bertrand, "Pour le centenaire de Flaubert : Discours à la nation Africaine," *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Vol. 6, No. 3 (Décembre 1921), 487.

¹⁰ Kipling, "Miss Youghal's Sais," *Plain Tales from the Hills* (New York: The Nottingham Society, 1909), 41.

Bertrand wants to show through *La Cina* the need to know the colony and its people for the sake of choosing the right method to deal with it. He provides two opposite models of settlers. The first one is Michel who is unable to comprehend the Algerian situation due to his ideals brought with him from France. Michel tries to apply them in Algeria without knowing the system and the lifestyle of the settlers in Algeria and without even being curious to know about it. He fails to distinguish between France as a metropolis and Algeria as a colony. Michel cannot recognize that his socialism and pro-Jewish position is against the interests of the French settlers and their command of the Algerian colonial society. If Michel creates a syndicate for the settler workers who are from different origins, he will put them on an equal footing with the French and will give them a chance to affect the French regulations of the economy. Such a chance can affect the higher position of the French settlers in the Algerian lands. For the Jews, Mrg Puig and Carmelo believe in their economic competencies and their ability to create a wealth and therefore dominate the economic sphere, the thing which can weaken the Catholics. For these reasons, Michel is rejected in Algeria.

In contrast to Michel, his friend Claude understands the situation and works to reinforce his position in Algeria. Because he can see the importance of being anti-Semite, he accepts to work with Carmelo and even tries to persuade Michel to accept Carmelo's plans of exploiting the Jews question to win the election. Claude is able to see the significance of Algeria in regenerating the French dormant energies and capacities. Thus, he chooses to settle in Algeria and be a French Algerian. Bertrand uses these two characters to display the importance of the psychological, intellectual preparedness for the success of the colonial schemes. The preparedness can be achieved through understanding and the comprehension of the colonial situation.

Emille Schirrer confirms to Claude that knowledge of the colony and the colonizer is a fundamental factor to control them. He explains to the new comer that he was able to subjugate

the Arabs and to use them. He expresses it in what follows:

Voyez-vous, il faut bien le comprendre ! Les Arabes savent admirablement se servir de nous. Ils acceptent le moins possible. Ce serait une erreur que les considérer comme des brutes. Certains prétendent qu'ils ne connaissent que la force, et qu'il faut les mener à l'anglaise, - à coups de trique et d'amendes ! Sans doute ! Mais ils ont aussi un sentiment très vif de la justice. C'est par là que je les tiens. J'ai parmi eux la réputation d'un homme juste.¹¹

Knowing the way the Arab thinks granted Schirrer the tool through which he could easily control him and avoid any kind of rebellion.

Like Bertrand, Kipling belongs to those who stress the instrumentality of information, gathering knowledge, and producing knowledge about the people to be ruled or colonized. Colonial expansion in the Victorian era refers to what comparator Mary Louise Pratt calls "[the] see man [...] whose imperial eyes look [ed] out and possess [ed]." This goal of maximum visibility is part of a broader goal of archiving information specific to the Victorian era and is directly linked to colonization as a modern project. According to Thomas Richards: "the Victorian archive appears as a prototype for a global system of domination through circulation, and apparatus for controlling territory by producing, distributing, and consuming information about it".¹² Accordingly, Kipling grants a critical role to Knowledge in the maintenance of the imperial rule in his stories.

"[N]o white man knows the land and the customs of the land as thou knowest," says the Lama to Kim. The latter's deep knowledge of India, its people, its traditions, customs, casts, and languages proves to be crucial for the manipulation of the Indian situation in the story. For this reason, C. A. Bayly considers Kipling's *Kim* as the best illustration of the utility and instrumentality of colonial knowledge.¹³ Knowledge grants him the ability to predict the natives' actions and reactions and, thus, to act properly. Kim throughout the whole tale is

¹¹ Bertrand, *La Cina* (Paris : société d'éditions littéraires et artistiques, 1901), 378.

¹² Richards Thomas, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (New York: Verso, 1993), 17.

¹³ C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 3.

gathering more information about India, its cultural and its geographical landscapes. As a result, he successfully discovers the Russian spies and stops the Russian plans in India.

By making Kim knowledgeable of the Indian society and granting him with the aforementioned faculties, Kipling does not intend only to bring into light the importance of the Irish in protecting India. He shows that the English lack such required elements to keep their over-seas colonies under the rule of the British Empire because of their pomp he speaks of in his “Recessional” and their ignorance of India and its people. He tries to call their attention to efficient action which falls under his “myth of indefatigable colonial administrator on whose shoulders the empire rested.” Instead of making his prime character English who is actually the “empire-bearer,” borrowing Kumar’s words, Kipling makes him Irish. In doing so, he expresses his dissatisfaction with the Anglo-Indian settlers conduct in India that needs to be changed.

Furthermore, in order to show the importance of being knowledgeable, active, and alert, Kipling resorts to an implied comparison between Kim and the Lama along their journey together. In putting that the Lama’s extreme spirituality and his idealistic thoughts about life cannot serve his quest of the River of Arrow, the author tries to make it clear that great ideas without hard work and efforts are useless. Such ideas cannot provide him either with food or with shelter and they cannot protect him in case of danger. It is obvious in the Lama’s continuous need for a servant, the reason behind his attachment to Kim. Without Kim’s Knowledge of India and its people’s casts, his ability of manipulation and persuasion, and his power of observation, the Lama can never reach the river.

In a similar way to Kim, the policeman Strickland personifies the chameleon-like character that knows and wants to know more about the Indian life. By means of this character, the writer emphasizes the utility of Knowledge about the natives. Therefore, he educated himself for seven years about the Indians. Kipling confirms,

Now, in the whole of Upper India, there is only one man who can pass for Hindu or Mohammedan, hide-dresser or priest, as he pleases. He is *feared and respected* by the natives from the Ghor Kathri to the Jamma Musjid; and he is supposed to have the *gift of invisibility and executive control* over many Devils.¹⁴

In the above extract the author demonstrates that the policeman's cultural and ethnological education about the colonized grants him supreme authority.

In "The Return of Imray," Strickland use his knowledge of the Indians to solve the riddle of Imray's (the government official's) disappearance. His acquaintance with the untrustworthy superstitious Indians allows him to discover Imray's murder and murderer. Strickland reveals to the reader that Bahadur Khan's belief in that the "Evil eye" of his master had caused his child's death is the reason behind the killing of the government officer. It is only through the policeman's tricky ways that the servant is pushed to confess his crime. It is deduced that the making up of Kipling's tale evinces his desire to convince the Anglo-India with the necessity of knowing the native's mindset in order for they can handle the difficulties and overcome the dangers they would make. It is ignorance which can destroy the imperial servants more than anything else since Imray and others like him are destroyed "simply and solely through not knowing the nature of the Oriental."¹⁵

Strickland offers the reader another instance in which grasping the locals' nature saves lives and offers the knowledgeable the faculties to manage difficult situations in the story entitled "The Mark of the Beast." It is thanks to him that Fleet is saved from death in the aftermath of spoiling the picture of the Monkey God Hanuman. While the doctor's diagnosis shows that Fleet's madness results from being affected with rubies, Strickland confirms that he is suffering from the leper priest's spell which was cast on him. The policeman's conclusion is made according to the background he has about the irrational religiosity of the native priests. He finally obliged the priest to lift the curse through torture since he knows it is the only way

¹⁴ Kipling, "Miss Youghal's Sais," 41. (Emphasis added)

¹⁵ Kipling, "The Return of Imray," *Life's Handicap* (New York: Doubleday and McClure, 1899), 321.

such “men/beasts” can understand.

More significantly, knowing the Oriental’s culture and land proves to be crucial in the colonial setting in “The Head of the District.” Tallantire’s familiarity with the Indians’ mentality and attitudes plays a significant role in preventing massacres in the district of Kot-Kumharsen. As his master Yardley-Orde advice the people under his protection after his death to ask him for help if needed: “There remains Tallantire Sahib. Go to him; he knows yor talk and your hear.”¹⁶ The familiarity enables Tallantire to predict the uprising of the Khusru Kheyli tribe against the appointment of the Bengali Grish Chunder Dé as the new Deputy commissioner regarding the fierce long-standing enmity between them. His expectations lead him to plan the right strategy to defeat the strong men of the tribe. He exploits Khoda Dad Khan greed and treacherous character to divide the tribe’s men into weak small groups. He eventually reset order in the district and prevents worst loss.

Kipling conveys through what happens to British against the Boer war in “A Sahib’s War” that knowledge of land as well as knowledge of the enemy is indispensable. He shows the reader that ignorance of the war’s rules and the employment of incapable or not ready agents result in disasters. He bitterly complains that in South Africa “the whole business was managed without forethought by new sahibs from God knows where, who had never seen a tent pitched or a peg driven. They were full of zeal, but empty of all knowledge.”¹⁷ Accordingly, Kipling affirms that aims cannot be attained by strong desires but by knowledge, preparation, and mobility.

“The Army of a Dream” depicts Kipling’s view of the military failure of the British in the Boer War. It reveals the importance of Knowledge and preparedness in the war. Kipling shapes his story as a utopian image of an army that can conquer the world. He suggests that the army should be professional and the soldiers should be trained very well. He considers that the

¹⁶ Kipling, “The Head of the District,” *Life’s Handicap*, 188.

¹⁷ Kipling, “A Sahib’s War,” *Traffics and Discoveries* (London: Macmillan, 1904), 38.

best way to have such an army and such soldiers is through two ways. The first way is to make everyone attending school in Britain introduced to the military domain through drill exercises. The second is the compulsory service for all able men and this is very useful in case the empire needs her men.

Scientific Knowledge and technologies also serve colonial extension. "The Bridge-Builders" refers to the construction of a bridge over the Ganges. The operation consists in a real domestication of the river: as the Indian character Peroo, indirect assistant of the Anglo-Indian engineer who directs the operations, says: "We have bitted and bridled her [the Ganga river]" The text summons within it the imaginary of violence against women, rape, in the colonial context. The terms "builders" and "bridge" in the title of the short story is an allusion to the bridge, symbol of the expansion of the colonial power of "builders," who are the Anglo-Indians, on Indian land. The bridge, like a metal arm, extends the body of the colonizing power and materially anchors the colonial power in the colonized territory.

In addition, the "rail way," an omnipresent element in Kipling's writings, is one of the other symbols of colonial influence in the author's short stories. The railway is redrawing and structuring India. More than a mark of technological modernity, the rail is an agent of the linear conquest of Indian space by the imperial power in the news of Kipling. The mesh of the Indian territories as it is evoked in the text refers to a desire for control and apprehension of the space that fully participates in the British colonial approach.

As shown before, colonial knowledge proves to be crucial in the maintenance of colonial control and spreading it. However, Knowledge alone is not enough. It needs to be implemented appropriately by the imperial agents who in the view of the writers lack effectiveness. From here, the next strategy proposed by the authors stands on the colonial subjects and the role they play in the imperial scene.

II – Colonial Subjects as Effective Imperial Players

Colonial subject, in this analysis, refers to all the people under the control of the colonial enterprise. It encapsulates both colonizer and colonized since, according to the writers, both have a role to perform. Bertrand and Kipling invest in the potentials the colonial subjects in order to guarantee imperial continuity and to enhance the power of the French and the British Empires. Both writers stress the importance of using all the capacities and potentials of all the people under the imperial rule of their leading nations.

For Bertrand, Algeria was more than a substitute “home.” It was “*la terre de résurrection*” of the French national pride. It was through this North African colony that France could keep her prestige and power, restore her lost lands, face German expansionism, and lead the world. He considers Algeria “*une école d’énergie et quelques fois d’héroïsme, de régénération physique, intellectuelle, nationale, et sociale.*”¹⁸ From this school, Bertrand wanted to launch his project to pull out his nation from its deteriorating conditions basing it on the idea of “Latinity.” He proposed the resurgence of the Roman Empire in North Africa through the creation of a Catholic Latin Empire that unifies all the European settlers under the French leadership. He believed in the ability of the energetic settler community to return his visions into a lived reality.

In *La Cina*, Mgr Puig embodies all of the writer’s thoughts and ambitions. He overtly heralds his intentions in unifying the Catholics of the Latin race not only in Algeria but in the entire world in order to restore France’s principle of authority and her plundered glory. Mgr Puig declares: « Je rêve l’union catholique des races latines non seulement dans ce pays [l’Algérie], mais dans tout ce continent, dans les deux hémisphères, dans le monde entier! »¹⁹ To do so, he relies on the “*peuple neuf*” or the Latins of North Africa. However, the settlers’ different identities and divergent belongings and allegiances put Bertrand’s project in front of

¹⁸ Bertrand, “Préface,” *Les Villes d’or*, 10.

¹⁹ Bertrand, *La Cina* (Paris : société d’éditions littéraires et artistiques, 1901), 263.

a serious challenge. Even though the whole of North Africa was under the French colonial rule, the French settlers were a minority in comparison to other European settlers from Spain, Italy, Malta, ..., etc. Being so could result in the loss of the French hegemony in the area which could worsen France's deterioration (knowing that during that period France entered a serious state of decadence). More, Bertrand believed that most of the French settlers were in a deep state of inertia and he could not rely on them contrary to other settlers who were active and laborious.

Bertrand's strong reliance on the European settlers is grounded on the specific racial traits that characterize them. The exchange of the different characteristics in the settler society is among the main guaranties of Latin regeneration. He expresses his faith; "Ces peuples asservis, qui se retrouvent ardemment vers leurs traditions glorieuses, se donnent, dès aujourd'hui, les vertus nécessaires pour les faire revivre."²⁰ Due to the role played by these southerners, Bertrand tirelessly strives to unify them.

For example, Bertrand admires Italians for their robustness, their hard work and their resignation. The following passage proves the point:

Dès cette époque, ils formaient, dans la ville et dans ses faubourgs, une population énorme, – plus du tiers de la population totale, à ce que m'assuraient des personnages officiels. (...) Malgré leur nombre, ils étaient tolérés par les indigènes et fort appréciés des patrons, à cause de leur endurance de robustes travailleurs, de leur sobriété, de la modicité des salaires dont ils se contentaient. Ils acceptaient les plus dangereuses besognes pour des salaires de famine. Ces travailleurs m'intéressaient extrêmement et m'inspiraient, en général, une véritable estime.²¹

It appears from the above excerpt that Bertrand sees in the Italians many traits that back up the French settling projects in Algeria. They show great capacities and incomparable harshness in the hardest conditions. In addition, he glorifies the Spanish endurance, physical strength, bravery, and determination

Aware of the settlers' heterogeneity that represents a problem that the French government tried to solve through laws of naturalization and frenchification, the Archbishop

²⁰ Bertrand, *Le Sens de l'ennemi* (Paris: Arthème Fayard, 1917), 281.

²¹ Bertrand, *Mes années d'apprentissage* (Paris: Fayard, 1938), 237.

Puig, the epitomizer of Bertrand's thought, comments,

croyez- vous que ce pays, lorsque les ongles lui auront poussé, se laissera si facilement sacrifier à la France. S'il n'y avait que des Français ici, encore passe ! Mais vous savez que nous sommes en minorité. Le gros de la population est espagnol ou italien. Pensez-vous que ces gens-là s'empresseront de devenir Français pour nous faire plaisir ? Et puis enfin on ne s'improvise pas une patrie du jour au lendemain. Comme je vous le disais tout à l'heure, ils seront Africains, Algériens, tout ce que vous voudrez, mais Français jamais ! ...²²

The quote illustrates the author's conviction that the settlers' loyalty could not be easily oriented to France by the mere law of frenchification that was set at that period.

Therefore, Bertrand aims at bringing this heterogeneous settler society together by means of creating a "collective identity," Which according to Alberto Melucci can be defined as

An interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals (or groups at a more complex level) and concerned with the orientations of actions and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the action takes place.²³

So, collective identity consists of common belonging, interests, ends that tie individuals to the same group and differentiate them from other groups. For him, the concept is never static, but dynamic and considers it as a process. Such a process involves three aspects: cognitive definitions, interactive relationships, and emotional investments.²⁴ He means by the first the sum of the group members' understanding of their situation, their goals, and the means by which they can be achieved. Interactive relationships stand for the shared experiences of the individuals and their involvement with each other. The last aspect refers to the emotional side in the formation of a collectivity like senses of belonging, hatred, and shock.

Throughout the reading of his texts, it is noticed that Bertrand heavily invests on the three aspects of the settler society to bring it all together and blur the various divergencies among it. He makes use of the fact that all the settlers are of the same race; regardless of their

²² Bertrand, *La Cina*, 261.

²³ Alberto Melucci, "The Process of Collective Identity," *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 70.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 70-71.

origins, they all have the same goal to install in Algeria. They have common history under the Roman empire; they are all of the same religion and they all see in Muslims their enemy. He lays it bare when he declares,

Je voyais en Algérie des Italiens, des Espagnols, des Français manifester des énergies inconnues de leur détracteur. *La présence d'un ennemi commun, le croisement des races, l'échange des qualités spécifiques entre ces Méridionaux d'origine diverse*, tout cela contribuait à former un peuple neuf, actif, entreprenant, indemne de nos tares de vieux civilisés, - qui m'apparut tout de suite et que je considère encore comme le prototype de ce que doit être un jour la *Latinité unie et régénérée*.²⁵

For him, the emphasis on these factors is the only way towards the realization of his vision epitomized in the return of the French grandeur.

Bertrand starts with what he calls "Latin Africa." The issue of Algeria's Latinity fostered by the author is the aspect that has received most critical attention in his works. Critics like Peter Dunwoodie and Seth Graebner stress its importance in justifying the French conquest and forging the new people that would be the masters of Algeria. They also emphasize the role of Roman ruins in promoting the author's ideas.²⁶ Latinity is considered as an essential factor that ties the settlers to the land and enhances their implantation in it. This is very obvious in the way the French and other European *nouveaux débarqués* like Claude Gelée, Carmelo, Ramôn, at Cinto come to the conclusion that they are not strangers in the new land. After visiting Tipaza, the two friends Michel and Claude recognize that the presence of the French in Algeria is but to get back a heritage of their ancestors.²⁷

In addition, Latinity is a vital element to homogenize the settler society. Because the idea is instilled in their minds, the settlers embrace an Algerian identity and give up what ties them to their European countries. *La Cina* encompasses different instances of such strong attachment to the Algerian land. When Michel asks one of them whether he is Spanish, his

²⁵ Bertrand, *Le Sens de l'ennemi*, 20.

²⁶ Peter Dunwoodie, *Writing French Algeria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 99-101. And Seth Graebner, *History's Place: Nostalgia and the City in French Algerian Literature* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007), 27- 38.

²⁷ Bertrand, *La Cina*, 53.

answer was that he is Algerian. Mr. Masqueray comments on his response confirming that all of them want neither to be Spanish nor French; they regard themselves the true Algerians. Rafael on his part says, “nous sommes Algériens.”²⁸ Another example is the Norman Jules whose answer to Claude’s question about whether he regrets leaving Normandy is “Vive l’Algérie.”²⁹ He sees in this African land the true country where he wants to live.

The Schirrers family is another instance, Mme Schirrerr describes her daughter Berthe as “une véritable Algérienne.”³⁰ Berthe confirms: “je suis Française, moi! Mais j’aime mieux mon pays.” In saying so, Berthe accentuates her Algerianity without denying her Frenchness. She explains her allegiances to France and simultaneously her profound belonging to Algeria. The case of the Schirrers daughter constitutes a direct allusion to Bertrand’s claims that Algeria is French since he confirms that there is no contradiction in being Algerian and French at the same time.

Le Sang des races is another novel in which the writer depicts how the settler like Spanish Rafael and his friends from other nationalities behave as being the true owners of the Land. The narrator firmly states that “Ils s’y étaient établis comme chez eux ; ils y’avaient retrouvé leurs pays.”³¹ Throughout the whole novel, the reader notices how the settlers have established themselves in all cities and streets. He sees through the narrator’s realistic depiction of the scenes in Bab-el-Oued. The settlers are hardly working for supporting their families and they are rebuilding the land to be their eternal one. Many instances show the attachment of the settlers to Algeria. Another example that fully illustrates the sense of belonging is Rafael’s feelings of detachment from his mother country, and alienation from his relatives there.

Moreover, Bertrand’s characters renounce their original nationalities and adopt the French nationality. They choose to be *Néo-Français*, and to live in Algeria. Rafael, for instance,

²⁸ Bertrand, *La Cina*, 60.

²⁹ Ibid., 402.

³⁰ Ibid., 390.

³¹ Bertrand, *Le Sang des races*, 3.

declares his Frenchness “je suis plus **Français** que vous,”³² to the old man who blamed him for his calm while the crowd were chouting “vive la France”. Another example is the wife of Rafael’s friend Cecco. Bertrand writes,

Tiens, dit Cecco, voilà ma nouvelle bourgeoise, c'est une race d'Espagnole une mangeuse de cacahouètes de ton espèce... La petite femme se redressa comme une couleuvre et, d'une voix sifflante, elle traita Cecco de « tête carrée d'Italien » ; puis, se retournant vers Rafaël, elle lui dit en mauvais castillan : — Moi, je suis Sévillane !... Oui, de Séville !... Un autre pays que le sien !... Et puis, de quoi est-ce qu'il se mêle ? Moi, *je suis plus Française que lui*, cette espèce de Calabrais ! *Mon père était Français* ; j'ai mon acte de baptême, moi !³³

The excerpt shows how settlers from different roots and generation after generation adopt the French nationality which they became proud of. The new adopted nationality becomes an integral part of their identities which accepts no negotiation.

Bertrand stresses the common racial origin of the southern European countries. In the same way, he uses their religious faith that goes hand in hand with their Latinity. He brings forth Catholicism as a strategic mechanism in achieving his plans because as P. C. Manuel and M. M. Mott affirm, “[f]or more than a thousand years, Latin Europe, which includes the nation-states of France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, has shared a common Christian and Roman Catholic faith.”³⁴ Manuel and Mott claim that religion promotes “social corporatism” and represents a “collective memory,” one of the two principles of nation building in Ernest Renan’s view. More importantly, willing to form an extended religious nation or empire, Mgr Puig saves no effort to restore the Catholic traditions in North Africa that according to Saint Laurent go back eighteen centuries in the area’s history.³⁵ The latter puts it in the following words:

Nous autres catholiques, nous avons en ce pays de glorieuses traditions à continuer. Nos titres de noblesse remontent à près de dix-huit cents ans ! . . . Ainsi, cette petite ville

³² Bertrand, *Le Sang des races*, 268.

³³ Ibid., 162-163.

³⁴ Paul Christopher Manuel and Margret MacLeish Mott, “The Latin European Church: Une Messe est possible,” *The Catholic Church and the Nation-State: Comparative Perspective*, eds., Paul Christopher Manuel, Lawrence C. Reardon, and Clyde Wilcox (Washington D. C: Georgetown University Press, 2006), 53.

³⁵ Bertrand, *La Cina*, 53.

devrait être le centre religieux du diocèse, puisqu'elle lui donna sa première martyre, — cette Salsa dont vous voyez là-bas la basilique encore debout...³⁶

The Archbishop believes in the outstanding value of Catholicism to the extent to which he assures that the new North African people will be Catholic or will never be.³⁷ Thus, he tirelessly works to revive the basilica of Saint Salsa and make of it a site of pilgrimage for all the Catholics.

Michel is the candidate for the election along with Carmelo –the Archbishop's man– and the owner of the land where the basilica is situated. Due to the fact that he opposes Puig's plans and policies and refuses to sell his land for the church, the curate leads to his failure in the election. Through announcing that Michel is not a devout Catholic, the settlers come against him. Thus, this example shows the strong attachment of the settler electors to Catholicism. In his reading of Bertrand's works, Rabah Belamri claims that

L'archevêque Puig ne ressemble en rien à un homme de religion ; c'est un homme d'affaire qui agit dans l'ombre, prêt à toutes les combines et prompt à exploiter les occasions et les faiblesses de ses adversaires. [...] Homme sans scrupules, il ne lésine jamais sur les moyens de parvenir à ses fins. Pour étendre les possessions de l'église sans éveiller l'attention du fixe, il utilise la voie de la prévarication.³⁸

In contrast to Belamri's view, Mgr Puig is an epitome of the Roman Catholic priest of the middle Ages and he himself declares this.³⁹ Those characteristics as pragmatism, repression, economic and political involvement, which according to Belamri negates the religiosity of the Archbishop, are what make of him a man of the Roman Catholic Church. It is well known that the latter has always been famous for its repressive and authoritative nature. It has been involved in all fields of life social, economic, and political-and even kings submit to its rules.

In his pursuit to centralize the control over all aspects of the North African settler's life in the church under his authority, the archbishop Puig resembles the French King Louis XIV

³⁶ Bertrand, *La Cina*.

³⁷ Ibid, 263.

³⁸ Rabah Belamri, *L'œuvre de Louis Bertrand : Miroir de L'idéologie colonialiste* (Algiers : OPU, 1980), 185.

³⁹ Bertrand, *La Cina*, 430.

who adopted an absolutist rule. Louis XIV⁴⁰, who appointed himself on the head of the Gallican Church and led the French nation to be “the richest and most powerful kingdom in the world,”⁴¹ is for Bertrand the most influential and successful king.⁴² Therefore, the way the character of Mgr Puig is made up discloses the writer’s nostalgia for France’s glory that was made under an authoritarian model of the church-state relations and that started to fade out with the secular anticlerical model. At this point, it is remarkable that Bertrand’s will to revive the lost French Empire is an expression of his imperial nationalist ideologies.

The French secular anticlerical model was the outcome of the French Revolution 1789 and the rise of the First French Republic 1792. It excluded the church from politics and caused the appearance of the liberal, socialist, and democratic ideals which spread among people because of the system of education.⁴³ The latter is the first agent of decadence according to Bertrand⁴⁴ and many other intellectuals. Swart writes,

The most pessimistic interpretation of the political and cultural development of modern France is encountered in the writings of the traditionalists, who looked nostalgically back to the old French monarchy as the best of all forms of government. To them the outbreak of the Revolution of 1789 was a horrible crime against humanity as well as the divine order. [...] These writers were also known as the “théocrates,” because they believed that no political order could last without the recognition of an ultimate spiritual authority as embodied in medieval papacy.⁴⁵

On this account, Mgr Puig and Carmelo oppose Michel who does not accept to renounce his republican principles and acts against the will of the divine authority (according to Mgr Puig’s view). Mgr Puig stands for Bertrand's belief in the absolute Catholic Church authority and denunciation of the modern laicity.

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⁴¹ Maurice Ashley, *Louis XIV and the Greatness of France* (New York: The Free Press, 1965), 82.

⁴² Stephen Wilson, “The Action Française, 345.

⁴³ Manuel and Mott, “The Latin European Church,” 56.

⁴⁴ Bertrand, *La Cina*, 17.

⁴⁵ Koenraad W. Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France* (Netherlands: Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht, 1964), 49-50.

Another common point between the Archbishop and Louis XIV is their conviction that to avoid any risk to their rule, the eradication of the non-Catholics is indispensable. Louis XIV fought all sorts of heresies like Protestantism and worked to maintain a religious conformity among his subjects to consolidate the unity of his nation.⁴⁶ Likewise, Mgr Puig, as mentioned before, relies on the common Catholic faith of the settlers. He uses their religious consensus to arouse their hatred towards non-Catholics. He states it : “Je voudrais former un seul bloc de toutes ces populations qui nous arrivent de France, d’Espagne, d’Italie, [...] Dès maintenant leur haine contre l’Arabe et le Juif m’en donne l’assurance.”⁴⁷ The statement outlines the way the Archbishop wants to strengthen the ties between the settlers through a collective enmity. Mgr Puig is cognizant that the Muslims are an imminent danger which jeopardizes his political agendas in the area and the Jews threaten his economic plans. Consequently, he calls for the elimination of Islam and Judaism.

Unlike Bertrand, Kipling did not aim at founding a nation from the British settlers (English, Australians, Irish...), as he did not exclude the indigenous peoples (Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims) from his plans. Kipling was convinced that, for the benefit of the whole Empire, the imperial rulers should make use of all the colonial subjects and benefit from their capacities and potentials to the fullest. He believed that this would lead to self-empowerment and to effectively face any possible danger from other world powers. Kipling, in fact, envisioned the creation of a gigantic continental army which cannot be defeated. “The Sahib’s War” conveys the author’s support for the involvement of the Empire’s white subject in the Boer War and his dissatisfaction with the exclusion of the non-white from it.

Kipling praises the Australians and their involvement in the war, portraying them in the short story as competent fighters and skilled soldiers. He does so through Umr Singh’s approval of their performance in the war. Umr Singh, as an eye-witness of many incidents during his

⁴⁶ Ashley, Ashley, *Louis XIV*, 82.

⁴⁷ Bertrand, *La Cina*, 262-263.

presence in the Battle Field, admits that the Australians are “a new brand of Sahib” who are “most excellent horsemen, hot and angry, waging war as war, and drinking tea as as and hill drinks water.”⁴⁸ He even considers that they are even better than the English in the South African front. He says, “the *DurroMuts* did well. They dealt faithfully with all that country [...] they were not altogether fools [like the effeminate English soldiers].”⁴⁹ Kipling through his mouthpiece Singh seems to allude to the preoccupation of the English with less important issues like racial superiority among its subjects rather than giving a priority to winning the war.⁵⁰

“A Sahib’s War” is not the only work that summons the engagement of all the British Empire’s subjects in its affairs. Kipling is known for the employment of non-English protagonists and granting them heroic characteristics, the thing which is the outgrowth of his conviction that, with the enlargement of the empire, the English alone cannot hold it. James Parsoon’s and Robert R. Watson disclose such a view in their interpretation of Kipling’s line “You will find yourself a partner in the glory of the garden” from his poem “The Glory of the Garden”.⁵¹ They read it as an allusion to the need for a collaborator in the control of the extending empire. Kipling finds in the white empire subjects like the Australians and the Irish the partners with whom the English people share the imperial mission, however, from a subject position. He is assiduous to assuring the English mastery which is evident in putting them under the English command.

The same point appears in “A Sahib’s War” where Kipling expresses his satisfaction with the engagement of the Empire’s European subjects. He simultaneously conveys his exasperation with the proscription of the Asian and African subjects from the Empire’s war

⁴⁸Kipling, “The Sahib’s War,” 40

⁴⁹Ibid., 41.

⁵⁰According to Benita Parry’s claim, in her book *Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique*, that Kipling uses the Indians, who comply with the British Empire, as mouthpieces through whom he expresses his ideas. Therefore, in this case, Umr Singh is a representative of the writer’s thoughts.

⁵¹James Parsoon and Robert R. Watson, *Encyclopedia of British Poetry: 1900 to the Present* (New York: Facts on File, 2013).

against the Boers. Singh laments that: “there is but one fault in this war, that is that the Government have not employed *us*, but have made it altogether a sahib’s war.”⁵² The writer wants to show how the use of the Indians can give a considerable back up to the British Army. The Indians are acquainted with hardship and difficult conditions since they made part of various wars and skirmishes in the Indian frontiers. For instance, he argues that loyal people like Singh, whose experience and knowledge is estimable in war techniques due to the various wars they participated in, must be exploited to the fullest. Kipling sees that what matters is crushing the enemies and gaining the war over them, not such racial issues as that the war is between white peoples. The importance of the Indians manifests itself when Singh discovered the Boers’ plot because of which Kurban Sahib lost his life and initiates along with Sikander Khan the taking of revenge for the killing of his master.

Another manifestation of Kipling’s faith in the need for unifying all the British subjects for the empowerment of the Empire is expressed in his novel *Kim*. The novel demonstrates the utility of the well and organized employment of their capacities. Kim is the first character that represents the writer’s reasoning. The appeal to an Irish boy as the protagonist stems from the writer’s belief that, with the enlargement of the empire, the English is unable to hold it all alone. James Parsoon’s and Robert R. Watson corroborate this view in interpreting Kipling’s line “you will find yourself a partner in the glory of the garden” from his poem “The Glory of the Garden” an allusion to the need for a collaborator in the control of the growing Empire.⁵³ Kipling finds in the Irishman the partner with whom the English people share the imperial mission, however, from a subject position. He is assiduous to assuring the English mastery which is evident in putting Kim under the English Colonel Creighton’s command and providing him with an English education.

⁵² Kipling, “The Sahib’s War,” 38.

⁵³ Parsoon and Watson, *Encyclopedia of British Poetry*.

The Irishness of Kim is the result of Kipling's belief in the importance of the Irishman in supporting the British imperial rule due to the various faculties he is granted with mainly courage and impulsiveness. Edmund Wilson writes that "[s]o long as the Irish is loyal to England, Kipling shows the liveliest appreciation of Irish recklessness and the Irish mischief."⁵⁴ *Kim* calls for the efficient exploitation of such manly characteristics to avoid the British downfall. Kipling relies on Kim's cleverness, love of adventure, disguise skills, courage, energy, and initiative to thwart the Russian plans in India. Without Kim's skills, neither Mahboub Ali's message reaches Colonel Creighton, nor his life is saved, nor the Russian agents' plans are hindered. Even though Kim's aptitude for observation and action is not the only factor that leads to preventing the Russians from achieving their aims, it plays a pivotal role in doing so.

Furthermore, with regard to the fact that the novel was written during the second Boer War in which the Irish took part in both fighting parts, it can be read as an encouragement to the Irish to join the English armies, and a celebration of those who did it. Richard J. Kelly comments on the Queen Victoria's visit to Ireland during the Second Boer War insisting that

The Irish contribution to the British Boer War effort, at a time when Britain was increasingly unpopular internationally, led the English to have a more increasingly positive view of the Irish. This newly acquired good will was also reiterated by Queen Victoria; in fact, she deliberately embarked on a campaign of dynamism in order to boost her army's morale and resolve, which culminated in her final visit to Ireland (4–26 April 1900); she wanted to show in person her sincere indebtedness to the Irish military contribution.⁵⁵

Kelly shows that The Queen's visit to Ireland is an expression of indebtedness to the Irish efforts in The Boer War. Similarly, the Irishness of Kipling's hero can be construed as a token of his gratitude to Irish soldiers who contributed in the war which he witnessed. Kipling shows that to work for the benefit of the Empire is both beneficial for the English (it has been previously

⁵⁴ Edmund Wilson, "The Kipling that Nobody Read It," *The Wound and the Bow: Seven Studies in Literature* (Cambridge: The Riverside, 1941), 142.

⁵⁵ Richard J. Kelly, "The Second Boer War (1898-1902): Context of Queen Victoria's Final Visit to Ireland in 1900," *Studies in Victorian Culture* (Nov.2012), 3-4.

discussed) as well as for the Irish. Kim says that joining the Mavericks allows him to “raise [...] to honour,”⁵⁶ the honor of belonging to the English masters, as he can gain money.

Kim’s hybridity (simultaneously colonizer and colonized) as Tim Watson claims serves two main aims; the first is its role in defending the empire he belongs to, and the second is the containment of the Irish unrests.⁵⁷ The representation of the Irish as a loyal agent of the English army is a negation of any disorder or any disturbance. Kipling attempts to create an imaginary portrait of the Anglo-Irish relations that contributes through what Edward Said calls “Textual Authority” to generate a belief among the Irish that serving the British Empire worldwide is part of the order of things. Philip Wegner calls the situation of stability of the empire’s subject formulated in Kim “the utopian reconstruction of increasingly restive Irish populace.”⁵⁸ He tries to present the British imperial hegemony as facing no problems with the arising problems in Ireland whose people revolt against Britain for claiming Self-rule.

In addition to the Irish, Kipling uses Huree Babu, the educated native, and the old men who fought in the Mutiny as agents working for the British gain. These characters’ conformity to colonial presence indicates the necessity of the Indians’ assistance in the entrenchment of the British in India. Through representing Babu’s hard efforts in gathering information for the British Indian Government and the old soldier’s opposition to the uprising which he describes as “plague” and “madness,” the writer emphasizes that interpellating –in Althusser’s terms, the Indians as loyal subjects makes them defenders of the empire. The interpellation is accomplished by showing the benevolence of the empire and the advantages of supporting it. Owing to his fighting with the British, the old man made a fortune and gained a high social position in his village.

⁵⁶ Kipling, *Kim* (New York: Doubleday page & company, 1912), 111.

⁵⁷ Tim Watson, “Indian and Irish Unrest in Kipling’s Kim,” *Postcolonial Theory and Criticism: Essays and studies*, eds., Laura Chrisman and Benita Parry (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2000), 110.

⁵⁸ Philip E. Wegner, “‘Life as He Would Have It’: The Invention of India in Kipling’s Kim,” *Cultural Critique*, No.26 (Winter 1993-1994), 155.

Mahboub Ali is another key character in Kipling's imperial nationalist ideology and the Anglo-Russian conflict because Afghanistan is the way through which the Russians can get a foothold in India. By getting the alliance of Afghan people as Mahboub Ali, who works for the British Indian Secret Agent Service, Russia is kept away from India. Kipling wants to diffuse the idea that British India is safe and the Russians do not represent a real threat. He alludes to that such disturbances are nothing more than the previous obstacles such as the Mutiny and which can be easily overcome.

For Kipling, the empire should benefit from all colonial subjects regardless to their origins. The integrity of the British Empire is prior to any other considerations. Whether Indian, Irish, English or something else, they should be exploited to the fullest for the consolidation of the British imperial continuity in Asia. At this point, Kipling is different from Bertrand who excludes the Algerians from his imperial vision. Their divergence of point of view stems from the fact that, on the one hand, Bertrand does not trust the Algerians and on the other he wants to get rid of them since they are outsiders and obstacles for further settlements. In contrast, Kipling and the British Empire as a whole want to reassure their presence in the colonies as protectors and civilizers rather than being the owners.

In addition, the continuity of the French and the British empires, in the view of the two authors, rests not only on knowledge and union of the subjects. It needs a sort of barbarism and violence to impose its laws and rules. As Ann L. Stoler puts it, "fears of the unseen and unknowable" that disturb empires' security exalt the "violences of imperial control" as one of the main tools of reducing anxiety about this security.⁵⁹ The next section shows how the writers perceive their imperial situation in relation to "Barbarism".

⁵⁹ Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), xxv.

III - Barbarism as a Rejuvenating Atavism:

Bertrand and Kipling see that over-civilization led the French and the British empires to a state of lethargy which can result in their collapse. For this reason, they consider “barbarism” as a strategic restorative technique for civilization. At this level one can question how civilization which is primarily antagonistic to barbaric conduct and whose aim is the eradication of it can be restored through “Barbarism.” Therefore, this subsection aims to answer the questions through the conceptualization of the notion and its different uses in general and mainly for the writers. Despite the fact that both writers believe in the positive colonial impact of “Barbarism,” their perception of the concept is different and far from being the same. Each writer perceives this notion according to his convictions and aspirations.

“Barbarism” is a concept that has various connotations, the thing which let Maria Boletsi say that this noun is countable.⁶⁰ In other words, she means that there are various barbarisms. Despite the fact that the concept is usually associated with inhuman behavior, degradation, and savagery, it cannot be restricted to these connotations. Boletsi contends that, according to the Greek origin of the word, barbarism implies, “unintelligibility, lack of understanding, and mis- or non-communication.”⁶¹ She explains that the barbarians are those who cannot be understood. Besides, it describes the inability of living in a social harmony and disrespectability of the social laws. In short, it is the opposite of civilization.

Putting it in an imperial context and within the frame of this study, barbarism stands for a sole aim, a shared background, and two meanings. The aim of the two writers, as they believed, was to restore the lost power of their Empires by the way of going a step back to less civilized stages. Both Bertrand and Kipling were convinced of the inability of their respective Empires to face the new challenges by means of the modern refined policies of their civilizations. While Bertrand considered “barbarism” as the recovery of the vitality and

⁶⁰ Maria Boletsi, *Barbarism and its Discontents* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 5.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

masculinity of the Latin man by learning how to face hard conditions, Kipling regarded that the only way to get out of difficult circumstances is to lessen the imperial agents' sentimentality and humanitarianism and to espouse more violent techniques.

Louis Bertrand had always been fascinated by the force of the Roman Empire and the characteristics of its subjects. He glorifies the Roman man whose power and ability to conquer and control the world which resides in his "barbaric" attitudes. Thus, Bertrand's imperial schemes did not stop at the collective level; he also targeted the settler as an individual. He insists on the *colon*'s need to imitate the indigenous to defeat them.⁶² He wanted them to "go native," within the frame of what Bertrand calls "se barbariser." He wants to push the settler to withdraw from the delicate civilized theories of the time since it spoils his masculinity and lessen his chances in recreating his lost glories. He wants them to go a step back to more firm and fruitful philosophies in older stages of the human civilization which were still alive in Algeria at his time.

In *Le Sens de l'ennemi*, Bertrand explains: "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."⁶³ He means that the settler should adapt to the hard conditions of Algeria and should adopt the natives' traits. In the long term, frequent contact with the Algerian population brings about a perpetual and salutary lesson of psychology for the utopian civilized. On this principle, he wants to study how "les caractères s'affirment avec une vigueur souvent extrême sous l'action d'un climat prodigieusement instable et violent."⁶⁴ The writer wants to refashion the French empire servant and rehabilitate him. In a letter to his friend Joachim Gasquet, Bertrand explains his idea of the "barbarian" and its utility. He writes,

⁶²Bertrand, *La Cina*, 263.

⁶³ Bertrand, *Le Sens de l'ennemi*, 22.

⁶⁴ Bertrand, *Les Villes d'Or*, 9-10.

You have already treated me as a barbarian. But it is true! And I am proud. I am a barbarian, an intoxicated cosmopolitan, especially since I have seen the void that is your cities and fatherlands! Furthermore, I am convinced that it is barbarism that will bring back the Old World. The colonial wars are bringing it forth. On the eve of the invasions, it is better to be with the conquering hordes than with the sophists who dissertate on the best form of government, or the patriotic rhetoricians with their speeches in the Senate...⁶⁵

The passage clarifies the fact that to be a barbarian is a pride since barbarism means the only way to restore the glory of France. For him, it rests on the freshness of the character that is not affected by the new world's illness. It rests on palpable initiatives rather than sterile abstractions of decadent theorists. He sees that hard work, effective action, and toughness are imperative to the total and efficient control of Algeria and to revive the grandeur of France.

For Bertrand, Algeria is the barbarian site and the crucible in which the degenerated French can be rejuvenated. The following excerpt shows that for him Algeria is

Comme une école —école d'énergie et quelque fois d'héroïsme, de régénération physique, intellectuelle, nationale et sociale. Dans une société bourgeoise comme la [française], sans cesse menacé de ramollissement par excès de bien être où de sentimentalité humanitaire, il est bon d'avoir à sa porte une zone de vie rude, et souvent troublé où l'on apprend le sens de *barbare*, et de l'ennemi. Le voisinage d'une humanité rudimentaire, sauvage, violente, difficile à pénétrer, est une perpétuelle et salutaire leçon de psychologie pour le civilisé utopique et surtout pour le français qui, invinciblement, se figure d'après lui-même le reste de l'univers.⁶⁶

The passage highlights the writer's persuasion that the sterile utopian lifestyle adopted by the French and its consequences can be changed only through direct confrontation with hard conditions and impenetrable people like the Algerians. The confrontation is only that can bring out the innate and abandoned traits of their ancestors who are still carved in the personality of the Latins like the Spanish, Italians and even the Berbers of Algeria.

In *Le Rival de Don Juan*, a conversation between Michel and his friend Jean demonstrates how the experience of Michel in Algeria convinces him of the value of living with

⁶⁵ Letter to Gasquet, Bertrand, *Terre de resurrection*, quoted in Christopher Alexander MacKenzie Churchill, *Neo-Traditionalist Fantasies: Colonialism, Modernism and Fascism in Greater France 1870-1962* (Ontario: Queen's University Kingston, 2010), 229.

⁶⁶Bertrand, *Les Villes d'Or*, 10.

the Algerian settlers. Despite his failure to benefit from the chance of being in that barbarian land, he admits its impact on its inhabitants. The following extract illustrates the impact of the contact on the settler's mind:

- (Michel) Pour comprendre une telle sénilité, il faut comme moi, arriver d'un pays jeune et vigoureux, ou la plante humaine se déploie en toute énergie et en toute liberté. A la seule assurance de son regard, on reconnaît dans l'Algérien le mâle et de conquérant. Le Français est un émasculé, un être décrépît et voué à la mort prochaine.
- (Jean) Ah ! ces vieilles races laborieuses et dures, sensuelles et fécondes, qui montent la garde aux frontières, elles sont indéracinables ! Rien n'a valu pour elles comme d'être froissées par les gens du dehors. Elles y ont acquis un ressort, une force de résistance, une émulation d'activité !...
- (Michel) Oh ! je t'arrête ici ! Ton idée est la mienne ! Elle m'est venue si souvent là-bas, en Algérie, quand je voyais ce que le Français est devenu au contact de l'Arabe, de l'Italien, de l'Espagnole, du Maltais ! Opposer les races est la seule façon de les régénérer.
- [...] (Jean) Ton Algérie est là pour prouver que le remède est possible ! Claude et toi, vous avez raison ! autant que vous, je crois à l'avenir de ce pays. Je suis convaincu que c'est dans cette Afrique du Nord que la France se retrempera ! Ce sont les Néo-Latins qui nous sauveront !⁶⁷

It can be understood that all of Michel, Claude, and Jean agree that Algeria and its settlers are the rescuer of the French dignity. More importantly, Jean's agreement indicates that the idea started to expand among even the French who had never visited Algeria. The latter reflects Bertrand's hope in spreading his ideas not only among the settler community, but also to influence the metropolitans.

Bertrand further clarifies his imperial idea and gives a detailed list of the traits he aspires the French would adopt. He writes,

Dans des pays où les existences sont souvent menacées, où les conditions n'en sont pas les mêmes que chez nous, il est trop explicable qu'on ait, à un haut degré, le sens de l'ennemi. Nos Algériens ont ce sens-là, et aussi, l'instinct et l'orgueil de la conquête, le désir d'un perpétuel en avant l'amour de la vie rude, intense et féconde, - féconde d'abord au sens strict : il faut avoir beaucoup d'enfants pour faire tête à l'ennemi et résister au flot prolifique du barbare. [...] Enfin savoir se débrouiller user tantôt de la force et tantôt de la ruse : ils apprécient extrêmement ces qualités de souplesse et d'énergie, et ils savent les louer ou les maîtres en lumière dans leurs

⁶⁷ Bertrand, *Le Rival de Don Juan* (Paris: Société d'éditions littéraires et artistiques, 1903), 277-278.

personnages. Ils ont une morale de maître et de conquérants, ou tout simplement de colons, de défricheurs, de mercantis, ou d'entrepreneurs coloniaux.⁶⁸

The writer credits the Neo-Latins or in his words the "Algerians" with valuable qualities that enable them to face the barbarians menacing their existence. These Algerians have the spirit of leadership and conquest. They master their potentials and know how to employ their efforts to get to their ends either by force or by a ruse. The author's conception is represented in the way he developed some of his characters as well as the evolution they come through. Carmelo, Emille Schirrer, Claude are examples of figures whose contact with the native leads to their regeneration.

For his part, the Maltese Carmelo Xuereb typifies the colonist that Bertrand wants to carry the torch of the Latin continuity in the whole Mediterranean Shores. From his very early years, his contact with the Algerian land while guarding his father's flock of goats molded his physical as well as intellectual flexibility and agility. In the same way that he adapted to the geography of Bab-el-Oued's ravines in his infancy, he becomes accustomed to the sociopolitical situation of French Algeria. For his political ambitions, he resolutely rejected his Semitic origins to be an anti-Semitic leader without any regard for his family. To be elected and to come to power, Carmelo follows a Machiavellian strategy. He works and plots with Mgr. Puig whose aim is to control all the area of North Africa not only Algeria. Exploiting the religious belonging of the settlers, he manipulates them to rise against the metropolitan rule in Algeria. Without taking into account the results of his deeds, the Maltese lawyer leads an anti-Semitic movement that causes a violent disorder in the country. He also uses extortion in addition to his popularity as being of the non-French majority to get the vote on his side- and to direct the public opinion against the prefect of Algiers and against Michel as well. Carmelo menaces Michel that he is against him if this latter does not embrace the anti-Semite movement.

⁶⁸ Bertrand, "Nôtre Afrique," *Revue de deux mondes*, tome XXVII (1925), 298.

Furthermore, Bertrand expresses his admiration of the lawyer and briefly describes him as “une magnifique plante humaine d’une pousse vigoureuse et hardie.”⁶⁹ Through the character, the writer first stresses the importance of flexibility in maintaining control over people and land. He then dismisses rigidity in taking decisions, the thing which leads to unacceptable results. He values the adaptability of the individual with the new requirements in a specific time or situation to facilitate reach a given objective. He also emphasizes the need for consistency in the achievement of any goal because imperial success and colonial agendas necessitate patience and insistence in front of various obstacles.

Away from politics, the Alsatian Emile Schirrer exemplifies a model of how the settler should be in the view of the author. Due to his spirit of action and hardworking, Mr. Schirrer became one of the most successful farmers and owners of large lands. He managed to establish an agricultural empire. He turned vast arid lands into the largest vineyards in the country, and into the farm for raising sheep. He successfully challenged the geographical and climatic difficulties and restlessly fought to become what he is.

However, Claude is the only character that the reader follows in his gradual metamorphosis from a decadent republican into a regenerated settler. He first admits that the generation he belongs to is sinking into atrophy: “Si l’énergie paternelle avait baissé en eux [his grandfathers], ils valaient encore mieux que nous.”⁷⁰ “Nous avons perdu l’habitude de l’effort avec le sens de l’obstacle.”⁷¹ He is convinced that he lives a futile life that can be changed only on the Algerian land. Therefore, he decides to be an active settler and starts working with Schirrer. Indeed, in *Le Rival de Don Jua*, Claude had followed Schirrer’s footsteps to become an Algerian *colon* who owns large farms. His success makes of him an important exporter of horses to Europe.

⁶⁹ Bertrand, *La Cina*, 231.

⁷⁰ Bertrand, *Le sens de l’ennemi*, 15.

⁷¹ Ibid., 67-68.

Like in *Le Sang des races*, Bertrand celebrates energy and work, and associates them with success and progress in *La Cina*. He opens the first novel with scenes of building the city of Algiers, which symbolizes the building of a civilization. In the second novel, he represents Tipaza and Algiers as an extended field for workers filled with vigor and vivacity. Claude compares this field to a beehive; he says: “Partout, c’était comme le bourdonnement confus d’une ruche vibrante sous des milliers d’ailes.”⁷² The statement displays Bertrand’s insistence on adapting energy and hard work is his way to trivialize the passive intellectuality of the metropolitan epitomized in Michel. It is also a way to awaken them to the need for action rather than mouthing sterile utopian slogans like “fraternity, equality and liberty.”

Kipling, like Bertrand, embraced the cult of barbarism as a key strategy to recover the British power and control over its colonies as well as to fortify its weakened empire. According to Bradley Deane, Kipling together with Rider Haggard and Arthur Conan Doyle considered “barbarism as an energizing myth of the New Imperialism.”⁷³ Deane affiliates his works to what he calls “lost world fiction” which he defines as “the perverse offspring of the imperial romance and the utopian novel, energizing the political fantasies not with a dream of what might be, but of what has been.”⁷⁴ He claims that the fiction reveres the barbaric side of imperialism and stresses the value of returning to the primitive mindset for the success of the imperial projects. He affirms that this kind of writing calls both to fight against and alongside barbarism.⁷⁵ To put it differently, the fiction supports the use of less civilized means to spread civilization, which is one of the most ambivalent aspects of imperialism.

To prove his claims, Deane gives a detailed analysis of Kipling’s “The Men Who Would Be King” in the context of the British expansion in the Indian lands and its relation to barbarism

⁷² Bertrand, *La Cina*, 403.

⁷³ Bradley Deane, “Imperial Barbarism: Primitive Masculinity in Lost World Fiction,” *Victorian Literature and Culture*, vol. 36, No. 1 (2008), 207.

⁷⁴ Deane, “Imperial Barbarism: Primitive Masculinity in Lost World Fiction,” 206. (Emphasis added)

⁷⁵ Ibid.

as a manly characteristic. The story carries the message that the mastery of the colonial subject and the continuity of the imperial project relies on the use of violence. As Judith Plotz puts it: “All empires, especially the empires with a democratic metropole, are schizoid, simultaneously professing (and often believing in) the values of civilisation and ruling by violence.”⁷⁶ Carnehan, in the same story, asserts that the use of violence is what enabled him to impose his control. He writes: “I tried to give some sort of orders to my men -the men o’ the regular Army- but it was no use, so I fired into the brown of ‘em with an English Martini and drilled three beggars in a line.”⁷⁷ Violence plays the role of the only possible regulatory tool with the irrationality of “natives.”

Not much different from Carnehan, Jukes in “The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes” follows the same violent logic to exercise his colonial authority and to keep the “natives” under command. He shows an extremely barbaric character towards them for the mere aim of not being annoyed by their voices. He describes the sadist scene in this way:

I felt a little feverish. There was a full moon at the time, and, in consequence, every dog near my tent was baying at it. The brutes assembled in twos and threes and drove me frantic. A few days previously I had shot one loud-mouthed singer and suspended his carcass *in terrorem* about fifty yards from my tent-door. But his friends fell upon, fought for, and ultimately devoured the body⁷⁸.

Jukes terrorizes the Indians and threatens them through the killing of the singer that the fate of whom disturbs his comfort would be the same. In doing so, Kipling seems to say that any attempt to disturb or convulse the imperial integrity necessarily lead to the extermination of the rebel.

Likewise, Kipling’s Boer short stories underline the importance of self-rebarbarization in the Anglo-Boer war. Cecil D. Eby also stresses the point:

⁷⁶ Judith Plotz, “How The White Man’s Burden’ Lost its Scare-Quotes; or Kipling and the New American Empire,” *Kipling and Beyond: Patriotism, Globalisation and Postcolonialism*, eds., Caroline Rooney and Kaori Nagai (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 49.

⁷⁷ Kipling, “The Man Who Would Be King” *The Man Who Would Be King*, Etc (New York: New York, Dodge publishing company, 1890), 56-57.

⁷⁸ Kipling, “The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes,” *The Man Who Would Be King*, 117 -118

Using his formidable literary energy; [Kipling] tried to hammer into apathetic skulls his basic message: the nation had become effete, self-absorbed, and costive with petty domestic affairs, and it would not revive unless it took stock of its laxness and reverted to more “primitive” ethos. His literature spoke with unfamiliar tones and accents; the voice was gruff and aggressive like that of a barbarian only recently over the wall.⁷⁹

Eby in this passage displays Kipling’s inclination towards aggressive theories. More interestingly, the stories undermine the fact that the army was flippantly waging the war and was playfully dealing with it. The author, through these stories, also blames the degeneracy of the army’s power and its inability to command the situation in the South African front on the effeminacy of the British soldier. The failure stems from the British imperial agent’s over-civilization and the impact of the new liberal ideologies.

For Kipling, neither conventional war, nor pacifist ethos is useful with the Boers. He asserts that violence is inevitable with such a people which should be mercilessly confronted. He justifies the use of violence by representing the Boers as treacherous barbarians whose guerilla war techniques cause heavy losses among the British. Therefore, he considers it as a counter-violence whose aim is the defense of the British.⁸⁰ Or, as C. E. Callwell states in his book *Small Wars*, when fighting savages, “regular forces are compelled, whether they like it or not, to conform to the savage method of battle.”⁸¹ Kipling believes in the same principle of war. It is not a question of choice, but a one of compulsion.

The aftermath of murdering Kurban Sahib in “A Sahib’s War” is an embodiment of what Ashis Nandy calls “Kipling’s martial, violent, self-righteous self which reject[s] pacifism and glorify i[es] soldiery.”⁸² As well, it gives a warrant for the British soldier’s violent conduct with the Afrikaners. The author represents the latter as two-faced people who wear the mask of

⁷⁹ Cecil D. Eby, *The Road to Armageddon*, 149.

⁸⁰ Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983), 68.

⁸¹ C. E. Callwell, *Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 31.

⁸² Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy*, 70.

innocence and neutrality in the war as a way to protect themselves and so to maliciously mislead the British army. This is the case with the Boer family which uses the certificate of neutrality to turn the attention away from them and to help the Boer commandoes in hiding from the British and in acting against them. In this way, they cause the killing of Kurban Shib who is in South Africa in a “sick leave,” not in a military mission.

The writer’s weaving of the events shows the futility of civilized means such as certificates of neutrality with the Boers, and even reveals the danger they pose to the British. They are a people who know nothing of what a law is. With regard to the Boers’ dishonest and savage ways, ferocity is the only way that they can understand. For that reason, Kipling licenses the Australian soldiers to severely punish the guilty family in his story since the non-white servants of the British Empire are not allowed to. Umr Singh and Sikander Khan manage to capture the Boers and wait the Australians to decide about them. They are humiliated and they get their farms totally burned in front of their eyes.

Kipling tries to convince the reader of the inevitability of using violence against the uncivilized people. He argues that the British violence is a reaction to the Boer’s violent conduct, or as the critic David Sergeant names it a “punitive violence”⁸³ whose aim is taming the savages. “A Shib’s War” can also be read as Kipling’s response to the many voices aroused by politicians, journalists, soldiers, and even the English laymen questioning and condemning the army’s behavior in South Africa. This is a question that haunted Kipling’s thoughts and that he tackled in “The Comprehension of Private Copper.” In this short story, he presents how the English press transmits the scenes of war from a misleading liberal point of view.

Strickland as well considers in “The Mark of the Beast” that torture and violent methods are indispensable for the integrity of the empire and its agents. Without the barbaric approach he adopted with the leper priest who dares at harming an English man (Fleet), this latter can

⁸³ David Sergeant, *Kipling’s Art of Fiction 1884-1901* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 68.

never recover his sanity and even his life. The narrator when helping Strickland expresses his doubts about his way, but he finally recognizes that it is the right one:

It was an unattractive sight, and thinking of poor Fleete, brought to such degradation by so foul a creature, I put away my doubts and resolved to help Strickland from the heated gun-barrels to the loop of twine- from the loins to the head and back again- with all the tortures might be needful.⁸⁴

The narrator shows that violence is not wanted but they found themselves obliged to use it. The example is a miniature of the whole imperial situation that needs merciless methods and techniques

Kipling's view of the necessity of using violence is stressed in different occasions. In addition to the examples stated before, he says at the tongue of an old soldier in *Kim*, "if evil men were not now and then *slain* it would not be a good world for weaponless dreamers. I do not speak without knowledge who have seen the land from Delhi south awash with blood."⁸⁵ For Kipling, the brutality towards the local population is justified and reactionary. He claims that the nature of their innate savagery can only be faced with similar methods. Otherwise, the imperial order cannot stand in front of the harsh colonial situation.

Conclusion

The foregoing chapter shows how Bertrand and Kipling agree on the main points concerning the way out of the degeneration of their empires. Both confirm that in order to prevent any possible decline, the all the operators of the colonial society should join their forces and intensify their efforts for the realization of a well-identified aim. The latter can be reached by virtue of knowledge that comes before anything else. More importantly, knowledge must be employed in an effective way and used to the necessary preparation of the empire agents.

Consolidation of the efforts of all colonial subjects is another necessary element in the rehabilitating plans of the writers. Bertrand found it indispensable for the glory of the French

⁸⁴ Kipling, "The Mark of the Beast," *Life's Handicap*, 302.

⁸⁵ Kipling, *Kim*, 82.

empire to take all the settlers in Algeria into account and make use of their potentials. He calls for the creation of a collective identity that gathers these settlers under a Latin Christian shell. Union in addition to its usefulness in exploiting the non-French European capacities, it prevents them from rebelling the French hegemony. For Kipling, the aim was not the creation of a new identity like Bertrand. His objective was uniting and consolidating all the colonial subjects' efforts for the good of the imperial project. Kipling is keen to maintain the imperial hierarchical order. What is remarkable at this level is that Kipling gives the indigenous a role to play while Bertrand excluded him from his plans and denies his presence.

Furthermore, both authors assert the need for rebarbarization in spite of the fact that they have different views concerning what barbarism is. While for Bertrand barbarism is set for the negation of the modern softness and resort to more rigidity and determination; Kipling considers it as a return to more primitive attitudes mainly violence and revenge. The convergence between the two authors can be the outcome of their contemporariness and the similarity of the sociopolitical conditions during which they produced their books.

The two authors employed their talents to warn their nations of the risks menacing their imperial situation which was a national question at the core. They went further and proposed schemes for reducing the risks and rejuvenating their respective imperial nations. However, it was not enough for the writers since they supposed that there should be a rationale for the imperial conduct. Therefore, they used their literary productions to create and disseminate a set of myths which justifies and consolidate colonial powers. The next part is concerned with the study of these myths.

Part III: Myth as Vehicle for the Imperial Nationalist Ideology of Bertrand and Kipling

Introduction

The state of uncertainty that the French and the British empires had reached in the turning of the twentieth century made it indispensable for them to consolidate their imperial position through their colonial possessions. As part of their imperial nationalism that ties the two authors Louis Bertrand and Rudyard Kipling to their empires, they tended to create and recreate a set of myths to empower them. Myths have always accompanied colonial campaigns in the sake of foregrounding, supporting, and justifying the act of colonization. This was the case with the French conquest of Algeria and the British encroachment in Asia and Africa. The present part of the study examines the involvement of Bertrand and Kipling in disseminating colonial myths and making them. It argues that both writers used myths as manipulated and manipulating “knowledges” to “normalize”, in Homi Bhabha’s terms, for the purpose of the expropriation of and settlement in the colonized lands.

“The typical settler narrative,” states Alan Lawson, “has a doubled objective: the suppression or effacement of the indigene, and the concomitant indigenization of the settler.”¹ For the sake of doing so, such writers as Bertrand and Kipling tend to disseminate a set of mythologized tales and stories, or in other words myths about the indigenes and the settlers as being true. The writers’ myths fall under two broad categories, myths of displacement and myths of replacements. The first category is concerned with all representations, images, fictional and non-fictional constructions whose aim is the minimization of the indigenes’ capacities for self-rule or even disclaiming their right in being in the colonies. Concerning the myths of replacement, they constitute the western discourse about the necessary and crucial colonial presence.

¹ Alan Lawson, “The Anxious Proximities of Settler (Post)Colonial Relations,” in *Literary Theory: An Anthology*, eds., Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 1215.

Chapter VI: Bertrand's and Kipling's Myths of Displacement

In this chapter, the aim is to decipher the different images both writers provide in order to cope with their strategies of mythmaking. It gives a detailed survey of the degrading portrayals of the colonized and their lands in their works. It is divided into three sections each of them is concerned with a specific aspect: the first focuses on the colonized land, the second concentrates on the inferior class in which the "indigenes" are categorized, the third centers around the brutality attributed to the local people, and the animalistic view ascribed to them.

Throughout the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, mythic images of foreign countries were established via literature which is an ideological apparatus for colonial legitimacy. Writers' representations substantially contributed to the creation of the legitimating colonial myths. As Albert Memmi explains,

Just as the bourgeoisie proposes an image of the proletariat, the existence of the colonizer requires that an image of the colonized be suggested. These images become excuses without which the presence and conduct of a colonizer, and that of a bourgeois, would seem shocking. But the favored image becomes a myth precisely because it suits them too well.²

According to Memmi's words, the colonizer's justification for his colonial conduct is primarily based on a set of images he provides about the colonized. The images turn into a myth which normalizes colonialism. Colonial literary creation, therefore, constitutes an important aspect of the colonial regulatory policies.

In addition, literary images portray the colonial space and its inhabitants in a monolithic and polarized manner. They constantly present the colonized in opposition to the colonizer whose primary purpose is to displace the former and deny his right in ruling his own lands. Louis Bertrand's and Rudyard Kipling's texts do not make the exception. Their literary and non-literary creations widely contributed in the construction of the colonial myth of displacement whose objective is to present the colonized people in a continuous dependency

²Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (London: Earthscan, 2003), 123.

on the colonizer. Colonial physical displacing strategies of the colonial enterprise are consolidated and validated by psychological displacement. Kangira et.al further explain,

Displacement needs not be narrowly conceived in terms of political violence because there are also ideational, metaphysical, and spiritual forms of displacement that occur due to spiritual forms of violence. [...] There are also epistemological, linguistic and cognitive forms of displacement.³

The quote shows that the colonized is alienated from his position as the owner of his land not only politically, but by different cultural and mental reconfigurations. The chosen texts of the present study contribute through myth construction and reconstruction in the cultural displacement of the colonized.

The colonized space becomes the existential base of the colonial/imperial enterprise and both writers ceaselessly present the colony as a virgin land that is either empty or populated by unqualified masses. Bertrand, for instance, supports the displacement of the Algerians through varying myths stressing the Arabs' illegitimate presence in Algeria in addition to the indolence of the Algerians. As Michel Beniamino maintains, the Algerianist writers among whom is Bertrand deal with "des aspects problématiques de la représentation, de l'appréhension de l'Ailleurs et de l'Autre et de la confrontation des cultures."⁴ Their interest is in portraying the colony and in what way the contact of different peoples within it occurs. The Algerian "Other," who constitutes the Algerianist's major source of uncertainty, becomes the object of its representations. They advocate the idea of replacing the Arabs with the new people of the Latin race.

Similarly, Kipling used his stories to build an image of an inferior people who need the custody of a superior race which is the British. As Zohreh T. Sullivan confirms it, "Kipling's dominate stance is often from the vantage point of the Western eye that stereotypes,

³ Jairos Kangira, Artwell Nhemachena, and Nelson Mlambo. *Displacement, Elimination and Replacement of Indigenous People* (Bamenda: Langaa RPCIG, 2019), 16.

⁴ Michel Beniamino, *La Francophonie littéraire* (Paris: l'Harmattan, 1999), 150.

categorizes, and universalizes absolute Knowledge about the Orient and its Orientals.”⁵ His images and representations are his platform for imperial nationalist goals. His descriptions prepared for a solid basis for the British interventions in the Orient since it polarizes the imagination of both colonial and colonized societies in a way to make these societies ready to accept what is imposed by the imperial power.

I -Myths of Land: French Algeria and British India as Wastelands

The colonial space is an important constituent of the continually reproduced myths of the colonial enterprise and mainly in the literary representation of its creed. It provides information on the plot, characters and time though its role is much more constructive. For Simone Rezzoug and Christiane Achour, space is defined in a literary text as a set of signs which produce an effect of representation.⁶ Space is one of the operators through which action is opened and developed. It is the trigger for the event since it constitutes both a narrative creator and an indicator of the place. It is also an expression of a subtext that is at the heart of the writer’s imagination and beliefs. Gaston Bachelard writes about what he calls “the Poetics of Space.” According to his *la poétique de l’espace* (1957), Bachelard stresses the utility of analyzing the symbolic values attached to landscapes in the eyes of the narrator or his characters serves to unfold the imagination of the writer and the reader.⁷ Kate Darian-Smith, Liz Gunner and Sarah Nuttall hold the same view as Bachelard in writing,

Landscape is dynamic; it serves to create and naturalize the histories and identities inscribed upon it, and so simultaneously hides and makes evident social and historical formations. It is through the cultural processes of imagining, seeing, historicizing and remembering that space is transformed into place, and geographical territory into a culturally defined landscape.⁸

⁵ Zohreh T. Sullivan, *Narratives of Empire: The Fictions of Rudyard Kipling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 49.

⁶ Christiane Achour and Simone Rezzoug, *Convergences Critiques : introduction à la lecture du littéraire* (Alger : OPU, 1990), 209.

⁷ Gaston Bachelard, *La Poétique de l’espace* (Quadrige : Presses Universitaires de France, 1957), 31.

⁸ Kate Darian-Smith, Liz Gunner and Sarah Nuttall, eds., *Text, Theory, Space* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 3.

Accordingly, the representation of a space is a historical and ideological creation which shows the orientations and the hidden intentions of the authors.

In the colonial context of Bertrand and Kipling, the representation of the colonial space reveals the displacing strategies colonial literature uses to consolidate the imperial enterprise. Among these strategies is the myth of the “empty land” a land empty of all sorts of civilization or traces of human activity. The myth does not imply the total physical absence of a population; it rather alludes to an unused land and inconvenient inhabitants. The myth is used as part of the dehumanizing aspects of colonization since

in order for the claim that lands were empty of ownership – a legal wilderness – to withstand the obvious occupation by human societies, discourses asserting the inferiority, sub-humanity and primitiveness of human groups became intimately engaged with discourses of wilderness and nature.⁹

The use of these two interplaying aspects “wilderness and primitiveness” is marked in the in William Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* and Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*. In the same fashion, Bertrand and Kipling use the two aspects of their works. They exploit the colonial landscape to justify the dispossession of the colonized lands and the displacement of the local people.

Louis Bertrand’s works try to show that Algeria before the coming of the French was a vast “Unused Land,” a land empty of life and prosperity. Bertrand’s construction of the “Algerian empty land” corresponds to Howard Adelman’s and Elazar Parkan’s claim that “emptiness was a political marker, a European depiction of the invisible other.”¹⁰ He portrays the Algerian lands as barren, wasted and neglected. They were large plains covered by weeds and thorns. His depiction alludes to the absence of the Algerian or in a more exact words the absence of an owner who takes care of his possessions.

⁹ Tracey Banivanua Mar, “Carving Wilderness: Queensland’s National Parks and the Unsettling of Emptied Lands, 1890–1910,” *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity*, eds., Tracey Banivanua Mar, Penelope Edmonds (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 85.

¹⁰ Howard Adelman and Elazar Parkan, *No Return, No Refuge: Rites and Rights in Minority Repatriation* (New York: Colombia University Press, 2011), 158.

Bertrand sees that Algeria, before the French Conquest and the settlement of the Europeans, was a vast virgin Land as he declares in *La Cina*.¹¹ It is thanks to the colonizer and to the settler that these lands were turned into infinite gardens. Introducing his vineyards to Claude, Schirrer says,

Cela vous étonne, n'est-ce pas, ce que nous avons fait ici ? Et moi, cela me remplit d'orgueil. Songez qu'avant mon arrivée, *toute cette région était inculte. La brousse régnait partout*. Il a fallu conquérir le sol morceau par morceau pour y planter la vigne... Et maintenant, voyez ! les ceps s'alignent à perte de vue.¹²

Schirrer in this extract explains to Claude how the settlers changed Algeria from a bare land into vast farms showing the laziness of the Algerians. In an attempt to promote his idea, Bertrand voices his claims through Ben-Kouider one of the so-called assimilated Algerians who admit the enormous effort the settlers put in the reclamation of the lands. Talking to Schirrer, he exclaims : “Vous avez là une jolie propriété ! quand je pense que j'ai vu tout ça en friche... des champs où il ne poussait que des épines !”¹³ By this declaration, Ben-Kouider reinforces the myth of the Algerian empty land and therefore the necessity of filling it with Europeans.

In *Le Sang des races*, the author propagates the idea of a new Algeria built and cultivated by European settlers. It is an Algeria that is different from the pre-colonial period. He claims that Algeria was a wasteland, which was revived with the scenes of the European settlers mainly the Spanish building the new Bab-Eloued. Later on, he writes: “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.”¹⁴ Bertrand wants the reader to construct the image of the building colonizer who works for the benefit of the land and not the contrary. Such an image also implies that Algeria before was boo land. Despite their appearance in the novel, the Algerians are absent from the

¹¹ Louis Bertrand, *La Cina* (Paris : société d'éditions littéraires et artistiques, 1901), 404.

¹² Ibid., 404. (Emphasis added)

¹³ Ibid., 409.

¹⁴ Bertrand, *Le sang des races* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1920), 74.

process of rebuilding Algeria, the mission that is only achieved by the settlers. Algerianist writers as Bertrand “systematically erased the Arab contribution to the social evolution of Algeria.”¹⁵ They are presented only to show how they are primitive and inapt for constructing the new Algeria. Thereby, it can be concluded that Algerians are reduced into objects of comparison with the settlers and that this is a way to exclude them and justify this exclusion from their own land.

In another novel entitled *La Concession de Madame Petitgand*, Bertrand again tackles the question of the unused lands of Algeria. He proudly shows his admiration of the settlers’ hard work in reclaiming the Algerian wastelands. Pelissier’s possession for him is just one example of lands which “dont la plus grande partie étai[ent] en friches”.¹⁶ Bertrand believes that it constitutes a testimony of the very difficult penetration into the great Saharan south of European civilization. He writes it as follows,

Cette simple histoire n’est qu’une épisode entre mille de la lutte incessante que nos colons algériens ont a soutenir contre l’hostilité de la nature et des hommes. La conquête militaire de l’Afrique du Nord si pénible qu’elle ait été, n’as pas couté tant de peine que la conquête du sol par la charrue.¹⁷

The penetration was materialized not only by military events, the companions and the battles, but by the incredible difficulties and the serious dangers which the carters who left from 'Algiers in convoys of huge carts to sink into the desert, without any assistance of course and therefore in extremely painful conditions.

Thereby, the settlers came to revalue lands which were abandoned before. The population which inhabited it accordingly cannot claim the ownership of lands which were left for death. They were unqualified to be the rulers of these estates because of their lack of hard work values. The mythic construction supports the claims of the legitimacy of colonization whose aim was to give back Algeria its vigorous Latin soul. It reinforces the

¹⁵ Martin Thomas, *The French Empire Between the wars: Imperialism, Politics and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 139.

¹⁶ Bertrand, *La Concession de Madame Petitgand* (Paris: Fayard, 1912), 37.

¹⁷ Ibid., 5

western superiority and promotes the idea of to the Algerians' indifference, laziness, and lack of knowledge.

Unlike other forms of colonization, such as protectorate and mandate, settlement is the most dangerous type of colonialism because it is based on the expropriation and confiscation of the local inhabitants' land. As a fervent proponent of the French settlement colonization in Algeria, Bertrand's writings show his tireless efforts to introduce the Algerian either as a "backward outsider" epitomized in the Arab, or as a "decadent native" Berber whose long association with Arab Muslims led them to lose the ability to be the master of a once Latin land. In doing so, he dispossesses him of his land. Bertrand propagates a cluster of myths reinforcing the negative polarity of the "native other" in spite of the fact that the Algerian is almost absent from the scenes he created.

In the same context, Jean Tharaud in a discourse à l'académie française declares that Bertrand considers Arabs as "des intrus dans un pays latin" and that his Algeria is an "Algeria without Arabs".¹⁸ In Bertrand's oeuvre, the intrusion of the Arabs in Algeria is an essential point. He shows that Algeria is not an Arab territory. Rather, Arabs are invaders who stole the Berbers' properties and established in their country as its owners. The Arabs, in his Oeuvre therefore, face what Memmi considers "[t]he most serious blow suffered by the colonized" which "is being removed from history and from the community."¹⁹ It is noticed that the diction used when mentioning them are meticulously chosen. Bertrand names the Arabs in his stories as "opresseurs," "envahisseur," "usurpateur," and "conquérants," to stress their non-belonging and disclaim their algerianity.²⁰ The pathos loaded language of Bertrand is his way to divide the Algerian society into rival groups which were used in order to facilitate the French incursion. Such a language evokes strong feelings of humiliation among the Berbers.

¹⁸ Quoted in Warren Frederick Wilder's Phd thesis entitled "The Concept of Latinity in The Works of Louis Marie Emile Bertrand" (Boston University 1960), 188.

¹⁹ Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 135.

²⁰ See Louis Bertrand, *Les Villes d'or : Algérie et Tunisie romaines* (Paris : Arthème Fayard, 1921), 07-08-09 and Bertrand, "Carthage : L'Eglise d'Afrique," *Revue des deux mondes*, (1829), 413.

The previously mentioned appellations of the Arabs, which imply the Berber's weakness and subjugation, along with the different provocative adjectives the writer attributes to them like "le méritable," et "l'Indigène asservi et refaçoné par [l'Arabe],"²¹ arouse a deep hatred towards the Arab.

Bertrand portrays the Berber as an oppressed and defeated native who resisted for a long time his Muslim Arab oppressor to which he finally surrendered. He writes: "Les vrais fils de la terre, les Berbères indigènes, ont résisté de leur mieux à l'envahisseur asiatique et oriental."²² In doing so, he ignites sedition among the Algerians who overcame their differences and conflicts long years ago. Sung-Eun Choi shows the same view, he insists,

For the French in Algeria, Muslim Arab resistors were themselves historically a colonizing force, having oppressed and conquered the Algerian Kabyles classified as Berbers, who were considered European by lineage. The settlers thus emerge as claimants of land that had been wrongfully usurped by Arab conquerors, and settler history is redeemed through the struggles they faced in reinvigorating the soil, which had remained barren under the backward Arab conquerors. In settler narratives, the Muslim population brought on their own marginalization by rejecting French civilization and assimilation.²³

Accordingly, Choi conveys the French ruse in Algeria when classifying its inhabitants into adversaries. Bertrand apparently adopted the politics of "divide and rule" regarding the Berber as a European of origin and the Arab as an Oriental intruder. His works show his efforts to gain the Berber's on the French side against the Arab as an effective colonial strategy.²⁴

Not much different from Bertrand, Kipling depicts India as a great "wilderness" characterized by darkness and dangerousness. In many of his works like *Kim*, "the Man Who Would Be King," "His Majesty the King," "The Brushwood Boy," the term wilderness recurs when describing India. The author presents India as a universe devoid of humanity, and outside all social life as known in the West. He thus denies the Indians humanity and

²¹ Bertrand, *Les Villes d'or*, 9

²² Ibid., 23.

²³ Sung-Eun Choi, *Decolonization and the French of Algeria: bringing the settler colony Home* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 22

²⁴ The following chapter tackles the European lineage of the Berbers in the frame of what is called "Kabyle Myth".

considers them as sub-human and animal-like species. Making the Indian part of this wilderness puts them in the same category as the wild and untamed beasts. The crystallization of Kipling's myth of wilderness best appears in his *Jungle Books* which stands as an allegory for the colonial situation of British India. India is visualized as a vast jungle inhabited by primitive people who are the animals in the stories. For Kipling, the natives could not overcome their primitiveness and rise to a civilized stage. They are still living in animal-like fashion in chaotic space. Therefore, they are in need for a Mowgli, who represents the British ruler whose rationality and civilization give him a natural authority over the Indians.

Being a wilderness, India lacks traces of civility and modern life. The presence of the inhabitants adds nothing to its landscape. India stays an untamed virgin land. In one of his correspondences of *From Sea to Sea*, Kipling writes that India is "a wilderness covered with grass and low thorn. [...] Now this wilderness [is] so utterly waste."²⁵ The quote implies the meaninglessness of the natives' presence in this wilderness and their inability to exploit its richness. India according to Kipling is a wasteland till the arrival of the British who works for taming it. In this case, wilderness becomes a justification of the British imperial presence in India.

Moreover, in his portrayal of Indian landscapes, Kipling keeps showing how the British civilization breaks the Indian wilderness by its technologies mainly the train way. To give an instance, the subsequent scene from *Kim* is illustrative:

[A]ll India spread out to left and right. It was beautiful to behold the many yoked grain and cotton wagons crawling over the country roads: one could hear their axles, complaining a mile away, coming nearer, till with shouts and yells and bad words they climbed up the steep incline and plunged on to the hard main road, carter reviling carter. It was equally beautiful to watch the people, little clumps of red and blue and pink and white and saffron, turning aside to go to their own villages, dispersing and growing small by twos and threes across the level plain. Kim felt these things, though he could not give tongue to his feelings and so contented himself with buying peeled sugar-cane and spitting the pith generously about his path.²⁶

²⁵ Rudyard Kipling, *From Sea to Sea vol I* (New York: Doubleday and McClure, 1899), 46.

²⁶ Kipling, *Kim* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1921), 90-100.

Through his journey in the train, Kim is describing the Indian landscape with its beauty and stresses how the British civilization contributed in giving life to a previously untamed wilderness. It is thanks to the train and other British machinery that India is put on the way towards civilization.

In the same vain as Bertrand who denies the existence of the Arab in the Algerian Territory, Kipling represents India as a disputed land which belongs to no side of the several conflicting groups inhabiting it. He confirms that there is no nativity in that area as what follows testifies:

When you write 'native' who do you mean? The Mahommedan who hates the Hindu; the Hindu who hates the Mahommedan; the Sikh who loathes both; or the semi-anglicized product of our Indian colleges who is hated and despised by the Sikh, Hindu and Mahommedan. Do you mean the Punjabi who will have nothing to do with the Bengali; the Marathi to whom the Punjabi's tongue is as incomprehensible as Russian to me, Parsee who controls the Englishman, the Sindhee who is an outsider, the Bhil or the Gond who is an aborigine; the Rajput who despises everything in God's earth but himself; the Delhi traders who control the value of millions; the Afghan who is only kept from looting these same merchants by dread of English interference... there is no such thing as the native of India.²⁷

From the excerpt, it is understood that India belongs to no specific people, the thing which justifies the British presence and encroachment in the Indian lands.

Kipling's position entails that the Indians have no well-defined nation with defined geographical and sociopolitical limits. India as he represents it in *Kim* is "great, gray, [and] formless."²⁸ In this way, the British presence and control of the area is not an expropriation of the lands in which the Indians live. It is rather a way of representing India as the site of perpetual conflicts and clashes which could not be ended and repressed without the presence of a more rational and powerful ruler. The writer makes of the British control a necessity without which India would not stop the daily massacres, and would never restore peace. He employs the continual conflict existing between the Bengal and the Khusru Kheyl tribes in his tale "The Head of the District." Without the presence of English men like Orde and Tallantire,

²⁷ Thomas Pinney, ed., *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling vol. I. 1972-89* (London: Macmillan, 1990), 97-98.

²⁸ Kipling, *Kim*, 150.

the bloody struggle between them would never be stopped and order would never be restored.

To sum up, it can be concluded that both Bertrand and Kipling invest in the history of the colonized lands to portray the colonial presence as legitimate and beneficial for the local population. The former tries to “*déraciner*” the Arabs from Algeria by reviving the Roman era and the claims of the ownership of the North African territories. Kipling, for his part, exploits the long bloody history of the conflicting Indian tribes about land and uses it to deny them nativity and to portray the British as the peace protector and the order keeper of the area whose presence is a necessity. The writers’ construction of myths is not limited to land. They are also concerned with the way they present the inhabitants.

II- Myths of Inferiority: Bertrand’s and Kipling’s Natives as Belonging to a Degraded Race

With the aim of intensifying the colonized’s inadequacy in standing alone and ruling themselves, Bertrand and Kipling produced and reproduced a set of racial stereotypes and transform them into myths. The writers unceasingly belittled the local inhabitants of the colonies. The colonized is classed as an inferior being, who belongs to a debased race. He is incapable of the merest things; he is intellectually undeveloped and with a childish mind.

Zahia Smail Salhi asserts the racist view of colonial authors writing that “[t]he Algerianists were not solely motivated by aesthetic considerations. Behind the smoke screen of literary criteria, there remained a racist, political concept founded on Bertrand’s Latinist ideas [of Latin empire].”²⁹ Many other scholars have investigated the issue of the Algerianist’s literary depictions of the interaction between *les colons* and the Algerian local people. They shed light on the colonial discriminative ideology in different literary works in Algeria, which is described as their “*logique raciale*”.³⁰

²⁹ Zahia Smail Salhi, *Politics, Poetics and the Algerian Novel* (New York: the Edwin Melen Press, 1999), 20.

³⁰ Nacer khelouz, “Le roman Algérien de l’entre-deux-guerres à l’épreuve du politique: en lisant Robert Randau et Abdelkader Hadj Hamou,” Phd Thesis, (Pittsburgh : Pittsburgh University, 2007), 34.

In *le Jardin de la mort*, Bertrand amplifies the idea of the Algerian's inferiority and his idolization of the French superiority. He writes,

Les autres, accroupis sur les nattes, nous regardent sans mot dire, comme ravis en admiration par la splendeur du festin. Et je devine chez ces hommes primitifs quelque chose qui ressemble beaucoup à de la vénération religieuse, - un sentiment qui a complètement disparu chez nous : l'humble bonheur de s'associer à la joie des puissants !... ³¹

The excerpt reflects Bertrand's emphasis on what he considers the Algerian's primitiveness and lowliness in comparison with the French superiority. It also shows that the Algerians glorify the colonizer and enjoy being in association with him. He exemplifies this in the Arab or Khodja who in the presence of the French retreats at a respectful distance as an expression of his passive subordination.³²

Even though the Berber in the Bertrandian oeuvre is superior to the Arab, they are both treated as inferior people in comparison to the French and the European. His statement that "Les indigènes fuyaient à notre approche. Et quand ils s'étaient apprivoisés, combien empressés de nous servir"³³ entails the the Arabs' and Berbers' lower position and willingness of servitude. Bertrand lays it bare writing that

Il y'a autre chose dans leur fureur : la conscience de leur infériorité, de leur dégradation, et cette chose-là ne se pardonne point. Ils ont eux proclamer qu'ils méprisent ce chien chrétien, et cracher contre lui, ou derrière lui : ils sentent tout de même que cet être exécré appartient à une race supérieure.³⁴

Obviously, he claims that their inferiority is innate and they are conscious of it. That is why they willingly serve the French.

Because of their inferiority notably the Arabs, Bertrand deduces that the Algerians are inassimilable.³⁵ He confirms that the differences existing between the civilized French and the uncivilized colonized prevent any sort of co-existence. The justification is well expressed in

³¹ Bertrand, *Le jardin de la mort* (Paris : Paul Ollendorff, 1905), 67.

³² Ibid, 44.

³³ Bertrand, *Devant l'Islam* (Paris : Plon-Nourrit, 1926), 37.

³⁴ Ibid, 44.

³⁵ Bertrand, *La Cina*, 190.

the following passage:

Pour ma part, je l'avoue, après dix ans de séjour en Algérie, je n'avais pu encore m'accoutumer à considérer les Arabes comme des frères, sinon en tant que sauvés par Jésus-Christ, ou affranchis platoniquement par la Déclaration des droits de l'homme. Trop de choses nous séparent, trop d'oppositions irréductibles. Nous ne serons jamais les citoyens d'un même peuple ; les uns en face des autres, nous resterons toujours, quoi qu'on affirme, des étrangers ou des ennemis, -pour la raison élémentaire que nous n'avons ni même peau ni même figure et que nos crânes construits différemment ne peuvent pas penser de la même manière des idées pourtant semblables.³⁶

It is clear that Bertrand is against any kind of rapprochement between them due to racial and intellectual reasons. The Arabs cannot rise to European status due to his constant genetic inferiority. The author does not allow the Arab to have a certain level of intellect that elevates to that of the European.

Bertrand's idea of the Algerians' racial inferiority seems to echo G. W. F. Hegel's philosophical system which excludes Africa and Africans from the course of history and civilization and denies them rationality. He describes Africa as "the land of childhood, which lying beyond the day of self-conscious history, is enveloped in the dark mantle of Night."³⁷ Hegel considers the African as stagnated in the early stages of history without any development in his character. He states,

The peculiarly African character is difficult to comprehend, for the very reason that in reference to it, we must quite give up the principle which naturally accompanies all our ideas. [...] This distinction between himself as an individual and the universality of his essential being, the African in the uniform, undeveloped oneness of his existence has not yet attained; [...] he exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state. We must lay aside all thoughts of reverence and morality — all that we call feeling — if we would rightly comprehend him; there is nothing harmonious with humanity to be found in this type of character.³⁸

In writing so, Hegel puts forth that the African is mentally inferior and his character cannot be understood because he is not fully developed into a human. Hegel's avowal shows his racist attitude towards non-European races and which is adopted by different writers like Bertrand and Kipling.

³⁶ Bertrand, *Le Mirage oriental* (Paris: Perrin et C^{ie}, 1910), 35.

³⁷ G. W. F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History* (Kitchener: Batoche Books, 2001), 109.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 110-111.

The best example of the Algerians' inferiority is Ben Kouider, the Arab character in *La Cina*, who epitomizes the inassimilable native even though Mr. Schirrer introduces him to Claude saying that he is "Ce qu'on appelle un *Arabe assimilé!*"³⁹ claiming so may seem contradictory. Yet, Bertrand's use of the exclamation mark and his way of describing the native eliminate any sense of contradiction. Exclaiming while classing Ben Kouider as an assimilated conveys the author's sarcastic view of the idea of assimilation. The character stands the incapability of the Arab to learn French properly or to behave in a European manner. Despite the years he spent learning French, he can respect no "liaison" when speaking. His efforts to wear in European fashion ends by making him a sort of clown.⁴⁰

It is important to point out that in Colonial Literature the image of the "silly" and "joyful" colonized presents him as an eternal child. In the colonial literary texts, he is embodied in the mass of anonymous natives, and also by individual characters such as the faithful servant. Such a character's function is that of creating a comic effect through his childish and clownish behavior. Dedicated to his master out of love, the faithful servant fulfills the function of illustrating and justifying the colonial hierarchy. The servant's loyalty and submission show that he approves of the white man's superiority, which from then on appears fair. Azzedine Haddour insists that narratives of colonial literature like the Algerianist articulate the colonial myths and bears its colonial dimensions of dominance and power. His study is based on the analysis of different colonial works such as Louis Bertrand's *Le sang des races* that he describes as racist because of the distorted representations of the native Algerians.⁴¹

In *Le Sang des races*, the Bertrandian rejection of the Arab manifests in the way his European characters behave with the Arab. Kadour, for example, is not allowed by Pierangelo

³⁹ Bertrand, *La Cina*, 406.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 406-407

⁴¹ Azzedine Haddour, *Colonial Myths: History and Narrative* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 24-25.

to share the table with him. Bertrand writes,

Pendant ce temps, Pierangelo 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, tâche moyenne d'avaler vite ton morceau et de retourner à tes bêtes ; il faut que, dans dix minutes j'entende racler l'étrille...⁴²

Pierangelo embarrasses Kadour in front of his friends when he prevents him from staying on the same table. The scene is a clear demonstration of the Arab's inferior position to the settlers and it is a way to show that he is not accepted within their circle. He is present for serving their superior without any complaint.

A more illustrative example is Le Papas in the same novel. Le Papas is a converted Arab who accompanies Rafael in his journeys to and from the South. Despite his conversion to Christianity and his friendship with different settlers, he is still considered of a lower race. His Arab origins are not forgotten and he is treated accordingly. Le Papas is prevented from taking part in a discussion about Spain. Salvador, in a humiliating manner, calls him a "*bicot*" who knows nothing. The term conveys the racist mindset of the character and Bertrand as well. It is used to remind Le Papas of his origins, alluding to the impossibility of elevation to the European level even with adopting their manners and religion.

In her analysis of the image of the "other" in colonial French literature, Maria Gubinska points out that in Bertrand's oeuvre the Arab finds his dignity in the South of Algeria relying on to a certain degree positive image of the Southerners in *Le Sang des races*. It is right that the author gives a more refined image of the inhabitants of the South. However, one should not forget his conviction of what he considers the latent Arab danger. On this basis, it can be concluded that presenting the Arabs in such a manner is a way to show their pretense and malice. Yet, her claim that Bertrand's contrasted images of the Arab of the North and that of the South is reasonable. She maintains that for him the Arab is destined to live in

⁴² Bertrand, *Le Sang des races*, 52.

South Algeria because it does not disturb the colonists there. The contrast is an evidence that there is no room for the Arab in the Mediterranean basin area which is reserved to the Latin people.⁴³ Bertrand as many of the French colonial writers do not depict the Arabs in a good way and consider them as the worst of all inferior races as Alain Ruscio puts it: “Si des portraits positifs des Jaunes ou de Noirs émergent parfois, il faut bien reconnaître qu’il en est rarement, très rarement, de même pour les Arabes.”⁴⁴

The Algerians, for Bertrand, fade in front of the French and cannot be competitors for him. They submissively choose to be on the margins of modern life. They are dull people who incline towards jobs which require no learning, intelligence, or special skills. They cannot develop their intellect; thus, their trades are limited to what requires physical strength like water carriers, polishers, commissionaires, or maneuvers and porters. He sees that the Algerian “aimait mieux mendier ou vivre de petits métiers que d'accepter du travail dans nos usines ou dans nos magasins.”⁴⁵ The Bertrandian Arab is an unqualified lazy. He produces nothing and he brings all his needs from Latin countries and civilizations.⁴⁶

There is a dominant defect which is peculiar to all colonized peoples which is laziness. The colonized are lazy because they are decadent, just like all the Orientals. And laziness is the main characteristic of the Arab and the Indian, which would be the character of an eternal childhood. A dominant assertion is that laziness is consubstantial with the nature of the natives. And if some recognize that some people would not be physically lazy, they would necessarily be intellectually lazy. Syed Hussein Alatas contends that “the theme of the lazy native [...] functioned as an ideological foundation in the overall ideology of Western

⁴³ Maria Gubinska, *L’Image de l’Autre dans la littérature coloniale française au Maghreb* (Krakow : Akademii pedagogicznej, 2002), 39

⁴⁴ Alain Ruscio, *Le credo de l’homme blanc: regards coloniaux français XIX^e et XX^e siècle* (Bruxelles, éd.Complexe, 2002), 63.

⁴⁵ Bertrand, “Sur les routes du sud,” *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Tome. xxxiv (1er Aout 1936), 506.

⁴⁶ Bertrand, *Les Villes d’or*, 23.

Imperialism.”⁴⁷ He further explains:

In its historical empirical manifestation, the colonial ideology utilized the idea of the lazy native to justify compulsion and unjust practices in the mobilization of labour in the colonies. It portrayed a negative image of the natives and their society to justify and rationalize European conquest and domination of the area.⁴⁸

From the quote, it is concluded that the main reason behind the Myth of the lazy native is to justify the colonizer’s exploitation of the capital of the colonies. Memmi in his analysis of the colonial portrait of the colonized confirms Alatas’ claim; for him,

Nothing could better justify the colonizer's privileged position than his industry, and nothing could better justify the colonized's destitution than his *indolence*. The mythical portrait of the colonized therefore includes an unbelievable *laziness*, and that of the colonizer, a virtuous taste for action.⁴⁹

The passage illustrates the extent to which laziness of the colonized is a justificatory ideology of colonization from which the main of other ideologies emanate. It disqualifies the local population for rule and independence.

The Arabs’ Laziness manifests in the vast uncultivated lands. Even though their existence in the Algerian Territory is long, they could not exploit and plant them. Bertrand portrays Algeria before the arrival of the French as a barren neglected land. It is depicted as a land with no productivity and covered by weeds. Ben Kouider expresses his wonder at the French’s ability to turn arid lands into vast gardens. He says to Mr. Schirrer exclaiming “vous avez là une jolie propriété ! quand je pense que j’ai vu tout ça en *friche*... des champs où il ne poussait que des *épines* !”⁵⁰ Bertrand accentuates through this instance that the Algerians are lazy, ignorant, and incompetent.

The Arab’s laziness becomes a fixed identity for Bertrand. It represents an essence in his personality. As Homi Bhabha claims: “The stereotype can also be seen as that particular ‘fixated’ form of the colonial subject which facilitates colonial relations, and sets up a

⁴⁷ Syed Hussein Alatas, *The Myth of the Lazy Native* (London: Frank Cass, 1977), 62.

⁴⁸ Alatas, *The Myth of the Lazy Native*, 2.

⁴⁹ Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 123.

⁵⁰ Bertrand, *La Cina*, 409.

discursive form of racial and cultural opposition in terms of which colonial power is exercised.”⁵¹ Emile Schirrer for example directly refuses any Arab working in his estates because he believes that they will not and cannot change their laziness. They do not like working therefore they try to find various excuses. When the absence of two workers is marked, he orders Jule Berton to fire them. This attitude is expressed in this way:

-Monsieur Schirrer, il y a deux Arabes qui ne sont pas venus ce matin. Ils disent que c'est jour de fête et qu'ils ne veulent pas travailler !
-Ils ne veulent pas travailler ? Eh ! bien, vous leur réglerez leur compte ce et vous me les flanquerez à la porte ! Si ces gens-là s'imaginent qu'ils vont nous conduire par le bout du nez !... D'ailleurs ils sont continuellement en ripailles.
- Oui ! —dit Jules — quand ce n'est pas la fête du Mouton, c'est la fête de la Grenade... Ça n'en finit plus!...⁵²

The above conversation reveals the contempt the colonizer has towards the native's disrespect for work.

The Algerians' lassitude and unwillingness to work make them poor beggars. They beseech everything from the colonizer. The following passage dramatically illustrates the need of the native to the settler:

La Cina dit à Jeanne : Je me revoyais toute petite, avec ma mère. Nous étions dans la diligence de Laghouat. Nous venions de quitter la ville. Derrière nous, on entendait un bruit de fusillade, j'avais peur !... Ma mère me cachait la tête sous son châle ; — et voilà que tout à coup, comme nous arrivions à l'Oued-M'zi, la diligence s'arrête, la porte du coupé s'ouvre et une horde de femmes se jette sur ma mère et moi, — tu sais? ces femmes des Ouled-Nayls qui ont des figures si abominables, avec leurs profils écrasés, leurs grosses tresses de sauvages... Elles gesticulaient comme des démons, elles vociféraient en arabe qu'elles mouraient de faim, qu'elles voulaient manger. Elles nous arrachaient nos provisions, nos vêtements, nos bijoux... Il y en avait un grand maigre aussi décharné qu'un squelette, qui tirait mes boucles d'oreilles si violemment que j'en criais de douleur.⁵³

La Cina describes the Ouled Nayel women in a degrading way. She relates their extreme hunger to their savage behavior. Her description alludes to that lack of work and idleness leads them to beg food. Bertrand presents Algeria as site of starvation, which needs the intervention of the French to save its inhabitants.

⁵¹ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 78.

⁵² Bertrand, *La Cina*, 400.

⁵³ Ibid., 124.

Bertrand also stresses the colonized's incapability of progress and development. The Islamic civilization which he embraced can barely advance in all aspects of life.⁵⁴ It is a civilization sailing into the dusk. In his view, the French is who brought him safety, well-being, hygiene, life opportunities that allowed them to continue their lives.⁵⁵ An intellectual and scientific stagnation characterizes the Muslims who consume what others produce and have no invention of their own.⁵⁶ They didn't step forward a pace since the Middle Ages.⁵⁷ Thus, Bertrand wants to consolidate the idea of the uncivilized people who need to be civilized by the enlightened French.

Likewise, Kipling's writing propagates the idea of the colonized's inferiority. As Robert Moss notes in his book *Rudyard Kipling and the Fiction of Adolescence*, "Kipling's personality was shaped from its earliest years by the knowledge that he belonged to the ruling class, that he was born to command and that the darker skinned people around him, however, affectionately he might feel toward them, were social and political inferiorities."⁵⁸ "The White Man's Burden" contains examples of the writer's stance despite the fact that it is addressed to the Americans to civilize the Philippines. He calls all non-whites as "sullen peoples, Half devil and half child." Identifying the "natives" as immature demon-like people exhibits the degrading view of the white man has on other races and shows his stereotypical and prejudiced thoughts.

Rudyard Kipling classes the native in an inferior position vis-à-vis the white man. He presents them as racially inferior, the thing which means the impossibility of overcoming their inferiority even with valiant efforts. Huree Babu in *Kim* is an apparent example. Kipling writes,

He [Babu] himself had been taught by the Sahibs, who do not consider expense, in the

⁵⁴ Bertrand, "La mêlée des religions en Orient," *Revue des deux mondes*, Tome LIII, (1909), 831.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 505-506

⁵⁶ Bertrand, *Devant l'Islam*, 91-92.

⁵⁷ Bertrand, *Le Sens de l'ennemi* (Paris: Arthème Fayard, 1917), 12.

⁵⁸ Robert Moss, *Rudyard Kipling and the Fiction of Adolescence* ((New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 2.

lordly halls of Calcutta; but, as he was ever first to acknowledge, there lay a wisdom behind earthly wisdom the high and lonely lore of meditation. [...] The Hurree Babu of his knowledge – oily, effusive, and nervous – was gone; gone, too, was the brazen drug-vendor of overnight. There remained –polished, polite, attentive– a sober, learned son of experience and adversity, gathering wisdom from the lama’s lips.⁵⁹

Kipling shows that by being taught by the Sahibs, Hurree Babu managed to change his personality. His British education made of him a refined person and he could limit his nervousness. However, he stays of second grade level. Moreover, the education that Huree Babu- and any other native - had received can enlighten them and pull them out of their savagery and primitivism but to a very limited stage. It can never make them civilized people because, as Kipling believes, cannot change their race. Their backwardness is innate as Hurree Babu confesses,

'Of course I shall affeiliate myself to their camp in supernumerary capacity as perhaps interpreter, or person mentally impotent and hungree, or some such thing. And then I must pick up what I can, I suppose. That is as easy for me as playing Mister Doctor to the old lady. Onlee – onlee - you see, Mister O'Hara, *I am unfortunately Asiatic*, which is serious detriment in some respects. And all-so I am Bengali – a fearful man.⁶⁰

Kipling makes Hurree Babu admit that despite his developed capacities, he can never escape some racial traits as being detriment and fearful. As with the Arabs in Bertrand’s fiction, Kipling’s natives lack feelings of adequacy and self-esteem. The native subjects are convinced of their inferiority.

In the same context, Bill Ashcroft points out that “so powerful is the effect of colonial representation that it can become [...] the way in which the colonized see themselves, and this can affect all social and political interchange.”⁶¹ Walter Rodney also explains that “An even bigger problem is that the people of Africa and other parts of the colonized world have gone through a cultural and psychological crisis and have accepted, at least partially, the European

⁵⁹ Kipling, *Kim*, 361.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 356-357.

⁶¹ Bill Ashcroft, *On Post-Colonial Futures: Transformations of a Colonial culture* (New York: Continuum, 2001), 36.

version of things.”⁶² The effect is remarkable in the character of Huree Babu who is convinced of his predetermined inferiority as noted in his previously stated confession. Huree Babu, as many others of colonized people, is mentally configured by the colonizer’s myth to believe in his own backwardness.

Grish Chunder in “the Finest Story in the World” also acknowledges that the native’s inferiority is racial as it can never be changed. He says that “Once a Hindu—always a Hindu.” This was his answer to his English friend Charlie when he asked him about the effects of his English education:

"Grish Chunder, you've been too well educated to believe in a God, haven't you ?"
"Oah, yes, *here!* But when I go home I must conciliate popular superstition, and make ceremonies of purification, and my women will anoint idols."
"And hang up *tulsi* and feast the *purohit*, and take you back into caste again and make a good *khuttri* of you again, you advanced social Free thinker. And you'll eat *desi* food, and like it all, from the smell in the courtyard to the mustard oil over you."
" I shall very much like it," said Grish Chunder, unguardedly. " Once a Hindu—always a Hindu. [...]"⁶³

The extract deciphers how Chunder affirms that despite the fact that he is educated and enlightened by the blessings of white knowledge and religion, he cannot escape the superstitious daily life of the Indian.

The superstitious nature of the Indian is a mark of an intellectual inferiority and a lack of reason. The Indians’ strong belief in superstition prevents them from seeing reality and let them lose in a phantasm of their own creation. Despite the supposed development brought to them by the colonizer, they could never give up their superstitious nature. In the Kinlingesque fiction, these superstitions are of two sides. The first facilitates the mission of manipulating the inhabitants through the employment of his superstitions to convince him of a given question. The second constitutes a danger for the imperial enterprise since the colonizer can

⁶² Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1982), 21.

⁶³ Kipling, “The Finest Story in the World,” *Indian Tales* (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1899), 31-32.

harm himself by intentionally or unintentionally violating or ignoring them.

John Chinn, an English Army Officer, successfully uses the superstitious beliefs of the Bhil people which is “full of untold superstitions”⁶⁴ to manipulate them. These people strongly believe in that this John is the incarnation of his Grandfather John Chinn who worked long ago in the same position and gained a god-like status among the Indians because of his good relations with them. Realizing that John pretends to be his grandfather’s ghost to restore peacefulness after the hysteria which gets hold of the Bhils in the aftermath of the small-pox vaccination.

On the contrary, the superstitions of the natives lead to the downfall of Imray, an English officer in the story “The Return of Imray.” His ignorance of the superstitious background of his local servants is the reason behind which Bahadur Khan killed him. Bahadur explains to Stickland his motive of committing this crime:

Walking among us, his servants, *he cast his eyes upon my child*, who was four years old. Him he *bewitched*, and in ten days he died of the fever—my child! [...] He said he was a handsome child, and patted him on the head; wherefore my child died. Wherefore I killed Imray Sahib in the twilight, when he had come back from office, and was sleeping.⁶⁵

Imray’s servant interprets his master’s admiration of his child as a fact of spelling a cast on him. The servant believes in that Imray’s evil eye killed the child and his murder is a revenge. The incident could be avoided if the officer had known about such illogical beliefs of the local population.

In “The City of a Dreadful Night,” Kipling calls the western education given to the natives as a “fault.” His stand seems to be built on the basis that this education gives an opportunity to unqualified people to get access to rule. He equates them to an Indian parasitic plant. What follows is an illustration:

Western education is an exotic plant. It is the Upas tree, and it is all our fault. We

⁶⁴ Kipling, “The Tomb of his Ancestors,” *The Day’s Work* (Toronto: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1921), 111.

⁶⁵ Kipling, “The Return of Imray,” *Life’s handicap* (New York: Doubleday and company, 1899), 319.

brought out the ink-bottles and the patterns for the chairs. We planted it and it grew - monstrous as a Banian. Now we are choked by the roots of it spreading so thickly in this fat soil of Bengal.⁶⁶

The educated Indian is dangerous to the country as to the British presence in the same way the parasitic plant is dangerous and harmful to the plant from which it takes its nutrition because, as Kipling puts it, there are “matters which they cannot, by the nature of their birth, understand.”⁶⁷

Because of their inferior race, Kipling does not accept miscegenation. His rejection of intermarriage is due to his fear of English racial degradation. Therefore, he makes all attempts of rapprochement between Britons and natives tragically end. Louis Cornell emphasizes the idea showing that

Kipling’s vision of India reflects his consciousness of this gap between the dark and the light. Although his 1887 stories explore the possibility of bridging it, Trejago’s love for Bisesa ends in disaster, and Strickland’s disguises come to an end with his marriage to Miss Youghal. Tentative efforts such as these serve only to emphasize the impossibility of real communication between the races. In *Plain Tales* he tests the social prohibitions that keep Englishmen and Indians apart,⁶⁸

For Kipling, between the white race and the Indians there exists a wide unbridgeable gap. Trying to bridge it goes against nature and ends in failure.

The Boers are also othered in the fiction of Kipling. Despite their whiteness, they are presented as a second-grade white people. They are put in an inferior rank. They are portrayed as treacherous and dishonest; traits that are in contradiction with the white’s principles. His Boer fiction belongs to the popular literature of the time that demonizes the Boers as “dirty, corrupt, immoral and shifty....It was believed that they were at a lower stage of evolution”⁶⁹ “The Sahib’s War” expresses Kipling’s condemnation of the Boers conduct and dishonest actions when they betray the British and kill them. Kipling makes even Umr Singh who

⁶⁶ Kipling, “City of Dreadful Night,” *From Sea to Sea: Letters of Travel, vol.II* (New York: Doubleday and McClure Company, 1899), 202-203.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 189

⁶⁸ Louis Cornell, *Kipling in India* (Macmillan: London, 1966), 144.

⁶⁹ Richard Price, *An Imperial War and the British Working Class: Working-Class Attitudes and Reactions to the Boer War 1899-1902* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 12.

belongs to an inferior race denounce their cowardice.

“The Head of the District” contains an example of the Indians treachery and greed. Tallantire describes Khoda Dad Khan as a “treacherous young ruffian” who “is playing against the Blind Mullah for his own hand.”⁷⁰ Khoda betrays his tribe’s leader and worked with the British for his own benefit. He sacrifices the lives of many Khusru Kheyl men to gain the leadership of his tribe. Here, Kipling portrays the native as untrustworthy whose greed blinds him.

Furthermore, the colonized for Kipling is an effeminate being incapable of acting firmly and daringly when compared to the bravery of the British citizens. Mirinalini Sinha discusses the question of colonial masculinity and concludes that British colonial literature distinguishes between two kinds of characters: “the manly Englishman” and the “the effeminate Bengali” and maintains that

in this colonial ordering of masculinity, the politically self-conscious Indian intellectuals occupied a unique place: they represented an “unnatural” or “perverted” form of masculinity. Hence this group of Indians, the most typical representatives of which at the time were middle-class Bengali Hindus, became the quintessential referents for that odious category designated as “effeminate babus”.⁷¹

According to the Sinha’s words, the “effeminate babus” constitute a part of the colonial ideology which devalues the colonized in different manners. Such a character is strongly present in Kipling’s works. He shows the unmanly characters of the natives such as Huree Babu, whose fearful character has been discussed previously, and Chunder Dé in “The Head of the District.” These two characters are the epitome of the emasculate natives.

Grish Chunder Dé’s character is made to exactly suit the delicate unmanly native who vainly seeks self-rule. From the beginning, the character is ridiculed by his countrymen as well as by the colonizer. In a speech he gives to the people of his district, he is confronted with disdain and mockery as it is illuminated in the following lines:

⁷⁰ Kipling, “The Head of the District,” *Life’s Handicap*, 204.

⁷¹ Mirinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The “Manly Englishman” and the “Effeminate Bengali” in the late nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 2.

That night there was a public audience in a broken-down little town thirty miles from Jumala, when the new Deputy Commissioner, in reply to the greetings of the subordinate native officials, delivered a speech. It was a carefully thought-out speech, which would have been very valuable had not his third sentence begun with three innocent words, '*Hamara hookum hai*—It is my order.' Then there was *a laugh, clear and bell-like, from the back of the big tent, where a few border land-holders sat, and the laugh grew and scorn mingled with it*, and the lean, keen face of Debendra Nath Dé paled, and Grish Chunder turning to Tallantire spake: 'You—you put up this arrangement.' Upon that instant [...] there entered Curbar, the District Superintendent of Police, sweating and dusty. [...] 'Tallantire,' said he, disregarding Grish Chunder Dé, 'come outside. I want to speak to you.' They withdrew.⁷²

Thus, it is clear that neither the Indians nor English take him seriously. The land-holders' contemptuous laughs at "it is my order", Tallantire's and Curbar's indifference to his order and presence reveals the extent to which the educated Bengali is rejected and distrusted by both the British rulers.

Furthermore, Chunder Dé's reacts in a way that shows his self-doubt and which disturbs the British officers. Kipling writes,

'I—I—I insist upon knowing what this means,' said the voice of the Deputy Commissioner, who had followed the speakers.

'Oh!' said Curbar, who being in the Police could not understand that fifteen years of education must, on principle, change the Bengali into a Briton. 'There has been a fight on the Border, and heaps of men are killed. There's going to be another fight, and heaps more will be killed.'

'What for?'

'Because the teeming millions of this district don't exactly approve of you, and think that under your benign rule they are going to have a good time. It strikes me that you had better make arrangements. I act, as you know, by your orders. What do you advise?'

'I—I take you all to witness that I have not yet assumed charge of the district,' stammered the Deputy Commissioner, not in the tones of the 'more English.'⁷³

The above long quote expresses Dé's passivity towards the situation and shows Kipling's intention to stress the native's lack of leadership requirements. Dé demonstrates his own cowardice and inability to keep order or at least to face up his responsibility. His English education could not give him the manliness that an effective ruler needs. His withdrawal from his duty as a Deputy Commissioner is another proof of the irreparable intellectual inferiority

⁷² Kipling, "The Head of the District," *Life's Handicap*, 200.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 201.

of the native. Dé as well as Huree babu proves the triviality of mimicking the English and therefore their own foolishness.

III- Myths of the Colonized Savage

At the end of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century, the colonized savage was a frequent figure in colonial literature and it dominates the oeuvre of Bertrand and Kipling. The myth becomes a substantial part of the colonial discourse which puts the oriental "savagery" and Western "civilization" in a constant opposition. As Frantz Fanon argues,

sometimes this Manicheanism reaches its logical conclusion and dehumanizes the colonized subject. In plain talk, he is reduced to the state of an animal. And consequently, when the colonist speaks of the colonized he uses zoological terms. Allusion is made to the slithery movements of the yellow race, odors from the "native" quarters, to the hordes, the stink, the swarming, the seething, and the gesticulations. In his endeavors at description and finding the right word, the colonist constantly refers to the bestiary. The European seldom has a problem with figures of speech. But the colonized, who immediately grasp the intention of the colonist and the exact case being made against them, know instantly what he is thinking. This explosive population growth, those hysterical masses, those blank faces, those shapeless, obese bodies, this headless, tailless cohort, these children who seem not to belong to anyone, this indolence sprawling under the sun, this vegetating existence, all this is part of the colonial vocabulary.⁷⁴

It can be understood then that the colonist insists on the motif of savagery and animality in constructing the image of the colonized. As Fanon shows in the extract, the colonized, though not represented in an overt way as animals and savages, there is always an allusion to this degrading image. This alleged savagery of the local population justifies that the Europeans colonize them in the name of a civilizing mission.

In addition to his laziness as mentioned earlier, the Arab is a destroyer of all what is good. His arrival in Algeria brought with it enormous damage to the Land and its richness. He caused a widespread deforestation and ruined the Roman and Carthaginian agricultural and monumental heritage.⁷⁵ His destructive spirit, insists Bertrand, is the most ferocious enemy of the Latin and Christian legacy. He quotes an English traveler who wrote about Algeria:

⁷⁴ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove press, 2004), 7.

⁷⁵ Bertrand, *Les Villes d'or*, 23.

“Quand les Arabes, conduisant leurs troupeaux, trouvent quelque chose qui a du rapport au christianisme, c'est pour eux un vrai plaisir et même un *devoir religieux* d'y faire tout le dégât possible.”⁷⁶ The quote demonstrates Bertrand's conviction that religion is at the core of all attitudes and deeds. He also shows that the Arabs did not introduce new techniques for agriculture or build new cities in their fashion.⁷⁷

Furthermore, the author goes beyond that that the Arab does not amount to European civilization and he is lagging behind it. He portrays Muslim Algerians who belong to them as despotic and bloodthirsty. An unremitting fanaticism and an outright rejection of all what is not Islam are the most remarkable in their attitudes. Bertrand adopts cardinal Lavigerie's view of Islam when writing,

Lavigerie touchait du doigt cette âme robuste et bornée de l'islam, il constatait cette obstination, cet achoppement invincible. Car l'islam ne peut admettre que lui. Pour l'infidèle, pas d'autre alternative que la conversion ou la mort. S'il est toléré, - et même quelque fois, pendant assez longtemps, - ce n'est jamais qu'à titre précaire.⁷⁸

What is clear from the excerpt is that Bertrand is totally convinced that extremism is synonymous to Islam. The Arab cannot accept the other and cannot tolerate any difference. Even if any tolerance is shown, it is the pretense that veils a deep hatred. Therefore, he comes to the conclusion that with Arabs, one can never know the truth of things.⁷⁹ Kipling is of the same opinion as Bertrand that the colonized is mysterious and one cannot expect and understand his conduct. For instance, in *Kim*, Kipling expounds his view of the Hindu on the mouth of Father Benett who says to Father Victor: “My experience is that one can never fathom an oriental mind”⁸⁰ meaning that the colonized cannot be trusted even if they show good will.

Bertrand confirms that the Algerians either Arabs or Arabized Berbers are

⁷⁶ Bertrand, *Le sens de l'ennemi*, 181.

⁷⁷ Bertrand, *Le Jardin de la mort*, vii.

⁷⁸ Bertrand, *Devant l'islam*, 91-92.

⁷⁹ Bertrand, *Le sens de l'ennemi*, 221.

⁸⁰ Kipling, *Kim*, 140.

characterized by negation and hostility⁸¹ that affected all who come to an association with them. He gives the example of the influence of the Arab rule in Spain. The Spanish people were accustomed to harshness of mores, cruelty, brutality, bloodthirsty habits, and thirst of revenge.⁸² The author sustains his claim with Ibn Khaldun's affirmation that Arabs managed to establish in Algeria by means of massacres and deportation.⁸³ Such a claim entails that Berbers' long coexistence with the colonizing Arab turned them into brutal cruel people.

The same description prevails in Kipling's oeuvre where Indians are not less savage than Bertrand's Arabs. Kipling, as his French counterpart, frequently stresses the savagery of the colonized. His portrayal of the Indians shows that they are used to bloodshed and violence. He depicts the Indian lands as a site of unlimited bestial battles between its inhabitants, which caused terrible massacres. The savagery of the Indians turned their lands into a mass grave. Kipling contends that India is "a land strew with dead men's bones"⁸⁴ and classifies Rajputana as the most dangerous area and the largest grave.⁸⁵

The author's presentation of the Mutiny in *Kim* for example is the embodiment of his conception of the Indian wildness and savagery. The old Indian Officer describes the events of 1857 as an irrational bestial outbreak. He states,

A madness ate into all the Army, and they turned against their officers. That was the first evil, but not past remedy if they had then held their hands. But *they chose to kill the Sahibs' wives and children*. Then came the Sahibs from over the sea and called them to most strict account.⁸⁶

The writer considers the events as a savage rebellion with cruel atrocities on the part of the Indians. It was for him a sort of rage which devoured even innocent women and children. The Indians through their behavior prove to be merciless creatures who are more bestial than human.

⁸¹Bertrand, *Le sens de l'ennemi*, 289.

⁸² Bertrand, *Histoire d'Espagne* (Paris: Arthème Fayard et compagnie, 1932), 195.

⁸³ Bertrand, "Africa," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, tome VIII (1922), 129.

⁸⁴ Kipling, *From Sea to Sea: Letters of Travel*, vol. I (New York: Doubleday and McClure, 1899), 10.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Kipling, *Kim*, 83. (Emphasis added)

In *From Sea to Sea*, Kipling confirms that the Indians have no civilized means to govern their lands; they come to rule only by means of blood. He shapes his argument with the example of Chitor where Udai Singh took the throne “through blood and misrule.”⁸⁷ In addition to his savagery, Udai Singh is represented as an incompetent man dominated by a woman. He is “a coward, and a shame to his line.”⁸⁸ Kipling through Udai Singh conjures up the image of the incompetent ruler who cannot rule because of the lack of rationality and competence. Such an inefficient ruler can bring disasters to his people instead of promoting welfare.

In addition, Kipling depicts the colonized as unable to bring a positive thing. He excels only in criminality. His Bengali characters, for example, epitomize the master criminal who does his crimes with craft, and leaves no traces behind him. The subsequent excerpt is an illustration:

Well, besides the petty theft and burglary, we have heavy cases of forgery and fraud, that leave us with our wits pitted against a Bengali's. When a Bengali criminal is working a fraud of the sort he loves, he is about the cleverest soul you could wish for. He gives us cases a year long to unravel. Then there are the murders in the low houses—very curious things they are.⁸⁹

As noticed, Kipling attributes an evil cleverness to the Bengali. However, this trait is attributed to him in a negative way. It is synonymous with evil. The native cannot use his mind for any positive achievements.

The killer servant is one of Kipling's images of the colonized. Kipling makes the Indian ungratefully kill his master in a terrible way pointing to the evil nature of the colonized and the danger they pose on the imperial institution. In “The Return of Imray,” Bahadur Khan mercilessly slaughtered his master Imray and hid his dead body in an attempt to give the impression that the English officer mysteriously disappeared. The crime committed against Imray shows the barbarous spirit of the Indians and their revengeful

⁸⁷ Kipling, *Kim* Ibid, 84

⁸⁸ Ibid, 83.

⁸⁹ Kipling, “City of a dreadful night,” 221.

character according to the writer.

To deepen their sense of incongruity, an animalistic language marks both writers' representation of the colonized. The stereotypical and racist representation of the Other passes, among other things, through description, which produces a constant relation between the "inferior races" and animality. In short, the various ethnic groups dominated by the White man are presented in a space located between the animal and the human. The local inhabitant is regarded as a creature stagnated at a very early stage of primitivism and could not develop into a fully human-being.

It is important to point out that zoological language constitutes another chief element in Bertrand's representation of the Arabs. He deprives the Algerians of their humanity through the animalistic tropes he uses. In some instances, he overtly calls them animals. In *La Cina*, for instance, the Algerian Kouider is represented as an animal in the sense that he is unable to communicate like humans in a civilized way, which reminds the reader of Joseph Conrad's depiction of the Africans in *Heart of Darkness*. Commenting on Kouider's insistence on buying Mr. Schirrer's cattle, Claude says: " Quel animal ! — dit Claude — J'ai vu le moment où il allait vous enlever de force vos moutons...."⁹⁰ Bertrand means that the Algerians lack understanding, etiquette of commercial affairs, and his violence. Worse, to describe the Algerian population he uses tiny animalistic details in an attempt to show his inability to rule. He writes: "mouslim pouilleux, qui patauge, pieds nus, dans la crotte de sa ruelle, ou qui, les yeux mangés de mouches, comme un animale curieux."⁹¹ In the statement, Bertrand's portrayal deprives the Algerians of simple human characteristic both morally and physically.

In *Le Sang des races*, the Algerian is represented and depicted as an animal with limited capacities and persistent stupidity. The following quote illustrates how the Algerian is

⁹⁰ Bertrand, *La Cina*, 409

⁹¹Bertrand, *Devant l'islam*, 44.

viewed by the European settler. Mgr Puig automatically relates undesired and unacceptable deeds to his chaouche Ali in the following description:

Et l'archevêque, sur un ton de mauvaise humeur, cria : « Entrez ! » Mais un nouveau coup à peine perceptible s'entendit à la porte :
— C'est cet imbécile d'Ali ! — dit Mgr Puig furieux
— il est devenu sourd comme une pioche !... Entrez ! mille diables !...
Et saisissant sa calotte, il la lança avec force contre l'arrivant :
— Entre donc, animal!⁹²

In the short excerpt, the Archbishop uses assets of extensive offensive diction (imbécile, diables, sourd, pioche, animal) to describe the Arab who is reduced to an animal in the service of the settler. The use of the term “pioche” shows the dehumanization of the native through minimizing him to an object, or, in other words, the act of reification. The demeaning and diminishing gaze reflects the resentment and hatred felt by the settler for the Algerian because the latter rejects him and refuses his presence in his own country.

In other cases, the writer's dehumanization of the natives is imbedded. Bertrand prefers to use a subtle way to convey the extent to which he is far from civilized humanity and close to animality. In *Le sang des races*, the author gives a disgusting image of the Algerian's routine as well as he confirms his contempt for his filthiness as presented in the market description with its horrifying smells:

Les Arabes 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'écœurerait. Leurs cuisines, installées dans tous les coins, exhalaient des relents d'huile, de beurre rance et de graillon. Sur des réchauds en terre, des poêlons fumaient ; des morceaux de foie saignants barbouillaient des assiettes ; des sardines frites s'empilaient sur des étals, des écorces de pastèques et de figues de Barbarie faisaient autour des vendeurs un tas d'ordures permanent ; et ce que Rafaël trouvait de plus intolérable, c'était la puanteur de ces grands poissons qu'on appelle des « chiens de mer » et dont le bas peuple se nourrit. Il y en avait des piles, tout écorchés et décapités, hideux à voir. Ces mangeailles se rencontraient avec des tranches de citron, des oranges, des bâtons de chocolat, des quartiers de fromage. Et quel étrange peuple se pressait autour de ces officines ! Rafaël, qui se rappelait la beauté et les grandes manières des Arabes du Sud, n'avait que du mépris pour cette canaille.⁹³

⁹² Bertrand, *La Cina*, 245.

⁹³ Bertrand, *Le Sang des races*, 220-221.

In this extract, Bertrand denigrates the Arabs calling them “le bas peuple,” “étrange peuple,” et “canaille.” Worse, he portrays them as messy creatures who resemble animals in the manner that they never care for hygiene using the words “malpropreté,” and “sale” and they live in an extreme disorder. Again, he likens them to animals whose bodies are full of insects “vermine” because of dirt.

Zoological language is another bound between Bertrand’s and Kipling’s texts. Both of them tend to employ an animalistic vocabulary when dealing with people of the colonies. The degrading expression a vast “human menagerie”⁹⁴ is what Kipling prefers to call the crowded bazaars of India in *Civil and Military Gazette*. Reviewing the Indian scenes in the journal in such a way is a clear statement of his stance towards the colonized people. Through the use of such an expression, Kipling seems to say that the Indians are of down-graded level that cannot be compared to the Europeans. Such dehumanizing descriptions illustrate the racist tendencies in Kipling’s mindset.

In the same journal, Kipling details how he sees the Indians. He represents them as “mutants” and “abnormal creatures”. He describes them as “faces of dogs, swine, weazles [*sic*] and goats, all the more hideous for being set on human bodies’,”⁹⁵ The description entails the writer’s attempt to convince the colonizer’s community as well as the local population of the Indian racial degeneration. It is an attempt to certify their need for the British presence in order to be tamed and civilized. Kipling also alludes to the significance of the British control when writing that the Indians are “magnificent scoundrels and handsome ruffians; all giving the on-looker the impression of wild *beasts held back from murder and violence, and chafing against the restraint.*”⁹⁶ The colonized’s animalistic instincts of brutality and cruelty are repressed and limited only under the colonizing control.

⁹⁴ Quoted in Neil K. Moran, *Kipling and Afghanistan: A Study of the Young Author as Journalist Writing on the Afghan Border Crisis of 1884-1885* (London: McFarland, 2005), 136.

⁹⁵ Moran, *Kipling and Afghanistan*, 136.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 58. (Emphasis added)

A striking example that Kipling provides about the savagery of the Indians is the ritual of what is called the Burning-Ghàt. He reports in detail the ceremony of a dead man's cremation and portrays the way the dead man's corps was burned. His description evokes a mixture of feelings mainly disgust and fear. The image of the man setting the fire to burn the dead lets the Bride astonished. Terrified by "the horrors of a burning-ghàt"⁹⁷ scene, the western watching bride screams at her husband, "'Come away, Will,' 'come away! It is too horrible. I'm sorry that I saw it.'"⁹⁸ She could not afford to see such cruelty and savagery.

The beast-like character Kipling gives for the leper priest in "The Mark of the Beast" is an illustrative instance of the way he perceives the Indians. He depicts him as "a Silver Man came out of a recess behind the image of the god. He was perfectly *naked* in that bitter, bitter cold, and his body shone like frosted silver, for he was what the Bible calls 'a leper' as white as snow."⁹⁹ The priest in the tale behaves exactly as an animal. In addition to being naked like the jungles beasts, he "crawls" and "mews." In this example, Kipling explicitly classifies the priest in the same category with wild animals.

In another story, Kipling describes the Indians as "They were, and *at heart are wild* men, furtive, shy, full of untold superstitions."¹⁰⁰ He confirms that they are wild people living in the manner of animal. They cannot be detached from their primitive nature and they can only live as wild beasts in the wilderness. The Bhil people¹⁰¹ appear in his story "The Tomb of his Ancestors" as untamed despite the fact that they joined the British regiment and they were in confrontation with civilized people and civilized manners. Such misrepresentation is

⁹⁷Kipling, "The Smith Administration," *From Sea to Sea: Letters of Travel*, vol II (New York: Doubleday and McClure, 1899), 375.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Kipling, "The Mark of the Beast," *Life's Handicap*, 392-393. (Emphasis added)

¹⁰⁰ Kipling, "The Tomb of his Ancestors," *The Day's Work*, 111. (Emphasis added)

¹⁰¹ Bhils belong to the race of the pre-Aryans. The name 'Bhil' is derived from the word villu or billu, which according to the Dravidian language is known as Bow. The name Bhil is also finds mentioned in the great epic called Mahabharata and Ramayana. The Bhil women offered ber to Lord Rama, when he was wandering through the jungles of Dhandaka, searching Sita. The popular legend represents them as being descended from Nishada, son of Mahadev by the human female. Nishad was brutal and ugly, who killed his fathers bull and as the consequence he was banished to mountains and forests. During the ancient era they were considered as the great warriors who fought against the Mughals, Marathas and the Britishers.

expressed by the English Officer in the story when saying,

They felt bored and homesick unless taken after tigers as beaters; and their cold-blooded daring—all Wuddars shoot tigers on foot: it is their caste-mark—made even the officers wonder. They would follow up a wounded tiger as unconcernedly as though it were a sparrow with a broken wing; and this through a country full of caves and rifts and pits, where a wild beast could hold a dozen men at his mercy. Now and then some little man was brought to barracks with his head smashed in or his ribs torn away; but his companions never learned caution; they contented themselves with settling the tiger.¹⁰²

The passage shows the savagery of the Bhils which seems to be innate. They may show some refinement in their character, yet their barbaric self easily comes to the surface. Therefore, they are always in need for a the British to control and limit their savagery.

The colonized's lack of hygiene is also present in the oeuvre of Kipling. It is an allusion to his animal-like characteristics. It shows that they are primitive and far from all sorts of civilization. In *From Sea to Sea*, Kipling describes the reactions of the bride in her visit to the Indian temples writing,

Neglected rainbow hued sewage sprawled across the path, and a bull, rotten with some hideous disease that distorted his head out of all bestial likeness, pushed through the filth. The Bride picked her way carefully, giving the bull the wall. A lean dog, dying of mange, growled and yelped among her starveling puppies on a threshold that led into the darkness of some unclean temple. [...] The walls dripped filth, the pavement sweated filth, and the contagion of uncleanness walked among the worshippers. There might have been beauty in the Temple of the Cow; there certainly was horror enough and to spare; but the Bride was conscious only of the filth of the place. She turned to the wisest and best man in the world, asking indignantly, "Why don't these horrid people clean the place out?"¹⁰³

Through these lines, one can see the degree to which the English find India and Indians disgusting while living among the filth like animals. It is a distorted image that confines and reduces the Indian to a stage of animality and backwardness.

Conclusion

From what precedes, it can be deduced that in their efforts to consolidate the imperial ambitions of their respective nations, both Bertrand and Kipling engage in the creation of

¹⁰² Kipling, "The Tomb of his Ancestors," 113.

¹⁰³ Kipling, "The Smith Administration," 373-377

colonial myths. They made of their writings a tool by which they supported their imperial nationalist urges and desires. At first, they focus on the question of displacing the people of the colonies through stressing the point of their ineptness to own and rule land. They despairingly build an "innate racial inferiority" of the colonized and their necessity to be guided and guarded by a superior race epitomized in this case by the French and the British.

Bertrand's attitude towards the colonized Algerian is both negative and degrading. His discourse puts emphasis on the dispossession of the colonized land and the confiscation of the "identity" of the colonized. By reviving the "myth of Latinity" of the Algerian land, on the pretext of the remains of Roman cities, with the intention of erasing the Muslim dynasty and by attributing a Roman filiation to the native "Berber," versus the invading "Arab," he creates and recreates a powerful set of displacing myths. The native Algerian is reduced to an inferior object and excluded from the colonial space. He uses a net of prejudices, stereotypes and clichés, which stigmatize the "Arab" and "Muslim" (backward, fanatic, thief, lazy, incompetent, savage, etc.).

In nearly a similar way, Kipling constructs derogatory images of India and its inhabitants. He presents the reader to a "backward" India, an India without history, a country in opposition to civilization. He refers to a global and common negative construction, which makes of India the inferior of Europe because it lacks social, political, economic, scientific, technological and cultural structure, a rational spirit necessary for all its development. The Indian who is supposed to work for the progress of his country is portrayed as immature and primitive, thus, he is continually in need of the white man to guide him. The aim of the author's reiteration and transmission of stereotypes is targeted to consolidate the theories on the stagnant essence of the colony in the mind of the colonizer.

Moreover, the authors believe in the deep authority of the text on the readers' point of view and on their orientations. On this basis, they exploit their writings to frequently and

repetitively transmit images of the life in the colonies which are built on strong myths, whose credibility is often unquestioned. In addition to their attempts to displace the colonized, they similarly employ their texts to replace them by the colonizer as the right ruler who can control the colonies and try to civilize its backward inhabitants. The next chapter illuminates the point through investigating the two authors' contribution to what is called in this study "Myths of Replacement."

Chapter VII: Myths of Replacement

To reassure the permanence of the colonial control, it is not enough to devalue or discredit the colonized. It is highly recommended to provide a substitution for him. The colonizer is in need for a net of other myths to consolidate his strategies. Hence, presenting himself as the rightful ruler who can preserve the colony and uplift the living conditions of its population is essential. To do so, Bertrand and Kipling saved no effort to create a myth system that makes the French and the British imperial dominance as inevitable historical reality. They provide the reader with a set of overlapping images about the heroic European settler. While Bertrand promotes the French historical right to rule Algeria and the whole of North Africa, Kipling's works advocate the idea of the duty and responsibility of the white man towards the uncivilized.

As Philip Dine puts it: "Not only colonial Algeria, but every society, makes ideological myths out of its history, both to provide justifications for its world-view, and to confer legitimacy upon its adopted system of economic, social, and political relations."¹ Bertrand makes no exception. For justifying the French presence in Algeria, he uses the history of the area to claim the legitimacy of the French to control Algerian Lands as the Roman heir. His works are a celebration of the myth of "historical continuity of Latinity" in the Mediterranean Lands of Algeria and North Africa in general. For Kipling, the British rule in colonies like India is a necessity. Non-Europeans like The Indians' and other less civilized peoples' backwardness is what led the white man whose representative is the English to take the responsibility of civilizing and protecting them.

In addition, both writers built an image about the noble colonizer who in the case of Bertrand struggles to revive the glorious past of the Roman Empire and to revitalize the

¹ Philip Dine, *Images of the Algerian War: French Fiction and Film, 1954-1992* (London: Clarendon Press, 1994 1994), 150.

French enfeebled one. In the case of Kipling, the colonizer becomes the savior of other races who sacrifices himself for the sake of a noble civilizing mission. The authors make of their characters mythic and mythical heroes with distinguished qualities. This chapter seeks to show the ways in which these two writers contributed to the creation of persistent colonial myths.

I- Colonial Necessity: Bertrand's and Kipling's Myths of Colonial Right and Duty

In *Mission civilisatrice*, Dino Costantini shows that the European equation between civilization and colonization is the primary legitimating ideology the colonial powers posed in order to facilitate their projects. She writes,

La colonisation est pour l'Europe une obligation et une nécessité qui descendent naturellement de son évidente supériorité. [...] Par l'action de l'homme blanc, la lumière de la civilisation a commencé resplendir sur les colonies, permettant que des pays s'auto-excluant de l'histoire depuis des millénaires s'acheminent sur la voie de leur propre modernité.²

According to Costantini, colonization is the only way that can bring the colonies and its inhabitants to modernity and civilization. On this basis, it can be said that the European powers divided the world into two groups: the dominant which stand for the European colonizer/civilizer and the dominated who need the former to develop. This dividing colonial construction clearly appears in the works of Bertrand and Kipling.

The following pages will show what does colonialism mean for both writers. It will try to unveil the most ideological agendas behind this fact of colonization which seems to differ for the writers. It is will be noted that Bertrand and Kipling tried to justify the colonial expansion of their empires on different grounds relying on nature of the relation that bounds the colonies of Algeria and India with the colonial enterprise present in their lands.

² Dino Costantini, *Mission civilisatrice : Le rôle de l'histoire coloniale dans la construction de l'identité politique française* (Paris : La Découverte, 2008), 36.

Both writers consider colonization and imperial extension as simultaneously a right and duty. Bertrand considers Algeria as a lost Latin province which should be recovered and therefore the French colonization is a national duty to gain back the right in Algerian lands and his claim is built on archeological and anthropological grounds. For Kipling, the genetic superiority the white man has makes it a duty and a responsibility for him to civilize, protect and save the inferior peoples from their own backwardness and savagery through playing a paternal and altruistic role.

A- Myth of Historical continuity: Bertrand's Reactivation of the Latin Africa Myth

To make a working myth, Bruce Lincoln stresses three main points. Either the mythmaker discredits an existing myth through depriving it of its authorship on the social net, or the employment of historical events or ancient credible stories in the creation of a new influential myth, or trying to change the social view of an existing myth by changing the ways in which it is interpreted, or finally make use of all the three points.³ According to his texts, it seems that Bertrand relies on the last option, which constitutes a mosaic of historical narratives, archeological investigations, and prophetic visions fused into well-constructed realistic fiction. Within what Lincoln terms the instrumentality of the interaction between the past and the present in mythmaking process⁴, Bertrand starts from his country's present situation and seeks in the history of Algeria and France what serves the lived French situation.

The Algerianist movement was based on idea of Algeria's Latinity and Frenchness and the right of the settler in the Algerian land. The characteristics of the colonial ideology promoted through Algerianist literary texts are best summarized in Abdelkader Aoudjit's introduction of his book *The Algerian Novel and Colonial Discourse*. He lists them as follows: "1. The settlers are an exceptional type of people, superior to even the metropolitan French; 2. They are the brave descendants of the Romans and are thus the true Algerians; 3.

³Bruce Lincoln, *Discourse and Construction of Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 25.

⁴ Ibid., 28.

Colonization is the recuperation of a province lost from Latin civilization.”⁵ Aoudjit provides a clear overview of how colonial ideology and Algerianism are overlapping to make lasting myths which continually exercises its power on people.

The Algerianist movement was primarily created to revive the glory of the Roman Empire on the Mediterranean “basin.” Andrea Smith argues that the French Algerian writers called for a new identity for the settlers as being the true Algerians and the owners of the land while the Arabs and Muslims are outsiders. He asserts that Louis Bertrand is “the best known” and “best infamous” among the writers who fostered the idea of *les colons*’ “Algerianness”.⁶ Bertrand blatantly announces that with Algerianism “le Latin d’Afrique est sorti des nécropoles de l’histoire et de l’archéologie, pour rentrer dans la vie.”⁷ He means that the Algerianists brought back the buried Latin essence of Africa. So, the idea of Algeria’s Latinity and the settlers’ “Algerianity” is the “foundation story”⁸ used by France to ground her trespass in Algeria. Algerianists used literature to convince the French, the settlers, the Algerians of these ideas as being the natural order of things.

Convinced of the role that Algeria plays in the restoration of the French Glory, Bertrand’s writings look back into the remote history to the tie which brings Algeria and France together. The tie is epitomized in the Roman Empire. Because of the Latin origins of the French, he considers them as the successors of the Romans, who seek to regain Algeria which was violated by the Arabs. All of his works fictional as well as non-fictional center around the crystallization and the dissemination of the myth of the “historical continuity of Latinity” in Algeria. In *La Cina*, Bertrand, for example, repeatedly speaks of “l’idée de

⁵ Abdelkader Aoudjit, *The Algerian Novel and the Colonial Discourse: Witnessing to a Différend* (New York: Peterlang, 2010), 10.

⁶ Andrea L. Smith, *Colonial Memory and Postcolonial Europe: Maltese Settlers in Algeria and France* (Bloom: Indiana University Press, 2006), 115.

⁷ Louis Bertrand, “Une Manifestation littéraire: ‘Notre Afrique,’” *Revue des deux mondes*, 15 (Mai 1925), 191.

⁸ It is an expression coined by David Day in his book *Conquest* to refer to the stories founded by conquerors to justify their conquests.

continuité latine”⁹ and “le sens de la continuité de l’histoire.”¹⁰ He writes, “nous avons en ce pays de glorieuses traditions à continuer. Nos titres de noblesse remontent à près de dix-huit cents ans !...”¹¹ He, therefore, asserts the French presence in Algeria is a right and a duty.

In Bertrand’s perception, it is the right of the French as Roman descendants to recover their lost lands as it is their duty to regain their grandiose of the Latin Tradition and civilization. As Patricia Lorcin insists, Bertrand worked on effacing the Islamic past of Algeria and negates the period of its history.¹² Colonizing Algeria becomes an attempt to ensure the Latin continuity in the Mediterranean Region of Algeria that was broken by the Islamic conquest. Relying on Bertrand’s declaration in Carthage on the occasion of the centenary celebrations for Flaubert that “There is no other Africa but our Africa, [...] the Africa of Sallust, of Virgil and Saint Augustine.”¹³ it can be argued that the central question in his works is the “re-Latinization” of Algeria through its Latin/Roman history.

Despite the fact that Bertrand was not the first who brings the Roman historical memory of Algeria into play, he is the first who crystallized the idea into a well-defined and established myth: “Latin Africa.” The French General Secretary of the Historical Documentation Center on Algeria reports that:

Les vestiges de Rome en Afrique lui inspirent un enthousiasme qui fera surgir ou, au moins qui concrétisera un véritable mythe sur un fondement historique : les Français sont les successeurs des Romains parce qu’ils sont seuls capables de faire quelque chose dans ce pays. Certes le mythe ne date pas de Louis Bertrand. Dès les premières années suivant la conquête, dès la première colonisation, par exemple, du Pré de Saint-Maurice à Oran avait entamé des fouilles et construit une partie de sa ferme, et même une chapelle à partir de ruines romaines. Plus tard, on cite le geste du Colonel de Carbuccia faisait défiler son régiment de la Légion à Lambèse et rendre les honneurs au tombeau du Tribun qui se trouvait là. Et beaucoup plus tard dans le temps, le général de Monsabert estimera qu’il reconstituait sous la forme de la 3^{ème} DIA la Tertio Legio Augusta en reprenant l’emblème de la division, à côté des trois croissants tricolores, la victoire de Constantine. C’est donc bien un mythe fondé sur un

⁹ Louis Bertrand, *La Cina* (Paris : société d’éditions littéraires et artistiques, 1901), 53.

¹⁰ Ibid., 168.

¹¹ Ibid., 53.

¹² Patricia M. E. Lorcin, “Women, Gender and Nation in Colonial Novels of Interwar Algeria,” *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Summer 2002), 169-170.

¹³ Lorcin, “Women, Gender and Nation,” 169-17.

crédo historique qui prend forme avec Louis Bertrand.¹⁴

What is clear in this long excerpt is that Bertrand's myth is founded on a historical account. He exploits the history of the area to establish credibility for his imperial nationalist myth. In doing so, he tries to excavate the Latin and the Roman heritage of Algeria that was hidden under the cloak of Islam.

He shows the great efforts made by the French in the sake of recuperating the Latinity of the area and protecting it from disappearance. He declares,

Ainsi donc, très peu de romains proprement dits, ou d'Italiens, dans l'Afrique ancienne. « L'Afrique romaine, » comme « l'Afrique arabe » est une expression conventionnelle, et, dès qu'on la presse, à peu près vide de sens. L'Afrique, au temps des guerres puniques, est déjà, un pays latin. *Elle a été latinisée, c'est-à-dire civilisée, bien avant l'arrivée des Romains dans le pays.* Ce que nous appelons « la civilisation latine, » c'est la civilisation grecque adaptée aux régions de la méditerranée occidentale. Que Rome y ait ajouté un apport considérable, cela ne fait plus l'ombre d'un doute. Mais il n'en est pas moins vrai que l'Afrique était latinisée avant la domination romaine. Et voilà encore une différence considérable entre la conquête romaine et la conquête Française. Les Romains, arrivant en Afrique, se sont trouvés en présence d'une civilisation au moins égale, sinon supérieure, à la leur, tandis que, pour nous Français, ce fut le contraire.¹⁵

The above declaration shows that, for the French, it was harder to re-civilize Algeria and get it back than for the Romans. It is an assertion of its non-Arab and non-Muslim origins.

Bertrand celebrates the idea of the anteriority of Christianity to Islam in Algeria through dedicating a whole work *Saint Augustin* (1913) for Saint Augustine of Hippo who is the first bishop in Roman North Africa. Bertrand writes: "Du Le Sand des races à Saint Augustin, je n'ai guère fait qu'illustrer, développer, présenter sous toutes ses faces l'idée de l'union des peuples latins, comme unique moyen de les revivifier et de leur rendre la place prépondérante qu'ils ont tenue dans la monde."¹⁶ Bertrand's work is thus a pretext for reviving the Latinity of Africa through going back in the history of the Christian heritage and the Christian achievements in Africa. In this historical novel, he gives the example of Saint

¹⁴ Marc Baroli, "Le petit peuple Algérois vers 1900 vu par Louis Bertrand," *Regards sur la vie et l'œuvre de Louis Bertrand*, eds., Cercle des amis de Louis Bertrand (Paris: Via Romana, 2015), 85.

¹⁵ Louis Bertrand, "Africa," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Tome. VIII (1922), 124.

¹⁶ Louis Bertrand, *Les Pays méditerranéens et la guerre* (Paris : La Renaissance du livre, 1918), 186.

Augustine “apôtre de la paix et de l’unité catholique”¹⁷, who faithfully served the Roman Empire in Algeria and North Africa, and made considerable sacrifices for the continuity of Christianity and Latinity of the Mediterranean basin.

Yet, it was not enough to retell past stories about Algeria and its inhabitants. Thereby, he relies on archeology and anthropology to make of these stories authoritative. Alfredo González- Ruibal in his discussion of the relationship between colonial campaigns and archeology concludes that “a blend of anthropology and archeology would become common currency during the second wave of modern colonialism, from the mid-19th century onwards, and would play an important role in justifying colonial conquest.”¹⁸ Indeed, the whole Bertrandian œuvre is based on archeological and anthropological dimensions. As Philip Dine shows, it is “[c]entral to the articulation of these beliefs was a network of overlapping myths of origin, place, identity, and mastery.”¹⁹ Both sciences are used in his works to consolidate his claims of Algeria’s Latinity and the Berbers’ European origins. His œuvre is an investigation in the origins of the material heritage of the area and of the races inhabited it.

Cardinal Lavigerie²⁰ deeply influenced Louis Bertrand’s assumptions about “Latin Africa.” Bertrand considers him “Le grand initiateur de l’archéologie africaine”²¹ who enlightened his mind and oriented him towards the great Roman heritage in Algeria. Bertrand’s interest in archeology is very clear since he devoted many of his writings to the Roman vestiges in North Africa. *Les villes d’or*, for instance, is a survey about the Latin ruins

¹⁷ Louis Bertrand, *Saint Augustin* (Paris : Arthème Fayard et Compagnie, 1913), 315.

¹⁸ Alfredo González-Ruibal, “Colonialism and European Archeology,” *Handbook of Postcolonial Archeology*, eds., Jane Lydon and Uzma Z. Rizvi (Walnut Creek: Left coast, 2010), 39.

¹⁹ Philip Dine, “the French Colonial Myth of a Pan Mediterranean Civilization”, *Transnational Spaces and Identities in the Francophone World*, Eds., Hafid Gafaïti, Patricia M. E. Lorcín, and David G. Troyansky (London: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 5.

²⁰ He is Charles Martial Allemand Lavigerie. He was among the great names of French people who worked in North Africa. Cardinal Lavigerie had a prominent place. His humanitarian, social and religious action marked the second half of the 19th century. From the champion of anti-slavery to the restorer of the Christian Church of the first centuries in North Africa. He was both the defender of black peoples against the tyranny of their leaders and the instigator of an approach towards a Muslim world that was still poorly perceived. He leaves as a legacy the Society of Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers and White Sisters). For more information, you can read *Cardinal Lavigerie: Primate of Africa* by Rev. J. G. Beane.

²¹ Bertrand, *Devant l’Islam* (Paris : Plon-Nourrit, 1926), 80.

in Algeria and Tunisia. In this book, he directs the attention of the visitors of the North African sites which stand for the Greco-Roman identity of the region. The reader can discover that

Le voyageur, qui a *parcouru les ruines de quelques-unes de ces villes mortes*, en arrive à se persuader qu'on n'a rien fait de mieux en Afrique, qu'elles sont les témoins d'une période de civilisation incomparable. Cette période de six à sept cents ans, où Rome fut maîtresse dans ce pays, lui apparaît comme le siècle d'or africain. Cette Afrique romanisée, c'est, pour nous Latins, le paradis perdu, — une longue étape de l'histoire, pendant laquelle Rome et la Grèce, la vieille Egypte même travaillèrent à une œuvre commune avec l'Africain, sur le sol de l'Afrique, où fut conclue avec l'indigène une alliance à la fois politique, intellectuelle et religieuse, que l'Islam a rompue et que nous nous efforçons péniblement, depuis un siècle bientôt, de renouer.²²

Rome, accordingly, brought civilization and prosperity to the indigenes who were Latinized at all levels. They were acculturated politically intellectually, and religiously. The coming of Arabs to the area hindered the flow of the roman civilization and made of Algeria and its neighbors a lost paradise of Latinity.

The same will to rehabilitate the old Latin legacy goes throughout *La Cina* as well where Bertrand shows reliance on archeology to justify the French conquest of Algeria. The novel is dedicated to his archeologist friend Stéphane Gsell whose works on ancient Algeria affected Bertrand's myth of Latin Africa. Gsell is an africanist whose aims were the disclosure of the ancient history of North Africa to prove the French right in it. He says that "L'histoire nous trace aussi nos devoirs ; volonté inébranlable d'être les maîtres partout et toujours."²³ His first discovery in Algeria was the tomb of Saint Salsa in Tipasa that, it seems not accidentally, was chosen by Bertrand as one of the main settings in *La Cina*.

Bertrand uses two archeologists in his novel for the sake of giving his characters' claims more credibility. By means of science and reason, the archeologists M. Carrel and Paul Hartmann prove that the lands belong to the Romans and their heirs rather than the destructive

²² Louis Bertrand, *Les villes d'Or : Algérie et Tunisie romaines* (Paris : Arthème Fayard & C Editeurs, 1921), 32-33. (Emphasis added)

²³ Stéphane Gsell, "Introduction," *Histoire et Historiens de L'Algérie*, by J. Alazard, et.al., (Paris : Alcan, 1931), 5.

Arabs. To convey to Michel Botteri the French new comer to Algeria that his installation in his father's lands is his right, M. Carrel explains that his property in Tipasa is part of his Latin identity and roman memory. He says,

Les ruines antiques dont ce pays abonde ! Elles sont charmantes, ces ruines ! Vous savez que Tipasa est un vieux municipe romain, qui remonte au temps du roi Juba et qui ne disparut qu'avec la conquête arabe... Tenez ! cette colline où s'élève votre villa, c'est l'ancienne acropole de la cité, le centre religieux de toute la région ; c'est la Colline des Temples, comme l'appelle un vieux texte qui nous a conservé la mémoire de Saint Salsa, la martyre vénérée des Tipasiens. Tous les sanctuaires païens s'y groupaient, sans doute autour de l'autel de la Junon' Carthaginoise.²⁴

In saying so, M. Carrel is trying to convince Michel as well as the reader that the French are not strangers in Algeria and they should not let it for the Arabs.

Moreover, the traces of Gsell's archeological findings in Bertrand's thought appear in his conviction that the Arabs added nothing to the history and civilization of the area and that they are strangers. Gsell consistently asserts that the story of Algeria is doubled: "c'est celle des indigènes et c'est des étrangers qui sont venus s'établir parmi eux."²⁵ Bertrand negates any Arab contribution to the architecture of Algeria. His arguments are based on Gsell's conclusion that the seemingly ancient Arab mosques were raised on Byzantine churches.²⁶ Bertrand calls the Africans (his *peuple neuf*) to consider the Latin Christian roots under the

²⁴ Bertrand, *La Cina*, 30. Salsa was a little Christian when Tipasians still worshiped idols. She is considered one of the early martyrs of this religion. According to Stéphane Gsell, the facts date back to the beginning of the fourth century, when Christians were still few in the city of Tipasa. Pagan cults, though lacking official support, continued, notably in the form of crowd worship of a bronze serpent, the god Draco, and fanatical practices reminiscent of those of the cult of Cybele and 'Attis, according to Stéphane Gsell. One day, Salsa, a 14-year-old girl who had already converted to Christianity, was taken by her pagan parents to this place of worship. Trembling and shuddering at the sight of practices that she found disgusting, she removed the dragon's head and sent it rolling through the rocks into the sea, unseen by anyone. She will return to the sanctuary "with the intention of throwing the whole body of the idol into the waves. She succeeded, but the bronze statue made such a noise as it fell that the guards came running. The crowd seized the young girl. "Stoned, pierced with swords, trampled, torn to pieces, she was finally thrown into the sea, so that her body would remain unburied." Almost at that moment, a certain Saturninus, coming from Gaul, dropped anchor there in calm weather. But suddenly a violent storm arose and put the ship in the greatest danger. While Saturninus slept, he received in a dream the order to collect the body of the martyr who was under his vessel, and to give it burial, otherwise he would perish. » When the storm redoubled in violence and his dream repeated itself twice more. He dove into the water and brought Salsa's body back. Immediately, the sea calmed down and the winds died down. The young martyr of the beginning of Christianity, was transported by the followers of the new religion in a funeral procession, towards the hill of the Temples where a chapel, and much later, a basilica was raised with the stones of the old pagan temple to become the sanctuary of the holy Salsa.

²⁵ Stéphane Gsell, "Introduction," *Histoire et Historiens*, 4.

²⁶ Stéphane Gsell, *L'Algérie dans l'antiquité* (Alger: Geralt, 1900), 83.

Muslim façade. He writes,

Quant à votre architecture religieuse, ô hommes d'Afrique, il est de toute évidence que ce ne sont pas les Arabes qui vous l'ont apportée. L'Arabe, peuple nomade et vivant sous la tente, n'était point un bâtisseur. En arrivant ici, il s'est borne à chasser des basiliques le Dieu de l'Afrique chrétienne pour y installer le sien. La mosquée, c'est la basilique désaffectée et appropriée à un culte nouveau. Etudiez, par exemple, la grande église de Tébessa, - ce vaste et si curieux ensemble de ruines, dont la valeur documentaire est de premier ordre et que vous devriez conserver et entretenir pieusement comme un des plus éloquents témoignages de votre passé, - étudiez cette église et vous y découvrirez un des prototypes probables des grandes mosquées de l'Islam occidental, entre autres de la mosquée de Cordoue.²⁷

Bertrand demonstrates to his Africans that even the mosque which is a symbol of Islam is in fact a modified Roman basilica. The Muslim in Algeria could not construct a mosque of their own and in their fashion. He adds,

Devant la basilique de Tébessa, vous retrouverez en effet la cour dallée, rafraîchie par des bassins et des jets d'eau, entourée de portiques et sans doute plantée d'arbres fruitiers, qui est devenue plus tard, dans l'Afrique et l'Espagne musulmanes, le traditionnel « patio des orangers » partie intégrante des vieilles constructions mauresques. Et, comme à la mosquée d'El Azhar, au Caire, vous verrez, alternant à la basilique de Tébessa, toute une suite de bâtiments sans doute destinés aux prêtres, aux catéchistes, aux étudiants en théologie, peut-être des chambrettes pour les écoliers pauvres. À côté de cela, des écuries pour les montures des pèlerins et des ordinaires voyageurs. Pénétrez maintenant dans le sanctuaire proprement dit, voici, dès le seuil, la vasque des ablutions qui figure encore aujourd'hui à l'entrée de toutes vos mosquées, puis la chaire de l'évêque qui est devenue le *mimbar*, et, au fond de l'abside, le siège épiscopal, dans sa niche tournée vers l'Orient, qui est devenue le *mihrab*. Enfin, tout autour de la basilique, le foisonnement des petites chapelles, des *mémoriae*, contenant les reliques ou le corps tout entier d'un martyr ou d'un saint personnage, - et c'est ce que vous appelez communément un marabout. Ainsi les organes essentiels de la mosquée ne font que reproduire les organes essentiels de la basilique chrétienne.²⁸

As noticed, the writer goes into every detail of the mosque and compares it to the Christian church. He asserts that the supposed Muslim art is a pastiche of the Latin religious archeology.

Furthermore, Bertrand's scrupulousness goes further to touch every aspect of the Muslim Algerian artifacts: the native goldsmith's work, the furniture, the order of the houses, the exterior decoration, and the symbolic and traditional images. He sees in the smallest

²⁷ Bertrand, "Discours à la nation africaine," *revue des deux mondes*, tome vi, (1921), 484.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 492-493.

details the Punic and Latin origin that should be rehabilitated. The following passage is an illustration of the point:

Quoi de plus « arabe » en apparence que le « Croissant, » symbole de l'Islam tout entier ? C'est pourtant le croissant de Tanit, ou de la Virgo Coelestis de l'époque romaine. Ces mains ouvertes, qui sont sculptées ou peintes sur les portes indigènes, elles l'étaient déjà sur les portes de Carthage, d'après lesquelles sont encore copiées celles de nos casbahs algériennes : la forme et l'ornementation en sont toujours punico-latines, Ces œufs d'autruche suspendus dans vos logis et vos mosquées, ou bien découpes et cisèles en forme de tasses et de calices, ils faisaient déjà les délices des dévots et des dames africaines, au temps de Sophonisbe et de Sainte Monique ... Quoi encore ? le mobilier et la figuration de vos cabarets se retrouvent trait pour trait dans les images de la « taberna » ou de la « popina » romaine. Vos divans, c'est le lit gréco-latin, le lit où l'on se reposait, où l'on mangeait et buvait.²⁹

Accordingly, the Arabs have nothing of their own and everything belongs to the Latin patrimony. The author claims that from the tiniest to the largest and biggest detail in Algeria's architecture and archeological sites reveals the Latinity of Algeria.

In addition to archeology, Bertrand relies on some ethnological aspects in the Algerian history. He makes use of the "Berber Myth," which reminds the reader that Berbers were Latin and Christianized before being Arabized. Bertrand prefers to use the Arab Historian and sociologist Ibn Khaldoun to give himself the neutral stance. He argues that

Ibn Khaldoun lui-même, l'historien arabe, avoue que les Berbères, convertis à l'Islam, apostasièrent jusqu'à douze fois, tant dans l'Afrique proprement dite qu'au Maghreb. Evidemment, cela ne dénote point une foi chrétienne très fervente, fervente jusqu'au martyre, mais cela n'annonce pas davantage des musulmans bien convaincus. Rappelons-nous d'ailleurs que l'élite de la population avait dû quitter l'Afrique, ou avait été décimé. La religion nouvelle ne s'établit qu'à coup de massacres et de déportations.³⁰

Religion for him does not matter as it does not change the Latin background of the Berbers. Even though Berbers were converted to Islam, they were never totally convinced of it. They were obliged to embrace the new religion to escape the Arab savagery and survive.

"The Berber myth" also searches back in the origins of the Berbers and attached them to the Europeans. Some critics claim that the Berbers are of French origins. They seem to be

²⁹ Bertrand, "Discours à la nation africaine," 491-492.

³⁰ Bertrand, "Africa," 129.

the descendants of the Gauls who were part of the mercenary armies of Carthage.³¹ Richard Serrano considers this claim as an evidence of the French anticipation even of the Romans in Africa. Serrano also refers to possible Celtic or roman origins of the Berbers. Then, he comments that it does not matter which origin among them is the right, what is important is that they are all cousins of the French. Hence, the French possesses the right to the Algerian territories.³²

Bertrand works on the dissemination of a “privileged image of the Berbers as culturally and genetically proximate”³³ to the Europeans as Paul Silverston puts it. In *La Cina*, the writer mentions that origins of the Berbers can be traced back to the Celts. In claiming so, he relies on the obvious similarities between them. The Berbers and the Celts have common moral and physical traits. Bertrand writes that “[les Berbères] sont des celts.”³⁴ and he invites the reader to compare between them saying: “Regardez les Kabyle, le type est frappant!...”³⁵ The similarities are very obvious and easily marked.

The prime focus of Bertrand’s oeuvre is the rightfulness of the colonial enterprise in Algeria. However, he does not totally ignore the “Mission Civilisatrice” of the Europeans in the colonized lands. As Jean Déjeux observes, the Algerianist literature and the colonial ideology are firmly attached and inseparable. He states, “Ce groupe Algérieniste, qui s’est inspiré de Bertrand ne cesse de chanter « le credo de l’idéologie coloniale: COLONISATION = CIVILISATION.»”³⁶ Déjeux confirms that this literature fostered the colonial ideology which equates colonization and civilization. The ideology can be inferred from the ways in which the authors portray the Algerians in comparison to the settlers and what Algeria itself

³¹ Richard Serrano, *Against the Postcolonial: Francophone Writers at the End of the French Empire* (New York: Lexington Books, 2007), 73.

³² Serrano, *Against the Postcolonial*, 73.

³³ Paul A. Silverstein, *Algeria in France: Transpolitics, Race, and Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 39.

³⁴ Bertrand, *La Cina*, 364.

³⁵ Bertrand, *La Cina*, 364.

³⁶ Jean Déjeux, *Littérature Maghrébine de la langue Française* (Québec: Edition Noaman, 1978), 37.

represents for them. Bertrand, like all Algerianists, argues that the French aims at re-elevating the Berbers of his time as his Roman ancestors did before. He maintains that “[Rome] conquit le berbère, en lui donnant plus de bien-être, de commodité, de plaisir et de beauté. Elle l’amena peu à peu à collaborer avec elle.”³⁷ In saying so, Bertrand’s opinion translates the thoughts of Gsell, his archeologist friend. Like Bertrand who gives attention to the civilizing aspect of colonization, Rudyard Kipling also bases his thoughts around it.

B- Kipling’s Myths of Colonial Necessity

As Bertrand, Kipling in his texts addresses colonialism as a task towards less civilized people to put an end to their primitive traditions and barbaric practices. The task should be undertaken by the White Man whose superiority and modernity make him able to save the colonized from backwardness. Costantini explains the justification colonization through the myth of colonial necessity as follows:

Humanitaire, la guerre coloniale est nécessaire pour mettre fin à la barbarie et à l’abrutissement dans lesquels végètent les peuples qui n’ont pas été en mesure de s’élever jusqu’à la forme [des payés évolués]. Guerre providentielle puisque capable de mener vers la civilisation les « peuples enfants » s’attardant dans la reproduction d’habitudes culturelles erronées et incapables d’emprunter la voie maîtresse de l’Histoire, du Progrès et de la Civilisation.³⁸

According to Costantini, because the inevitability of some peoples or as he writes “child people” to develop necessitates a providential war led by the Whites to put these peoples on the road of history and civilization. The myth of colonial necessity is well illustrated in Kipling’s works.

Kipling as his fellow Europeans believes in the racial, cultural, intellectual, and technological superiority of the white man over other inferior races. According to him, the non-Europeans are necessarily in need of the formers to be uplifted to a more civilized stage. Such a way of thinking implies that imperialism and colonialism are a necessity for the colonized and they are classed under the notion of what the French term “*La Mission*

³⁷ Bertrand, *Les Villes D’or*, 31.

³⁸ Costantini, *Mission civilisatrice*, 59.

Civilisatrice” of the European. Alice Conklin’s explanation of the French civilizing mission can be properly projected onto Kipling’s idea of the colonizer’s duty:

The notion of a civilizing mission rested upon certain fundamental assumptions about the superiority of French culture and the perfectibility of humankind. It implied that France's colonial subjects were too primitive to rule themselves, but were capable of being uplifted. It intimated that the French were particularly suited, by temperament and by virtue of both their revolutionary past and their current industrial strength, to carry out this task. Last but not least, it assumed that the Third Republic had a duty and a right to remake "primitive" cultures along lines inspired by the cultural, political, and economic development of France.³⁹

The quote reveals that the colonized is unable of self-rule because of his backwardness. Thus, it is simultaneously the right and the duty of the civilized colonizer to intervene to rescue him from his primitiveness.

The Anglo-Indian writer’s conviction of the responsibility of the white man in oriental lands is apparent in his well-known poem “The White Man’s Burden.” It is a poem that had a considerable impact at the time of its publication. It was first published in the New York Sun on February 10, 1899; it was subtitled "the United States and the Philippine Islands". In the poem Kipling insists on the burden of being born a white man with the charge of bringing the light of civilization to the obscure peoples. Through these verses he calls first the Americans and then all the Europeans to take on their duty of the civilizing mission as being their manifest destiny. As his biographer Harry Ricketts shows, the central point of the poem is the question of “responsibility and duty” of the white race over the rest of the world.⁴⁰

Kipling’s poem is about the self-assigned civilizing mission, in which the role of master is assigned to the white and the natives of all denominations are considered slaves and servants. It is about the protection of the poor. Kipling writes,

Take up the White Man’s burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go send your sons to exile

³⁹ Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 1-2.

⁴⁰ Harry Ricketts, *The Unforgiving Minute: A Life of Rudyard Kipling* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1999), 233.

To serve your captives' need
To wait in heavy harness
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child
[...]
To veil the threat of terror⁴¹

To civilize, to protect, and to guide the peoples of the non-white race is the mission of the white men. Apart from the apparent racist load of the verses, they reveal how Kipling gives imperialism and colonialism a moral and altruistic tenet.

A striking paternalistic attitude is present in the stated verses. Describing the colonized or the to-be-colonized peoples as child minded implies their immaturity and inability of self-rule. There is, therefore, a pressing necessity for a protecting father epitomized in the white colonial enterprise. Kipling's poem embodies paternalism at its most idealistic form.⁴² His work proceeds from the glorification of the imperial mission, as much as it participates in it. He advocates a doctrine that morally justifies the colonial action. Preserving peace among the feuding tribes, preventing famine, elevating the social conditions, and promoting education are among the duties of the ruling race the writer belongs to.

The poem depicts an imperial order denoted by heroism and sacrifice while handling the troubles of the world. The notion of sacrifice, as linked, in Kipling's discourses, to the mission of the Empire, is stressed. For Kipling, the idea of service and sacrifice is at the heart of the ideal of the Empire. Using the statements such as “exile,” “Heavy harness,” and “patience to abide,” reveals how the white man abandoned his motherlands to serve the poor natives despite the difficult and ungrateful conditions which need enormous patience.

A certain idea of the colonial mission organizes his short story "William the Conqueror." In this tale, the English characters are sent to the help of a famine-stricken region of India, and, working relentlessly, resolves a superhuman quantity of problems. They work

⁴¹ Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," *Collected Poems of Rudyard Kipling* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth, 2001), 334.

⁴² Rickets, *The Unforgiving Minute*, 231-235.

very hard to relieve the famine and save the lives of the poor people. Despite exhaustion, Scott, Martyn and his sister William work hard to distribute relief and help the Indians. These people abandon their comfort, sacrifice their health, and devote their lives to the benefits of the Indians because the cult of sacrifice is central to the white race's high sense of responsibility.

"The Bridge Builders" is another tale in which the enormous sacrifice performed by the British in his colonies is stressed. Findlayson, the engineer, and his assistants Hitchcock and Peroo in addition to other workers spent three years of their lives in the building of a bridge linking the two banks of the river Ganges. During the process of the Bridge building, the workers endure different sorts of difficulties and dangers. They face the violent weather of India; they "had grilled in the heat, sweated in the rains, and shivered with fever under the rude thatch roof"⁴³ of the bungalows they were living in. Besides, they survived discomfort and the danger of diseases like cholera and small-pox.⁴⁴ In doing so, the characters celebrate Kipling's dutiful missionary in the uncivilized countries. It is in the aim of transmitting the technologies of the west to Indians, they defy the hard conditions in it.

The critic John McClure analyzes Kim's adventure being the allegory of the colonial mission, and his initiatory journey, an illustration of the ideal education of a race of rulers⁴⁵. This was the self-assigned task of Christian missionaries who came along with the imperial overlords and colonial administrators with a view to bring civilization, as determined by Christianity, to a non-Christian world. Christian missionaries had no doubt played an important colonialism considering other religions to be, what Mr. Bennett, the Catholic priest of the Irish regiment calls 'The Power of Darkness.'

At the level of education, Britain works in modernizing the educational system of the

⁴³ Kipling, "The Bridge Builders," *The Day's Work* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1921), 12.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 07.

⁴⁵ John A. MacClure, *Kipling and Conrad, the Colonial Fiction* (Cambridge, Mass., & London: Harvard University Press).

Indians because the British built new schools, and institutions with new syllabuses and classrooms that helped in facilitating the process. As Harold Fischer-Tiné puts it:

The British argued that the ‘childlike natives’ in the Indian colony would have to be trained to become active citizens, capable of acting in a responsible manner. In this regard, the educational system created by the colonial state was perceived as the backbone of a consisted policy of improvement, which coupled the desire to bring about the material betterment of its subjects with more ambitious goals that were shaped by strong moral overtones. Moreover, as policymakers in British India assumed that Indians suffered from serious ‘defects of character,’ the provision of education to eliminate these imperfections seemed all the more necessary.⁴⁶

Accordingly, education constitutes an integral part of the British colonial policy and their civilizing mission. It played a pivotal role in the justificatory agenda of British imperialism.

In *Kim*, the writer shows the educational benefits that the British brought to the natives. It is thanks to them that they were educated and enlightened. The Lama tells Kim that “Education is greatest blessing if of best sorts. Otherwise no earthly use.”⁴⁷ He is trying to convince him that education is important for him if he wants to get his targets. Huree Baboo for example became another man in regards to what he was before being educated by the English. His ‘defects of character,’ as termed by Fischer-Tiné, were changed and refined. After graduating from an English university, he became another man. Kipling writes,

He [Babu] himself had been taught by the Sahibs, who do not consider expense, in the lordly halls of Calcutta; but, as he was ever first to acknowledge, there lay a wisdom behind earthly wisdom the high and lonely lore of meditation. [...] The Hurree Babu of his knowledge – oily, effusive, and nervous – was gone; gone, too, was the brazen drug-vendor of overnight. There remained -polished, polite, attentive.⁴⁸

So, Babu was transformed into a more civilized man due to the colonial education he received.

The protagonist of “The Finest Story in the World” is “a young Bengali law student,

⁴⁶ Harold Fischer-Tiné, “National Education, Pulp Fiction and the Contradictions of Colonialism: Perceptions of an Educational Experiment in Early-twentieth-century India,” *Colonialism as a Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*, eds., Harold Fischer-Tiné and Michael Mann (London: Anthem Press, 2004), 229.

⁴⁷ Kipling, *Kim* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1921), 164.

⁴⁸ Kipling, *Kim*, 361.

called Grish Chunder, whose father sent him to England to become civilized.”⁴⁹ This implies that this Indian would never have been introduced to civilization without the Western education he received. For Kipling, without the educational system introduced or given by the British, the Indians could not be pulled out of their primitiveness. In this context, Williams Patrick says: "...the moral of the [colonial] quest would seem to be that without the help of the White man. The native has no hope of reaching enlightenment, salvation, full human status, or whatever.”⁵⁰ The only way for the non-white towards civilization is the assistance of the white.

Another point which is recurrent in Kipling's oeuvre is the respect of law. “More than any single author, Kipling articulated the pride which a segment of the British people took in seeing themselves as a nation of law-givers,”⁵¹ Benita Parry writes. Kipling values law which he considers as an absent element in the life of colonies in which it should be introduced. He demonstrates his philosophy of law in his poem “A Song of the English”:

Keep ye the law--be swift in all obedience
Clear the land of evil, drive the road and bridge the ford,
Make ye sure to each his own. ·
That he reap where he has sown,
By the peace among our people let
men know we serve the Lord.⁵²

He makes the cult of “law” a religious doctrine that the Empire servants should follow. He calls them to set order and maintain peace through fighting evil. The story of “The Head of the District” validates Parry's claim. In this story, he points out that without the intervention of the white man, order can never be maintained in India. Thanks to the laws imposed by Yardley Orde and later by Tallantire that peace is established among the tribes. Tallantire's

⁴⁹ Kipling, “The Finest Story in the World,” *Indian Tales* (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1899), 30

⁵⁰ Williams Patrick, “Kim and Orientalism,” *Kipling considered*, ed. by Mallett Phillip (London: Macmillan, 1989), 38.

⁵¹ Benita Parry, *Delusions and Discoveries* (London: Verso, 1998), 190.

⁵² Kipling, “A Song of the English,” Rudyard Kipling, “The White Man's Burden,” *Collected Poems of Rudyard Kipling* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth, 2001), 178.

wisdom enables him to restore peace in the district by means of imposing law that the natives couldn't. He knows exactly what the situation in his district needs. . It is due to the blessings of rationality and intelligence that the white man is endowed. Hence, for Kipling the question of Tallantire's ability to rule and the natives' inability is a racial and cannot be changed.

According to the British editorial from 1884, "The primitive in India it is possible to witness the triumph of a project of the empire, where the enlightenment ideals of abating superstition and heightening productivity have been achieved through the colonial 'civilization' of indigenous populations."⁵³ The imperial enterprise that Kipling defends in all his writings seeks to eradicate oriental superstitions and old fantasies. Kipling confirms that "It takes a great deal of Christianity to wipe out uncivilized Eastern instincts," ⁵⁴ it is worth noting that this is one of Kipling's contradictions or ambivalent opinions. Like his view of the natives education that is discussed in the previous chapter, Kipling is convinced that the colonized cannot be civilized and can never be detached of their ancient illogical beliefs.

As Kipling suggests, bringing civilization to the colonies is the main aim of the white man colonization. Kipling gives a major importance to the issue to transportation and mainly railroads building. He believes that "Transportation is Civilization."⁵⁵ His short story "The Bridge Builders" illustrates the significance of bridging the Indian lands by a long railroad. The tale centers on the building of a railway bridge across the Ganges under the supervision of an English engineer, Findlayson. The latter enters into a hallucinating dream after being drawn by a flood which threatens the destruction of the bridge. In his dream, he witnesses a meeting of India's gods about their view of the bridge. Despite some god's uneasiness with the bridge, the god of good-luck Ganesh concedes the benefits of the bridge.

Ian J. Kerr, in his analysis of the use of the railway motif in South Asian literature,

⁵³ Jo Collins, "The Alterity of Terror: Reading Kipling's Uncanny India," *Kipling and Beyond: Patriotism, Globalisation, and Postcolonialism*, eds., Rooney, Caroline and Kaori Nagai (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 81.

⁵⁴ Kipling, "Lispeth," *Plain Tales from the Hills* (New York: the Nottingham Society, 1909), 4.

⁵⁵ Kipling, "As Easy as ABC," *A Diversity of Creatures* (London: Macmillan, 1917), 20.

explains that the symbolism of the bridge resides in representing the whole imperial entity. He puts that

[Kipling] used the construction of a railway bridge as the subject matter for a powerful short story [The Bridge Builders]. The bridge, its building and its builders became an extended metaphor colonial presence. At one point in a dream sequence Kipling has Lord Krishna say: "Great Kings, the beginning of the end is born already. The fire-carriages shout the names of new Gods that are not the old under new names"⁵⁶

Kerr, sees that Kipling hints to that the introduction of bridges into the Indian society is in fact an introduction into a new phase in its history, a phase that is totally different from its previous. Hence, the bridge can also be read as an allusion to the great transformation the British Empire brought about in India. The Bridge building is a way through which Kipling shows the necessity of the colonization in putting India on the road of modernity and progress.

For Ganesh, a sensed betterment is observed with the building of the bridge. It joined the different and distant towns the thing which contributes to facilitating pilgrimage to the Ganges temples and to the increase of money circulation. He says,

"Not altogether," the Elephant rolled forth. "It is for the profit of my mahajuns-my fat money-lenders that worship me at each new year, when they draw my image at the head of the account-books. I, looking over their shoulders by lamplight, see that the names in the books are those of men in far places-for all the towns are drawn together by the fire-carriage, and the money comes and goes swiftly, and the account-books grow as fat as-myself. And I, who am Ganesh of Good Luck, I bless my peoples."⁵⁷

In this story, the bridge clearly stands for the glory of the British Empire. It symbolizes the profits of the imperial enterprise in India. It is with the British colonialism that the Indians were introduced to technological development as well as their transportation system started to progress. It is thanks to the bridge builders who are the imperial agents that a wide net of railways and bridges were achieved.

Sanda Badescu is right to point out that the Bridge has different significations and

⁵⁶ Ian J. Kerr, "Representation and Representations of the Railways of Colonial and Post-Colonial South Asia," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (May, 2003): 293-294.

⁵⁷ Kipling, "The Bridge Builders," *The Day's Work* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1921), 82.

Kipling seem to use of the Bridge as a symbol which bears various interpretations. For Badescu,

Imagining bridges is a primary attempt to join what is separated, to connect A and B, binaries which otherwise remain irreconcilable. [...] The bridge can be actual or abstract; it can be a *voyage* between two worlds, a sentimental *link* between two communities, a *passage* between life and death.⁵⁸

Kipling's Bridge also fits the critic's supposition. It has both an actual and abstract dimension. As shown before, the bridge stands for a way that opens new economic and social opportunities for the Indians. More, it serves to connect two opposing worlds: the civilized and the uncivilized. This bridge is for the natives a passage from primitiveness to development and civilization.

II- Colonial Savior: Bertrand's French Algerians and Kipling's Anglo Indians

A negative image of the "other," who is in a perpetual need to be rescued from his own primitivism, constitutes a foundation of the colonial narratives which promote the white supremacy. Simultaneously, these narratives are used to construct the figure of the white savior; a savior whose aim is to help others and pick up them from the darkness of their life. Beyond the ideological premises of this colonial saviorism, it lies the agenda of the colonizer's self-legitimization and the replacement of the native. It makes the presence of the colonizer a fact of duty fulfillment rather than an act of dispossession and deportation.

Saviorism represents one of the constant motifs in colonial literature. It renders colonization justifiable and a logical conclusion for the other's need for protection. The "colonial savior" as Deborah Barndt, Hernan Vera, and Andrew Gordon put it is a "powerful cultural myth."⁵⁹ It paves the way to the colonizer's imperial endeavors and facilitates his domination over the weak colonized. Simultaneously, it hides his unspeakable conduct and

⁵⁸Sanda Badescu, *From one Shore to Another: Reflections on the Symbolism of the Bridge* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 1.

⁵⁹ Deborah Brandt, Hernan Vera, and Andrew Gordon, *Screen Savors: Hollywood Fictions of Whiteness* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), 34.

camouflages his greed for profit. Paulo Freire explains the idea of saviorism in *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*:

the dominators try to present themselves as saviors of the women and men they dehumanize and divide. This messianism, however, cannot conceal their true intention: to save themselves. They want to save their riches, their power, their way of life: the things that enable them to subjugate others.⁶⁰

Freire's claim leads to conclude that colonization and its saviorist slogans are tools for self-enhancement and self-protection. Therefore, it can be related to the imperial nationalist anxieties raised by Bertrand and Kipling. As mentioned before, the colonial savior myth constitutes one of the main myths of replacement that ensure the integrity of the imperial enterprise and the national glory of the French and British empires. The subsequent section shows how the two writers employ it in their own logic and according to the imperial situation their countries passed through. It is intended to convey how Bertrand and Kipling appropriated it to the benefit of their imperial nationalist issue.

A- Bertrand's Settler as France's Savior

In his book *Mythes et mythologies politiques*, Raoul Girardet mentions saviorism as a nationalist agenda in France. He confirms that the myth of the "Savior" was among the enduring political myths which marked the French history. According to him, the savior myth is the image of a providential man who appears during serious crises of legitimacy. This "savior" can be a political speaker, an exemplary warrior, an irreproachable sage supposed to save France. He gives the example of the president Charles de Gaulle⁶¹ who perfectly

⁶⁰ Paulo Freire, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 2005), 145-146

⁶¹ Charles André Joseph Marie de Gaulle (1890 - 1970) was a prominent French military and political leader from 1940 to 1969. Refusing to accept the armistice his government held with the German invaders in 1940, he established a base in London, declared himself a representative of France, and founded the Free France Movement. During the war he mobilized French colonies overseas (particularly in Africa), organized resistance from abroad, and struggled to gain full recognition from the British and Americans. A staunch supporter of democracy, he became the leader of the French Provisional Government following its liberation in 1944 and destroyed the remnants of the Vichy regime. He retired from his post in 1946, but returned in 1958 when France was on the verge of entering into a civil war against the backdrop of the Algerian crisis. As president (1958-69), during the Fifth Republic, he revised the constitution to provide for presidential control of foreign and military policy, ensure the independence of Algeria and the African colonies, make politics independent, and restore economic growth to the nation. Establishing a close bond with West Germany, he

embodies two figures from the myth of the "savior" described by Girardet. He is considered as the Savior-Moses, the prophet who leads his people to the promised land. de Gaulle was regarded as an embodiment of an old mythical figure whose spirit was reactivated in 1958. He took the form of the Savior-Cincinnatus, that of the old sage who was illustrated in other times and whose past guarantees the future.

Such a savior figure appears in a time of uncertainty and fears to save his people. Therefore, the myth of the savior is usually accompanied with a myth of golden age which according to Girardet represents

[une] image d'un passé légendifié, visions d'un présent et d'une future définie en fonction de ce qui fut ou de ce qui est censé avoir été. [...] opposé à l'image d'un présent senti et décrit comme un moment de tristesse et de déchéance, se dresse l'absolu d'un passé de plénitude et de lumière. Aboutissement quasi inévitable : cristallisant autour d'elle tous les élans, toutes les puissances du rêve, la représentation du temps d'avant est devenue mythe⁶²

The savior and the golden age motifs become overlapping myths which serve nationalist causes through the exploitation of what Bruce Lincoln terms the instrumentality of time in myth creation.

With regard to Bertrand, within an anxious imperial nationalist environment, his portraits of some of his settler characters fit to the figure of the "savior" or "an imperial Messia" who seeks to restore a past golden age. In his perception, the French Algerian settler should play the role of a hero in the restorative crusade. He represents the rescuer of the French empire, the Latin heir of the glorious Roman empire, which is itself on the verge of disintegration. He should rescue the once Latin lands from the hands of the Arab conqueror. He also rescues the previously Christianized Berbers from the darkness brought by Muslims. For Bertrand, the settler savior has to do his best and save no way to reach his noble objectives.

sought hegemony of the European Common Market by denying entry to the British and keeping the United States at arms' length. Exhausted politically and emotionally, he finally left office in 1969. He is known as the most powerful and greatest French leader from Napoleon to the 21st century.

⁶² Raoul Girardet, *Mythes et mythologies politiques* (Paris : Seuil, 1986), 98.

With reference to the role of the settler, Mgr Puig summarizes the saving role of the French colonizer in saying that “Le devoir de l’église est tout tracé, c’est ce peuple neuf qu’il s’agit de conquérir et non les sauvages.”⁶³ He specifies the mission of the colonizer in the creation of a new people that would bear the burden of saving the Latin heritage. As well, he confirms that the Algerians or the “savages” as he calls them are out of his plans and as it has been mentioned before they have to be exterminated. The new people have a pivotal role: “Il fallait continuer les traditions, replâtrer, remettre à neuf tout ce vieux passé !”⁶⁴ the glorious past of the French and their roman ancestors should be prevented from extinction through rejuvenating and rehabilitating it by the settlers of North Africa in general and Algeria in particular. The church at this stage has to play a pivotal role in the realization of the imperial nationalist project of France.

The archbishop believes that the role of the church is no longer limited to missionary campaigns and Christianization of the natives. The church has to be the promoter of the colonizer implantation plans. To effectively displace the local inhabitants and replace them, the Archbishop confirms that the first step is the massive appropriation of wealth and lands. He says to the abbot Lalouette that the projects of saving Latinity start

par être riche et par posséder. Thésaurisons au lieu de jeter notre argent par les fenêtres pour l’émerveillement des badauds ! Ce pays qui naît a besoin de crédit pour s’outiller — supplantons les Juifs, ouvrons notre bourse aux colons, dont nous sommes surs en n’exigeant d’eux qu’un intérêt modéré, car encore une fois, il faut être honnêtes, même en affaires. Sachons choisir nos hommes, démêler ceux qui sont aptes à réussir. Soutenons-les, poussons-les par tous les moyens. Nous créerons ainsi une aristocratie terrienne, [...] Quand on a besoin d’argent, on ne regarde pas d’où il vient.⁶⁵

Mgr Puig in the passage relates the success of the colonial project to money and, believing in the principle saying the aims justify the means, he confirms that the source of the wealth does not matter.

Furthermore, the Archbishop values the adequacy of the settlers who will carry out the

⁶³ Bertrand, *La Cina*, 262.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 259.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 261-262.

saving project. The French Algerian settlers will be provided with assistance and encouragement. In *La Cina*, for instance, the reader notes the considerable support settlers who follow the Archbishop's orders like Carmelo the lawyer receives all kinds of support: political, financial, and even emotional. Carmelo's use of the anti-Semitic emotions for electoral aims is valorized. On the contrary, Michel who resembles Cardinal Lespès in his adoption of humanitarian and utopist ideas are fought and dismissed. Mgr Puig uses all his authority to remove Michel from his way. He is considered as an obstacle that may impede the rejuvenating schemes of the Archbishop as a representative of an imperial enterprise.

Bertrand's oeuvre defends the idea that imposing the colonial domination and the control of all domains in the colony is the only way to guarantee the expulsion or at least the manipulation of the Algerians, and therefore ensuring an enduring settlement for the colonizer. For this reason, Bertrand celebrates three kinds of characters in his writing: the carter, the fisher and the farmer. After the military conquest, the duty of preserving the African lands and restoring the glorious past should be taken on by these figures. They are new crusaders whose main purpose is to settle in Algeria in order to expand the French domination from North to South. They are conquerors of another kind whose task is to support to the French colonial enterprise and they constitute an effective aspect for the Latino-Roman heritage salvation.

The writer wants these new crusaders to follow the steps Saint Augustin, their great ancestor. He wants them to have his stridency, violence, dedication, and sacrifice. Bertrand made of this saint an example to be followed for his unique characteristics:

Ce qui rend la vie d'Augustin si complète et si exemplaire, ce qu'il soutint le bon combat non seulement contre lui-même, mais contre tous les ennemis de l'Eglise et de l'Empire. S'il fut un docteur et un saint, il fut aussi le type de l'homme d'action à une des époques les plus découragées. Qu'il ait triomphé de ses passions, cela, en somme, ne regarde que Dieu et lui. Qu'il ait prêché, écrit, remué les foules, agité les esprits, cela peut paraître indifférent à ceux qui rejettent sa doctrine. Mais qu'à travers les siècles son âme brûlante de clarté échauffe encore les nôtres, qu'à notre insu, il continue à nous former, et que, d'une façon plus ou moins lointaine, il soit encore le

maitre de nos cœurs.⁶⁶

Saint Augustin, for him, is a continuous source of inspiration for the new people of North Africa. He is the type of man who challenge any difficulty and win over it by his endurance. He is a man of action who does everything for the realization of his goals.

Bertrand attributes a great significance to the carters and their work in Algeria. He shows a deep reverence for such a task and celebrates it in many of his writings. Maurice Ricord comments on this saying,

le roulage était le moyen par lequel cette colonisation pouvait se propager vers le Sud. Le chemin de fer existait, mais il ne se ramifiait pas encore vers Djelfa. En devenant le romancier des rouliers, Louis Bertrand célébrait un des éléments essentiels de notre pénétration vers le Sahara.⁶⁷

The carters endure very hard conditions to carry machines and materials, which build the Franco-Latin civilization in the south. They constitute one of the basic pillars of the modernization of the abandoned plains of the Algerian deserts.

Rafael epitomizes the character of the Algerian *rouliers* applauded by the writer. Throughout *Le Sang des races*, he demonstrates a passionate love for his profession despite the perils and the fatigue it involves. Bertrand writes, “En plein épanouissement d'adolescence, le sang frais dans les veines, toute l'ivresse de sa jeune force au cerveau, il acceptait avec enthousiasme les dures corvées.”⁶⁸ The reason behind Rafael's passion resides in his soul longing for freedom, glory, and joy according to Bertrand, who considers him and all the carters as heroes. In describing Bertrand's Algerian new people, Marc Baroli compares *le roulage* to cavalry saying: “A ce prestige de la cavalerie légère répond celui de la cavalerie lourde du roulage.”⁶⁹ The carter for him is a cavalier who deserves admiration, respect and gratitude for the great job he does to conquer every single part of the vast Algeria. It is not an easy task to roll carts that go south to the desert, with a team of eleven mules that

⁶⁶ Bertrand, *Saint Augustin*, 7-8.

⁶⁷ Maurice Ricord, *Louis Bertrand l'Africain* (Fayard : Librairie Artheme, 1947), 184.

⁶⁸ Bertrand, *Le Sang des races*, 30.

⁶⁹ Marc Baroli, “Le petit peuple Algérois vers 1900 vu par Louis Bertrand,” 95.

must be led through the worst roads or in the total absence of roads. When it is necessary to cross a flooded Oued with tens of animals, which fight at the same time against the stream to pass on the other side, or when it is necessary to withstand the burning sun's rays, only a man of a considerable physical and mental strength that can stand. Such a scene shows how Rafael as his fellows is full of strength, endurance, bravery, and enthusiasm; the required characteristics for building the new French Algeria Bertrand has been dreaming of.

In addition to the carter, Bertrand also glorifies the fisher through the way he shapes his character Pépète. Like Rafael, Pépète has an enormous power for adventure. He is full of vitality and energy. He faces the waves of the angry sea with steadiness and bravery. No doubt his character shows a sort youth's triviality, enjoyment of laziness, and fatalist inclinations. Yet, the Mediterranean man confirms that he will never be enslaved by crude instincts. He is always alive, always true, and always free. In his new preface to the novel re-entitled *Pépète et Balthasar*, Bertrand compares him to his Latin ancestor Homer. They have the same taste for adventure, life, work, and liberty. Pépète proves to be a fierce individualist; he would be ready to defend his rights and his freedom against socialist tyranny. None of the socialist temptations let him give up his liberty. His free soul enables him to "flairer le piège où les meneurs [socialistes] veulent l'entrâner." Pépète and his descendants are the saviors of the Latin spirit and preservers of its continuity.

In addition to carters and fishers, farmers or land owners are also of considerable importance for Bertrand despite the little critical attention given to them in comparison to the carters. Land accumulation and farming represent a strong basis for the reconstruction of the lost empire. They tie the settlers more and more to the colony and ensure his implantation and rootedness. Bertrand wants to celebrate these farmers whose tireless efforts and courage, and sacrifice heavily contribute to the installation of the colonial enterprise in Algeria. He illustrates such force with the example of Mr. Schirrer in *La Cina* and Pélissier in *La*

Concession de Madame Petitgand.

The two characters exhibit dogged determination to make beautiful large estates and immense vineyards. They had to be won piece by piece on the invasive bush, swamps, and dry stony moors. Emile Schirrer is the type of settler who should take the responsibility of reviving the wasteland of Algeria for the continuity of the French empire in the view of the author. His tireless efforts, hard work, and endurance made of Mr. Schirrer one of the most successful farmers and owners of large lands. His small estates were growing to be an agricultural empire. He succeeded to make of vast arid lands the largest vineyards in the country, and farms for raising sheep. He tirelessly fought the geographical and climatic difficulties.

Pélissier, who started his life as a carter fascinated by the Algerian South with the necessary toughness, intelligence and courage, decided at the age of forty-one to have stability in his life and have a home. Therefore, he bought part of an estate called “La Concession de Madame Petitgand”. He devoted himself for this estate challenging both natural hostility and human malice. With the same insistence of Schirrer, Pélissier worked his land piece by piece and turned it into a vast, rich farm. Later, he discovered that Nondédeo, the Mayor of Cheraia, wanted the estate for himself and made many problems like killing Pélissier’s animals and burning his crops in order to push him to cede it like many other before him did. Pélissier ended the story by killing Nondédeo. The story shows how the *colon* desperately defends his land against anyone. It should also be noted that Bertrand stresses the point that Pélissier has roman physical and mental characteristics in order to make an analogy between the French Algerian and Roman love for his land and his readiness to sacrifice anything for it.

It can be deduced that *Le roulage*, fishing, and farming are the most celebrated functions in the oeuvre of Louis Bertrand. In fact, they are not chosen randomly. They seem to have a strong symbolic value. The mastering of these jobs is in Bertrand’s conviction an

allusion to the French dominance in all Algeria from its seas, passing through its plains, to its deepest deserts. It gives the impression that the whole colony is in the hands of the colonizer who succeeds in saving the lands from the loss. Bertrand summarizes the project in what follows:

Les personnages qu'on avait décrits, les aventures qu'on avait contées ailleurs prenaient une signification plus profonde par la série infinie des faits dont ils étaient les aboutissants momentanés, et ils se haussaient jusqu'au symbole, grâce à toutes les idées historiques, sociales, philosophiques ou religieuses dont ils devenaient comme les masques dramatiques. La dureté des steppes africaines, le flamboiement de leur soleil, l'haleine dévoratrice des sables, et, d'autre part, l'influence mystérieuse du vieil impérialisme latin, avec son goût de la pompe et de la vie décorative, avec ses habitudes d'autorité, son culte de l'individu et de la famille, tout cela se retrouvait pour l'auteur aussi bien dans les plus humbles héros que dans les protagonistes les plus ambitieux de ses romans, aussi bien dans le rousier Rafael, dans Pépète, le pêcheur de sardines, que dans l'archevêque Puig, ou le tribun Carmelo. Décrire, en sa magnificence, le cadre immuable où se déroule tout drame africain, ranimer les débris de cette civilisation romaine dont le souvenir agit encore obscurément dans la conscience des peuples, en un mot illuminer le présent de toutes les gloires du passé, voilà donc ce qu'il a tenté.⁷⁰

In saying so, the writer confirms his saviorist creed and asserts that the making up of all his characters is meant to one objective for the sake of the revival of the French Empire and its Latino-Roman heritage. In doing so, Bertrand contributes through his ideas in the imperial nationalist project of his country by reinforcing its colonial situation in Algeria and North Africa in general. The author's creed has different common points with Kipling who also regards the colonizer as a savior.

B - Kipling's Anglo-Indian as the Poor's Savior

Like his contemporary Bertrand, Kipling also adopted the colonialist ideology of "saviorism." In his investigation on the "savior mentality," Jordan Flaherty sustains that the slogan of the white savior that reigns today's world is a colonialist fabrication whose aim is justification of interference in others' issues. According to Flaherty, the savior cult is founded on

⁷⁰ Bertrand, "préface," *Le Jardin de la mort* (Paris : Paul Ollendroff, 1905), xiii-xiv.

lies of peace and generosity masking violent self-interest. It is as old as conquest and as enduring as colonialism. [...] The savior mentality is not about individual failings. It is the logical result of a racist, colonialist, capitalist, hetero-patriarchal system setting us against each other. [...] The savior sees dark skin and translates that to helplessness. And saviors see their own white skin as validation of the gifts they bring.⁷¹

Flaherty's claim brings attention to the displacing myths and the white man's burden of the "civilizing mission" he has to perform towards the less human beings which are embraced by Kipling in his writings and which are discussed in previous sections and which he shares with Bertrand and other colonial writers.

It can be noticed that the degrading image Kipling provided about the inhabitants of India and other British colonies is the background against which his creed of the white savior is set. The immature, childish, trouble-maker, and savage Indian is represented as being in a permanent need for the white man to save him from his backwardness, and to enlighten him. In a letter to Edward Bok (1914), Kipling equates Britain's wars and colonial campaigns with civilization spreading. In the following lines, he expounds his idea,

At the present moment we are fighting for civilization all over the entire planet; human nature being what it is—we are expected to save the world and to keep it comfortable, as well as to supply it with heart-warming emotions and good chances for making money, while we are at the task.⁷²

Kipling clearly expresses his adoption of the myth that colonization is a civilizing duty which should be assumed since that is what the whole world expects. His works imply that the alleviation of the non-white infinite sufferings from backwardness is impossible unless the white savior intervenes.

In addition, the myth of the savior corresponds to the set of traits attributed to the white colonizer allowing him to put forward his actions in the service of a noble cause by considering himself a benefactor hero. Deborah Brandt and et. all define the savior as

⁷¹ Jordan Flaherty, *No More Heroes: Grassroots Challenges to the savior Mentality* (Edinburgh: AK press, 2016).

⁷², Thomas Pinney, *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling Volume 4: 1911-19* (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1990), 275

The redeemer of the weak, the great leader who saves blacks from slavery or oppression, rescues people of color from poverty and disease, or leads the Indians in the battle for their dignity and survival. [He] is marked by charisma, the extraordinary quality that legitimizes his role as leader and that of the foreign population as followers.⁷³

The colonizer plays the role of the messiah in the colony. He leads the “heathens” to salvation and enlightenment. He picks them up from the pitfalls of ignorance and indignity. Kipling frames his white characters within this frame of saving the needy people.

In Kipling’s fiction, the image of the savior is recurrent. Characters like Kim, Tallantire, John Chinn are representative of the white protecting power in India. In “On the City Wall,” Kipling shows the hard work and the sacrifices such men make for the benefit of the native. The next excerpt illustrates his conviction:

Year by year England sends out fresh drafts for the first fighting-line, which is officially called the Indian Civil Service. These die, or kill themselves by overwork, or are worried to death or broken in health and hope in order that the land may be protected from death and sickness, famine and war, and may eventually become capable of standing alone. It will never stand alone, but the idea is a pretty one, and men are willing to die for. It, and yearly the work of pushing and coaxing and scolding and petting the country into good living goes forward.⁷⁴

The writer explains that despite the fact that India can never stand alone without the British rule. The noble men of the empire continue to work for the benefit of the population of the colonies to take them to step forward to a more civilized phase.

Kim is the writer’s major narrative, which thoroughly propagates the idea of the white saviorism. It portrays the indispensability of the white protection for the stability and order of the colonial setting. Kipling exhaustively employs Kim’s exuberant white traits to stress his ability to prevent disorder and slippage in the integrity of British India. His alertness allows him to uncover a conspiracy to murder Mahbub Ali. Kim saves his friend’s life thanks to his accurate timing to make him know about the plot to kill him. The little boy also rescues the child of the Jat from a deadly fever as he does with agent E23. Along his journey in the Indian

⁷³ Deborah Brandt, et.al, *Screen Savors*, 3.

⁷⁴ Kipling, “On the City Wall,” *Soldiers Three, The Story of the Gadsby, and In Black and White* (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1911), 298-299.

lands, Kim is not just saving the lives of different people. He greatly contributes to the safety of the whole India. As it has been mentioned before, the genetic skill of the young “friend of all the world” enables him to act effectively and succeed in his mission as a spy. He easily discovers the Russian spies and intelligently reacted to hinder their plots in India. His deeds participate in saving it from the Russian extension in the area. For this reason, the place of such a character is irreplaceable in the novel and in the colonial scene while the imperial integrity should be maintained. Zohreh T. Sullivan is right to hold that Kim’s journey empowers him to fulfill the role of efficient guide, seer and savior.⁷⁵ Kim, as a representative of the imperial system, succeeds in winning the Indians’ as well as the whites’ confidence and to convince them of the benevolence of the empire.

While *Kim* stresses the role of the British in saving the frontiers of India from external threats, “The Head of the District” is an illustration of the great efforts the British Civil Service makes to protect the Indians from themselves. In this story, Kipling counts the story of Kot Kumharsen District which was governed by the white man Orde whose death brings about bloody conflicts. By his death, the government appointed a Bengali to rule the District. Ignoring the long-lasting hatred between the Bengalis and the Khusru Kheyl tribe, the thing which resulted in disorder. The two tribes started a bloody war that could not be ended without the wisdom and cleverness of the English Assistant Deputy-Commissioner Tallantire.

The same tale also narrates the dangers that Indians bear to each others. It is only the white man who can save the Indians from their use of violence and their own fanaticism. A man of their own people, despite his English education, fails to rule. Peace and order are restored by Tallantire the white man whose presence in India, Kipling implies, is indispensable. For the writer, the Indian is a child-minded who will never grow and is therefore in need for a continuous guidance. The passage of Orde’s last moments before his

⁷⁵ Zohreh Sullivan, *Narrative of Empire: The Fictions of Rudyard Kipling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 156.

death thoroughly displays Kipling's idea. He delivers a speech to the Indians saying,

But you must be good men, when I am not here. Such of you as live in our borders must pay your taxes quietly as before. I have spoken of the villages to be gently treated this year. Such of you as live in the hills must refrain from cattle-lifting, and burn no more thatch, and turn a deaf ear to the voice of the priests, who, not knowing the strength of the Government, would lead you into foolish wars, wherein you will surely die and your crops be eaten by strangers. And you must not sack any caravans, and must leave your arms at the police-post when you come in; as has been your custom, and my order. And Tallantire Sahib will be with you, but I do not know who takes my place. I speak now true talk, for I am as it were already dead, my children, — for though ye be strong men, ye are children.' [...] There remains Tallantire Sahib. Go to him; he knows your talk and your heart. Keep the young men quiet, listen to the old men, and obey.⁷⁶

Orde's words convey the way in which the "natives" are considered inapt to rule themselves. He asserts the need for a white man to look after them and continue the duty of saving their lives. The firm tone of his words shows the lasting dependence of the tribe's peacefulness on the white guidance.

Another example of the role the British colonization played in saving the Indians from their primitiveness is the short story "A Tomb of His Ancestors." The author underlines the continual father-like supervision that successive English generations had been assuming as "the burden of the white man." He writes,

Centuries of oppression and massacre made the Bhil a cruel and half-crazy thief and cattle-stealer, and when the English came, he seemed to be almost as *open to civilisation* as the tigers of his own jungles. But *John Chinn the First, father of Lionel, grandfather of our John*, went into his country, lived with him, learned his language, shot the deer that stole his poor crops, and won his confidence, so that some Bhils learned to plow and sow, while others were coaxed into the Company's service to police their friends. [...] It was slow, unseen work, of the sort that is being done all over India today.⁷⁷

Kipling shows that despite the deep backwardness of the colonized, the British devoted themselves to the service of these poor men. They spent long times introducing them into modern social life styles, health and agricultural systems. They had been tirelessly trying to

⁷⁶ Kipling, "The Head of the District," *Life's Handicap* (New York: Doubleday and company, 1899), 187-188.

⁷⁷ Kipling, "The Tomb of his Ancestors," *The Day's Work* (Toronto: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1921), 112.

make of them a modern civilized community; a endurance that was inherited from grandfathers to sons, and to grandsons.

Kipling illustrates the example of the Chinns family who was in the service of India for hundreds of years. John Chinn, his father, and before him his grandfather who work in areas of tribal tensions and bloody struggles succeeded in taming the local people and “to keep the wild Bhils under control.”⁷⁸ They repeatedly rescue them from bloodshed and death. They prevented inter/ intra-tribal skirmishes due to their knowledge and cleverness.

“William the Conqueror” provides the most humanitarian image of the savior in Kipling’s works and which resembles that of our days. It portrays how British civil servants both men and women take risks to rescue the local population mainly children from hunger and death. Among the relief workers are William and Scott who devotedly look after the starving natives. William, for instance, compassionately takes care of children in the camp without complaining. As well, Scott finds time to collect herbs for the goats and milking them to feed the babies in spite of the fact that his work in the distribution of the relief supplies is exhaustive. Examining Kipling’s attitude towards these characters, J. M. S. Tompkins sees that Kipling is right in his use of the god simile with Scott who “has been indeed the preserver of life and restorer of hope.”⁷⁹

Moreover, it is remarkable that the Kipling’s saviors share the respect and the love of the colonized. The characters Kim, Tallantire, the Chinns, Scott and William win the approval of the Indians through wearing the cloak of the guardian angels. The locals make of them semi-gods and welcome their presence among them as “Masters of the game.” In this way, the colonized is voluntarily displaced from his place as the legitimate owner and governor of the colony and also willingly replaced by the Anglo-Indians.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Joyce Marjorie Sanxter Tompkins, *The Art of Rudyard Kipling* (London: Methuen, 1965), 158.

Both Bertrand and Kipling used the myth of saviorism in their works and present the colonizer as a savior. For Bertrand the settlers like Rafael Pépète and Pélissier are the saviors of France from its degenerating conditions through the restoration of the golden age of their Latino Christian ancestors who built one of the greatest empires in history, more they rescue the previously Christianized Berbers from the darkness brought by Muslims. For Kipling, savior characters like Kim, Tallantire, the Chinns, Scott and William are presented as guardian angels who pick up and protect the colonized from their poverty, backwardness, and savagery.

Conclusion

The foregoing chapter shows how the displacing myths discussed can be consolidated by another set of myths whose aim is the replacement of the colonized. The replacing myths in the oeuvre of both writers serve the continuity and the integrity of the Imperial enterprise, which constitute a pivotal element of the national character as the writers believe. It is evident that the two writers' views concerning the issue of displacement are in accordance despite some slight differences. From the aforementioned, Bertrand and Kipling agree that colonization is simultaneously a right and a duty. While the former considers Algeria a lost right that must be recovered and he relies on scientific and historical evidences to defend his claim. The latter believes in the benevolence of colonization and its necessity for the colonized the thing he expresses in his famous "the Burden of the White Man." It is clear that Bertrand's and Kipling's works make colonization justifiable through the use of myth. With both authors, colonization is considered as inevitable necessity.

The common justificatory approach the writers adopt relies on playful images of historical determinism. Bertrand, for instance, suggests that the French presence in Algeria is a question of the Latin's historical continuity in the area. For him, the Arab or the Muslim era in Algeria represents a rupture in this continuity. To reinforce his claim's credibility, he resorts to science mainly archeology. In his turn, Kipling sees in racial difference between the

white and the non-white the adequate technique to vindicate the British imperial enterprise. For him, the white with his natural supremacy is predetermined to rule and protect the non-white whose genes made of him an inferior with continuous need for the former. Furthermore, the two authors consolidate their myths of colonial necessity and continuity with the myth of the “colonial savior.” Bertrand sees in the new settlers of Algeria the saviors of the lost dignity of the whole Latin race and mainly the French. They are supposed to rescue the French Empire from collapse and preserve its regency from being taken by Arabs. For his part, Kipling promotes images of the Anglo-Indian savior which heavily contribute to the justification of the imperial enterprise. They deepen the sense of the colonizer’s civilizing mission and the Indians’ irreparable inferiority and need for a permanent supervisor. Such claims of the writers support the imperial nationalist agenda in a direct way.

General Conclusion

The present study has explored Louis Bertrand's and Rudyard Kipling's imperial nationalist ideology as presented in their texts. It has shown that an undeniable resemblance attaches their works to each other in spite of the fact that Bertrand denies any Kiplingesque influence on his works or his thoughts as already mentioned in the introduction. The ideological affinity between the two writers is noticeable in the way they perceive the imperial expansion of their nations and their standpoint regarding the colonies in which they lived for a certain time. One of these similarities is that both Bertrand and Kipling developed imperial nationalist tendencies that make their writing similar at the core.

Moreover, the comparative approach followed in the analysis of the imperial nationalist discourses that dictated their fictional as well as non-fictional writing effectively has shown the unchangeable spirit of the imperial creeds despite the different shapes it may take. The present study has proved that imperialism is nothing but an extended form of nationalism. The seeds of imperialism as found in the works of the authors under study come from their nationalist ambitions and anxieties. The analysis of the selected works has led to the conclusion that the French and the British great ambitions for making their nations the leading powers of the world and their insistence in keeping this status from decay present a nationalist issue before anything else. France and Great Britain, since centuries before the time of the writers were of the leading empires of the world. Thus, when the writers felt that the primordial aspect of their nations was endangered, they used their writings to the defense of it. It has also revealed that anxiety dominates the mood of the Bertrandian and Kiplingesque writings.

Furthermore, reading the authors' works within the socio-political context of the time through new historicist lenses has allowed to disclose the traces of their anxiety and its causes. Despite the manifest conditions of power and stability, the turn of the twentieth

century was a difficult period for both French and British empires. Each of them experienced moments of weakness and uncertainty like the defeat of France in front of Germany and the successive sociopolitical crises which followed and the deterioration of the British power that incarnated in the poor conduct in the Boer wars for example.

To a nearly similar extent, the authors agree on the reasons that brought their imperial nations to that conditions of uncertainty and which threatened their imperial continuity. They blamed their nations for the inclination towards political liberalism and democratic dogma. Bertrand reiterates that the republican principles of democracy universal fraternity, liberty and equality are utopian and poisonous because they give the opportunity to unqualified people to rule and decide the fate of the nation. For him, such principles push the colonized people to rebel. Holding a same view, Kipling sees that democracy destroys the hierarchical order of the tradition and brings about the chaos since it blurs the limits between the rulers and the ruled mainly in the colonies. Thus, it can be deduced that Bertrand's and Kipling's opinion didn't differ concerning the socialist and humanitarian tendencies that dominated the turn of the century. They share the view that these ideologies contribute in the enfeeblement of the empire. However, the writers had the same hope of rehabilitation and empowerment, the reason behind choosing the word imperial nationalist Gospels for the title of the thesis. As it is known, the word Gospel stand for the meaning of good news of reviving the world that the Christ brought with him.

More importantly, the stand of the two writers reveals their traditionalist and conservative character. Both are against any change in the ruling policies. They proved to be monarchist and authoritarian. They believe in the centrality of power and hierarchical order of nations. They see that the ancient traditional systems are firm and they do not tolerate any kind of non-effectiveness. They are convinced that turning from such systems is the primer cause of their imperial nation's deterioration. Bertrand and Kipling went forth in their

writings to give their opinions about what can be the remedy of the frightening weakness of the French and the British empires. Even though anxiety haunts their thinking, they were not pessimist. They saw that there was a chance for restoration and regeneration. Their schemes are summed up in knowledge barbarism, and the union of the colonial agents.

The imperial agent's lack of effectiveness in the colonial space is an important factor in the degeneration of the French and British empires. The agent of the empire, under the new systems adopted, is not instructed properly. He lacks most traits of the imperial man of previous great empires. In addition to his ignorance of the reality of his own national and imperial conditions, he is void of vigor and action. He believes into utopian abstractions and useless dreams. Besides, his uncalculated actions are marked for its futility and even harmfulness. The settler is a pivotal element and the main agent in the imperial nationalist ideology espoused by both writers. They consider him superior to the decadent metropolitans whose aims deviated from serving the empire to only enjoying the position they got and that is at risks of being lost. The settler's superiority lies in his knowledge of the colony and its natives in addition to their indefatigable energy and their non-ceasing work and devotion to the empire. These two elements enable the colonizer not only to understand the colonized, but also to manipulate and to contain him.

The analysis of the writer's works has made it clear that the authors introduce the same solution for their nations' decadence. They both emphasize the prominence of knowledge in the revitalization of their imperial nations. It has been conveyed that their standpoint concerning the solutions for their nations' malaise does not differ much. They both value the substantiality of knowledge in this issue. Knowledge about every aspect of the imperial situation of both nations serves taking the right decision at the right moment. Knowing their capacities and their frailties enables the imperial agent to increase the formers and overcome the latter. besides, it is recommended that the colonizer should have enough information about

the colonized's lands, habits, traditions, ... etc, in order to effectively and correctly behave with him. In this way, the French and the British can fittingly rule their empires and reinforce them, and control all its peripheries.

The study has also demonstrated that Bertrand as well as Kipling call for the exploitation of every person under the French and the British control for the sake of ensuring the imperial prominence. They insist that the colonizer should benefit from the colonized's potentials and abilities in the same way as he should profit from that of the colonizer. They consider the unification of these people's capacities an enrichment for the empire. It has also been noticeable that both Bertrand and Kipling appealed to non-French and non-English for the defense of the empire. They know that the colonial subjects are either with, or against them. Therefore, they get their alliance each in his way and use them to reinforce their positions in the colonies. For instance, Bertrand uses settlers from different European origins and represents them as loyal inhabitants to Algeria. Kipling, as well, utilizes the Irish Kim and persuades him and the readers of his Britishness, and turns him from a reckless boy to a vital secret agent in the British Army. They also draw attention to their special skills that the French and the English do not have and which should be employed for their benefit.

As the present investigation has evidenced, Both writers regard the colonial subjects of different origins who are under the imperial rule should be welded into an efficient imperial power through their love for Algeria and India and through providing a common enemy. In *La Cina*, Msg. Puig's, Carmelo's, Rafael's, and Claude's attachment to Algeria is very obvious. Similarly, Kim and Colonel Creighton, Mahboub Ali and Lurgan are also very attached to India. Bertrand makes the Muslims and Jews the settler's worst enemies that should be eradicated. For his part, Kipling gathers both settlers and local people against the Russians, the British rivals. The two sentiments of love and enmity put all the settlers and their allies

together to work for common end, which is the implantation of the colonizer in Algeria and India.

The next common point between the two authors is Barbarism which represents, for both of them, an essential element of the imperial rehabilitation. Going a step back to less civilized stages of history is what can eradicate the softness and effeminate character that caught the French as well as the British Empire. The concept “Barbarism” is the opposite of the new liberalist ideologies. It gives the imperial agent the needed toughness, strength, vitality, and firmness. Such traits, if found in the colonizer, grant him a total dominance.

Despite the striking similarity between Bertrand and Kipling, they had some differences. The first is that though both writers advocated barbarism as a regenerative strategy, they didn’t understand it in the same way. For Bertrand, to be a barbarian settler does not mean being a savage and blood-thirsty. It means to give up one’s softness and effeminacy and to be tough and masculine. On the other hand, Kipling called for a barbarism that entails the extermination of the enemy and the destruction of all his interests and possession like killing soldiers and burning their farms as it is the case of what happened during the Boer War.

Furthermore, since imperial extension constitutes an important part of the national identity of the French and the British, it is not enough to get a military and a political control over the colonized culturally and mentally and to convince the whole world of the legitimacy of such extensions. Therefore, the writers use myths about the colonized as well as the colonizer. The myths are classified according to their function into two categories: Myths of displacement and myths of replacement. Concerning the myths of displacement, they center on the colonized nations. They are used to give a derogatory image of the colonized and the situation of their lands. Despite the similarities between the two writers, Bertrand and Kipling differ in the way they perceive the people of the colonies. While Bertrand tends to make the

local population absent from his work and considers them savages that are in need to be exterminated, Kipling prefers to get them on the British side and use them for the benefit of the empire. Their stands differ because Bertrand believes that the natives are a latent power that can come to the surface at any moment whereas Kipling belittles the capacities of colonized and he is convinced of the native's inability to face the British.

It is also important to note that both writer's ways of dealing with the colonize are built on the aspect of imagination and negation. On the one hand, Bertrand portrays French Algeria in a non-realistic way and make it appears for the reader the way he wants to do. He propagates the idea that Algeria is an empty land and that there are no problems with the natives or any unrest. On the other hand, Kipling depicts Anglo-India being completely under the British hegemony and that all the natives are with the presence of the British in their lands. Both authors' fiction belongs to what Kipling calls "Literature of escape" since it portrays a desired world rather than the world as it is in reality. Concerning the colonized lands, the authors' stances differ because the colonizing motif for them is far from being the same. Despite of the fact that they both aimed at consolidating the imperial rule of their nations, Bertrand was convinced that Algeria was not a colony but a lost heritage to be recovered. On the contrary, Kipling believed that India was a land without a worth leader and it is populated by dysfunctional inhabitants before the coming of the British imperial power.

In Bertrand's writings, the main focus is on debunking the claims of the Arab-Muslim identity of Algeria. Bertrand tried to present the Arab-Muslims as invaders who raped that lands of a previously Latinized Berber society. He relied on the far history of the Roman and Latin dynasty in Algeria which is consolidated by the Latino-Roman archeological sites. More, Bertrand was acute to show that Algeria under the Arab and Muslim rule was a bare and chaotic land. The displacement of the colonized rests on the negation of any positive trait in his character. Irrationality is the main characteristic attributed to the indigenous population.

In all their behavior, the people of the colonies are shown with little intellectual capacities and severe mental degeneracy. The colonial gaze was then just as utilitarian: the colonized had to be able to become the auxiliary essential to the development of the colonies, indispensable but subordinate auxiliary. Through colonial discourses and practices, the paternalistic ideology finds its legitimacy in a racial conception of difference where inheritance imposes its laws, and it was there to maintain colonial domination for a long time.

It derives from the previous analysis that the colonized for both Bertrand and Kipling is deemed a permanently degenerate. He continuously performs his deficiency in administering his affairs and fixing his problems. In the case of Kipling's works, the inferiority of the Indian cannot be remedied despite the British education he received and all the efforts of the white civilizer to enlighten him prove to be fruitless. For Bertrand, the Algerians' inferior character is unavoidable and it is needless to try changing it. For him, the Berbers should help the French and stay under their supervision while the Arabs should be expelled since they are outsiders. In depicting the inability of the colonized to take mature and thoughtful decisions and to overcome their hereditary racial backwardness, the writers emphasize the claim that a continuous colonial supervision over these forfeited populations.

The imperial policy based on a hierarchy of cultures claims the right to reject the colonized; the people defeated in archaism and obsolete stagnant cultures. In its essence, the colony is considered as a land of "savagery" torn between bestial populations, predatory fauna, and poisonous flora. The colonized is struck in his primitive traditions. His race is stripped of its humanity. He is represented as cruel savage disguised in a man's clothes. His barbaric violence, savagery, and blood thirst are signs that negate any sort of civilization. Besides, the image of the colonized is framed on a ground that underlines his sub-humanity or in other words his animality. The two authors in the study liken their indigenous characters to animals using a dense animalistic diction. While Bertrand sees the Algerians as filthy parasitic

insects, Kipling portrays the Indians close to the state of wilderness acting like jungle animals sometimes completely naked.

Equally important, the colonial period, from the 1880s to the 1930s, was marked for the literary racial representations of the colonized societies. Depreciative representations of otherness were actually accentuated when philosophical evolutionism annexed the gains of modernity in the natural sciences in a context of radicalization. The study of the literature of that period reveals the reasons about the birth of a certain number of myths relating to colonial history; myths, which present a colonial ideology spared by the "prejudice of race", driven by imperial universalism and largely marked by a civilizing spirit. The myths, propagated by the actors of colonial history, actually show the presence of a differential and unequal thought within the imperial ideology whose consequences in terms of colonial policy are far from being trivial.

In the same context, the imperial nationalist drive of the writers did not stop at the level of displacing the native and constructing his inadequacy. These myths of displacement were the ground on which the colonizer sets other myths that legitimize his patronage over the colonized to replace him in the land rule. At this level, Bertrand and Kipling adopted different strategies due to the divergence in the colonizing motives. Bertrand, for instance, stressed the idea of the Latin heritage in Algeria that should be restored by the French heirs. His oeuvre presents the colonizer as the savior of the French imperial tradition through the restoration of the Latin lost prestige. Meanwhile, Kipling established his replacing myths on the basis of the white's duty to bring peace, order, justice, economic, social, intellectual and finally moral progress to the peoples who remained in barbarism and anarchy. The British colonizer also became a savior of the imperial identity through playing the role of the rescuer who unceasingly saves the natives.

Throughout the analysis, it has been observed that Bertrand's works lay special emphasis on the myth of "Latin Algeria". The notion of the Latin historical continuity in North Africa dominates most of his writings. The legitimacy of the French replacement of the Arabs in Algeria is constructed on historical and scientific aspects. For the writer, the Roman Archeological vestiges stand as living evidences of the Arab's outsidership as they make the French colonization simultaneously a right and a duty. Building on an anthropological dogma, Bertrand shows a great discrepancy between the Arab Muslims and the Arabized Berbers as an additional proof that the Arabs are intruders. The dogma argues that the Berbers have Latin origins and their characters show more similarities with Europeans than with Muslims who brought about their degeneracy.

In contrast to Bertrand who wanted to prove the ownership of Algeria, Kipling's most interest was to defend a permanent British authorship over its colonies. Concurrently with claiming the natives' deficiency, his writing works to consolidate the myth of the "White Man's Burden", which centers around the noble civilizing mission the British has to accomplish in the peripheries of the world. He contends that the colonizer sacrifices his comfort and sometimes his life to help the primitive populations of the colonized. He brought to them educational and technological progress. He worked for keeping order and peace among the struggling barbaric natives. In this way, the white's presence is more than indispensable and colonization becomes inevitable racial duty over the less or non-civilized peoples.

The cult of saviorism is prevalent in the both writers' oeuvre. The study has revealed that colonization is covered by a myth of noble saving mission and put within the confines of an imperial nationalist objective. Its main concern is saving the imperial tenet of their national identity. Bertrand insists that the only way to rejuvenate the French empire and dignity is through a total control over the French colonies mainly Algeria that should be saved from the

Arab occupation while Kipling makes the British saviorist creed two-dimensional. It is meant for rescuing the Indians from one hand, and from the other for preserving the British honor that is tightly connected to the Empire.

This study has also disclosed that despite the existing differences between the two authors, their perception of imperialism is analogous at the core. It becomes thus evident that they have divergent views concerning the colony and its inhabitants. Yet, the frame of their writings is the same. They both consider the imperial integrity of their nations as a national issue. Their works are informed by their ceaseless anxiety about their national situation domestically and at the international level. They warned against the perils of modern liberal orientations in government and they are both with the traditionalist monarchist systems. They connect the grandeur of their nations to their imperial dimension that should be preserved through the manipulation of the world views through creation of myths.

It can be concluded that colonization and imperial ambitions of nations is an extension of nationalist ideology. The study has shown that the world superpowers, in order to maintain and increase their own benefits, produce a myth system that legitimizes their conduct. Therefore, consciousness is highly required to understand the world's situation and avoid disastrous results. Myth is a powerful tool in the fierce struggle among the great powers in the world. For example, USA's need for new sources of energy and new markets for weapons is behind the creation of the Iraqi mass destruction weapons myth. The myth made of Iraq the first enemy of the whole humanity that is stopped by the American superhero. History really repeats itself. Myths of the dangerous savage and uncivilized other have been repeatedly constructed and reconstructed to serve the imperial nationalist interests of countries. They evidently take different forms, but they have the same basis.

The present investigation has also drawn attention to other important literary subjects. The comparative study can be extended to include Colonial American Literature and how the

relation between nationalism and imperialism is perceived mainly with regard to the American myth of “Manifest Destiny.” The myth whose impact is noticed even nowadays. The two authors tackled in the present analysis can, for example, be compared with James Fenimore Cooper or Robert Montgomery Bird. Another important topic that can be investigated in the authors’ works is the influence of religion on the imperial and national ideologies.

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