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(1907)

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Dedications

To the memory of my beloved mother; To my dear father; To my brothers and sisters; To my friends; To all those who supported and encouraged me. Safia

To my dear parents; To my brothers and sisters; To Abdenour, my fiancé; To all my nieces and nephews; To my friends; To all those who supported and encouraged me.

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Abstract

The following research studies Imperialism and Identity in Rudyard Kipling's Kim (1901) and Robert Randau's Les Colons (1907). To achieve our purpose, we have "New Said's Orientalism (1978), Stephen Greenblatt's relied on Edward Historicism" and Benedict Anderson's "Imagined Communities". We have first studied the way both authors conceived an imagined identity for the colonizer. The Anglo-Indians and the French-Algerians stand as the "true" natives of India and Algeria, respectively. Then, we have dealt with the representation of the native Indians and Algerians in both novels, relying our analysis on "otherness" as an Orientalist aspect. In addition, we have demonstrated how both authors created imagined communities and identities to legitimize their presence in India and Algeria. Thus, after studying Kipling's and Randau's works we came to the conclusion that both of them are supporters of Imperialism and their works obeyed the spirit of their ages and the context of their productions.

Dedications

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Introduction:

Imperialism existed since ancient history. In its pure form, Imperialism involves a melting pot of populations and cultures, with a unification of political and social institutions. However, by the nineteenth century, imperialism shifted from its ancient form and adopted a form of colonial imperialism. It is no more a question of unification; it is rather a question of establishing political control over other territories. This shift marked the raise of colonial empires such as the French and the British ones. Those two western empires spread their control over Asian and African territories. The imperial practices of France in Algeria and Britain in India established the westerners as superior to the native people. In terms of identity, the native people were marginalized and reduced to inferiority by the colonizer. In *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said notes that the westerners favored the European culture at the detriment of the Orient that is viewed as the opposite or the other¹.

To legitimize the act of colonization, the westerner justifies his conquests as the white man's burden². Literary works, with the use of colonialist and Orientalist discourses celebrate the supremacy of the western colonizer over the dominated colonies. The western literature depicts the colonized people as primitive and savage to show that they are in need of a ruler. The novel of the French author Robert Randau *Les Colons* (1907) "the colonists" and the novel of the English author Rudyard Kipling *Kim* (1901) are two literary works that illustrate the imperial attitudes of the colonizer and his greed for power and domination.

Our choice of these two authors and their respective works is motivated by the high level of imperialism that witnessed the era when they were produced. Besides, both authors strongly support the imperial ideologies of their empires. Moreover, Kipling's *Kim* and Randau's *Les Colons* are full of codified stereotypes and mis/representations that reflect the authors support for a British India and a French Algeria, respectively. Furthermore, Robert Randau is nicknamed "The African Kipling"; "son oeuvre et son action lui valurent d'etre appelé le "Kipling Africain"³.

Kipling received many critics and has been considered as a pro-imperialist "As an Anglo-Indian, Kipling is more likely to act the role of a propagandist for a British India."⁴ Kipling's support for the British Empire and Anglo-India (the jewel in the crown) is highly reflected in his work *Kim* (1901). This novel of adventure has received a large bulk of criticism, which agrees that it reflects Kipling's imperialist strain. To begin with, Edward Said in his *Culture and Imperialism* (1994) claims that:

They [British and Indians] had a common interdependent history, in which opposition, animosity, and sympathy either kept them apart or brought them together. A remarkable, complex novel like *Kim* is a very illuminating part of that history, filled with emphases, inflections, deliberate inclusions and exclusions as any great work of art is, and made the more interesting because Kipling was not a neutral figure in the Anglo-Indian situation but a prominent actor in it.⁵

Kipling expressed his dream of imperialism and, through his work, he calls for a complete British dominance over India and notes the Indians' need for British rule instead of selfgovernment.

Another critical attention to Kipling's work is provided by Mouloud Siber in his work "Rudyard Kipling, Edward Morgan Forster, William Somerset Maugham and Joseph Conrad: The British Imperial Tradition and the Individual Talent" (2012). According to Siber, Kipling celebrates the British domination over India and misrepresents the Indians in an attempt to justify and to legitimize the British rule and governance⁶; he argues:

As for Kipling and other imperialist writers, the non-western people are to be dominated by the white races in view of their pretended inferiority and the superiority of the imperialists which allows them to become the rulers of these people.⁷

Siber shows Kipling's imperialist ideologies and his belief in the superiority of the white race and its right to govern the supposed inferior races which are depicted in Kipling's works. In this sense, he asserts that "In Kim the colonial desire of the orient takes different forms. The political aspect of desire is matched with the symbol of the "red bull in green field", which stands for the desire to make the British banner landed over the whole India."⁸ As a novel written by an imperialist author, Robert Randeau's *Les Colons* has also received a large bulk of criticism. The novel is studied by Françoise Henry Lorçerie in: "Revue Algerienne des Sciences Juridiques Economiques et Politiques" (1974). Lorçerie considers the work of Randeau as the first colonial novel about Algeria, "il s'agit du premier roman du cycle de "la patrie algerienne". [...] c'est aussi le premier roman proprement colonial [...] et "algerien"."⁹ "This is the first novel of the trilogy of "la patrie Algerienne" [...] this is also the first real colonial novel [...] and "Algerian". (Translation ours)

Lorçerie also considers *Les Colons* as "un roman manifeste"¹⁰ "a manifest novel" since it illustrates in literature the doctrine of "Algerianisme"¹¹. The author's colonial ideas are presented in the novel throughout the discussions and the dialogues of the French-Algerians, "[...] aux discussions dans lesquelles Cassard joue un role pivot. Le dialogue entre les protagonistes n'a souvent d'autres function que de donné un lieu aux iddées colonials algerianistes."¹² "[...] to the discussions in which Cassard plays a pivotal role. The dialogue between the protagonists mainly turns around Algerianist colonial ideas" (Translation ours). Lorçerie views the novel *Les Colons* as a "document a un double titre"¹³ "double titled document" (Translation ours). A clear document about the ideology of autonomy, and a document about the life in the Algerian towns under the colonists' domination.¹⁴

The novel of Robert Randau *Les Colons* has been also studied by Nacer Khelouz in his work *Le Roman Algerien de L' entre- Deux –Guerres A L'epreuve du Politique(2007)*. In his study Khelouz advocates that by the doctrine of "Algerianisme" the colonists appropriated the Algerian country. For Khelouz "les ecrivains coloniaux [comme Randau] se targueront d'etre les seuls vrais Algeriens [...]"¹⁵ "colonialist writers [as Randau] pride themselves to be the only true Algerians" (Translation ours). He considers the voyage of latin origins, through which Randau attempts to legitimize the conquest of Algeria by the French colonizer, as an uncompleted quest contradicted by history; "a l'impossibilité de cette quete historique qui a

contre elle l'histoire elle-meme^{"16} "to the impossibility of this historic quest that stands against it history itself" (Translation ours).

Issues and Working Hypothesis:

It is clear that the two works have been approached through different perspectives. Yet, to our best knowledge, the two works have not been studied together. Therefore, our research studies Kipling's *Kim* and Randau's *Les Colons*, in an attempt to demonstrate how the two authors consciously or unconsciously expressed their Orientalist views about the colonized and their will to appropriate the native identity.

The aim of our research is to study Kipling's *Kim* (1901) and Randeau's *Les Colons* (1907), in terms of Imperialism and identity. We aim to study the two works in the way they represent India and its people and Algeria and its people. We also aim to demonstrate how both authors represent the British in India and the French in Algeria, and appropriate the Anglo-Indian identity in *Kim* (1901), and French-Algerian identity in *Les Colons* (1907). As far as Kipling's *Kim* is concerned, we intend to show how the Anglo-Indian became first class citizen at the detriment of the native. The same goes in Randeau's *Les Colons* with the French colonizer becoming the native and the Algerians are reduced to voiceless shadows.

To deal with this issue, we will base our study on Edward Said's *Orientalism* and Stephen Greenblatt's "New Historicism". In his work, Said argues that Orientalism aims to "otherize" the "Orient" so as to celebrate the Occident and justify the Western colonization. Orientalist discourse also aims to emphasize the supposed colonized inferiority and the supposed European superiority. New Historicism claims that "texts of all kinds are the vehicles of politics[...] literary texts are vehicles of power"¹⁷. Literature is the means used by Imperial writers to propagate their imperial ideologies. Relying on New Historicism, we shall attempt to decipher the Orientalist representations that are codified in both works.

In addition to an introduction, methods and materials, and a conclusion, the discussion of this research paper is divided into three chapters. The first chapter focuses on Kipling's and Randau's representation of the Anglo-Indians and French-Algerians, respectively. The second studies Kipling's representation of Native Indians and Randau's representation of Native Algerians. The third chapter studies India and Algeria as "imagined communities"¹⁸.

Endnotes:

¹ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: penguin, 2003), 1.

² Rudyard Kipling, *The Collected Poems of Rudyard* "The White Man's Burden" (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, 1994), 334.

³ Odette Goinard, "Ecrivain Public : Robert Randau" in *Mémoire Plurielle: Les cahiers d'Afrique du Nord* (N° 69, septembre 2012), 15. Accessed on Septembre 2015, http://www.memoireafriquedunord.net/memoire_septembre_2012/Memoire_Septembre_2012.pdf

⁴ Mouloud Siber, "Rudyard Kipling, Edward Morgan Foster, William Somerset Maugham and Joseph Conrad: The British Imperial Tradition and the Individual Talent", (Doctorate Thesis, Mouloud MAMMERI University of Tizi-Ouzou, 2012), 3. Accessed on December 2015 http://www.ummto.dz/IMG/pdf/TheseDoctorat_Mouloud_SIBER_Anglais.pdf.

⁵Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, (first vintage books, 1994), 135. Accessed on September 2015, <u>http://artexte.ca/wpcontent/uploads/Culture and Imperialism.pdf</u>.

⁶ Mouloud Siber, "Rudyard Kipling, Edward Morgan Foster, William Somerset Maugham and Joseph Conrad: The British Imperial Tradition and the Individual Talent", 41.

⁷ Ibid, 41.

⁸ Ibid, 127.

⁹ H, Henry J.R. & Henry Lorcerie F. Fiches Bibliographiques : *Les Colons* de Robert Randau in "Revue Algerienne des Sciences Juridiques Economiques et Politiques". (volume XI n°1, 1974, 195). Accessed on January 2016, <u>http://biblio.univ-alger.dz/jspui/handle/1635/508/pdf.</u>

¹⁰ Ibid, 195.

¹¹ Ibid, 195.

¹² Ibid, 198.

¹³ Ibid, 198.

¹⁴ Ibid, 198.

¹⁵ Nacer Khelouz, Le Roman Algerien de l'Entre-Deux-Guerres à l'Epreuve du Politiques : en Lisant Robert Randau et Abdelkader Hadj Hamou, (University of pitsburgh : Graduate Faculty of French and Italian, 2007), 54. Accessed on December 2015, <u>http://d-scholarship.pitt.edu/7669/1/nkhelouz_etd2007.pdf</u> ¹⁶ Ibid, 93.

¹⁷ LIU Jie-xie, MA Yong- hui, Yao xiao-juan. *Power, Subversion and containment: A New Historicist Interpretation of the Vergenian**, (Northest petroleum University, Daqing, China, 2014), 614.
 Accessed on October 2015, <u>www.davidpublishing.com/DownLoad/?id=16991.pdf</u>

¹⁸ Benidict Anderson, Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism, (London: verso, 1991), 3. Accessed on April 2016, <u>https://sisphd.wikispaces.com/file/view/Benedict_Anderson_Imagined_Communities.pdf.</u>

Methods and Materials:

a. Methods:

Our study of imperialism and identity in Kipling's *Kim* and Randau's *Les Colons* will be in the light of New Historicism, Orientalism and Imagined Communities. These approaches emerged and developed in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990's, by Stephen Greenblatt the expert in New Historicism, Edward Said and Benedict Anderson respectively.

On the basis of different grounds, it is relevant to use these approaches in the present dissertation. Firstly, it is of a great importance to read the two works in relation to their contexts, as claimed by new historicists, a literary text is "embedded" in its context¹⁹ and text is formed by the specific conditions of a given place and era. As a matter of fact, the author as a human being who lives in a society cannot free himself or even ignore the social, traditional, political, and historical factors that mark his works; Stephen Greenblatt in the epilogue of *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (1980) speaks of his own experience:

[...]as my work progressed, I perceived that fashioning oneself and being fashioned by cultural institutions –family, religion, state- were inseparably intertwined. In all my texts and documents, there were, so far I could tell you, no moments of pure, unfettered subjectivity; indeed the human subject itself began to seem remarkably unfree, the ideological products of the relations of power in a particular society.²⁰

In addition, the New Historicist key concept "Representations" is important, in the sense that it means the "verbal formations which are the "ideological products" or "cultural constructs" of the historical conditions specific to an era."²¹. Any literary work is a set of representations that aim to prove and propagate the already established power-structures of domination and subordination. Other important key concepts of New Historicism are "Thick description" developed by Clifford Geertz to mean "the close analysis, or "reading," of a particular social production or event so as to recover the meanings it has for the people involved in it, as well as to discover, within the cultural system, the general patterns of conventions, codes, and modes of thinking that invest the item with those meanings."²²,

and "Discourse" "defined by Michel Foucault as "a social language created by particular cultural conditions at a particular time and place, and it expresses a particular way of understanding human experience." ²³

Peter Childs and Roger Fowler argue that "Orientalism is a discourse that produces the 'Orient' as Europe's Other [...]"²⁴. Moreover, "Orientalism", for Said, "expresses and represents that part [the Orient] culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines[...]"²⁵; this is the occidental Representation of the orient. He also claims: "Orientalism as a body of ideas about an 'Orient', is put into the service of power and gives rise to a hegemony that both produces and in turn justifies European supremacy"²⁶. Said relying on Gramsci, demonstrates how the "soft" power of ideology justifies and maintains the colonial power and hegemony, through "colonizing the mind"²⁷ as coined by Ngugi Wa Thiango; meaning that, both Occident and Orient are unconsciously convinced that Orientalism is the true reality and nature, which takes us to the Divine mission of the west to civilize the rest.

As far as identity is concerned Said claims that it is all men made; what people think they know is what people have made. He argues:

[...] the development and maintenance of every culture require the existence of another different and competing *alter ego*. The construction of identity — for identity, whether of Orient or Occident, France or Britain [...] — involves establishing opposites and "others" whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from "us". Each age and society re-creates its "Others". [...] identity of self or of "other" is a much worked-over historical, social, intellectual, and political process that takes place as a contest involving individuals and institutions in all societies.²⁸

To reinforce his argument, he adds: "[...] most people resist the under-lying notion: that identity is not only not natural and stable, but constructed, and occasionally even invented out-right"²⁹

Benedict Anderson's "Imagined Communities" goes in hand with Saids claim that identity is invented. In this sense, Anderson argues that nations and identities are human creations. As key concepts in Imagined Communities, 'the right of blood' and the right of soil' are of great importance in the sense that it acts as a justification to the created identities of both authors. Both authors are born in the colonized land from European parents and they attributed this characteristic to their protagonists in their novels.

Therefore, the works of Rudyard Kipling and Robert Randau are to be studied according to their historical, political and social contexts, relying on New Historicism, Orientalism and Imagined Communities. Attention will be devoted to the way *Kim* and *Les Colons*, produced in a period of high Imperialism, served Imperialism and imperial ideologies. Also to the way the two authors Being residents of the colonies (India and Algeria), used their knowledge about the country to serve their empires (British and French, respectively) and to facilitate their dominating mission, since, according to Bacon, "knowledge is power"³⁰. Besides, how by using symbols and codes, Kipling claims the Anglo-Indian identity and Robert Randau claims the French-Algerian identity. These identities are created or 'imagined' by the authors as a means to justify their settlement in India and Algeria.

- b. Materials:
- 1. The literary works:
- Kim (1901):

Kim (1901) is a novel of adventure written by Rudyard Kipling and published in 1901. the story is about the protagonist "Kim" who is an orphan son of an Irish soldier; he lives as a vagabond in the streets of Lahore "A poor white of the very poorest"³¹. Few realize he is a white child since he is so immersed with the Indian culture. He sometimes, works for Mahbub Ali, a Pashtun horse trader who works for the British secret service. Kim meets a Tibetan Lama who is on a quest for the legendary River of the Arrow; Kim accompanies him on his spiritual journey and becomes his disciple (chela). Kim, after he incidentally, learns about the "great game", is recruited by Mahbub Ali to carry a message to the head of the British Intelligence in Umballa.

Then, the first great adventure in the novel is the trip of Kim and the Lama along the "Grand Trunk Road". Kim is separated from the Lama by force and is sent to a "top English school" in Lucknow; the Lama funds his education. Kim keeps contact with the Lama during his years at school; he also retains contact with his secret service connections. While in vacation from school he is trained in espionage by Lurgan Sahib, a Simla gem trader and master spy, at his jewellery shop in Simla. Kim, after three years of schooling, is given an appointment so that he may start plying his role in the "Great Game". Before he begins, he is given a break; he rejoins the holy man that he loves so and they make a trip to the Himalayas under the orders of his superior Huree Chunder Mokherjee (also known as Huree Babu; a bangali intelligence operative). The spiritual threads and espionage collide at the Himalayas since the Lama falls in conflict with some Russian intelligence agents. Kim obtains important items from the Russians and Mahbub Ali acts as a guide and ensures they do not recover the lost items. Aided by some villagers, Kim rescues the Lama. The novel ends with the Lama who achieves enlightenment and leaves it open for the reader to chose either the "Great Game" or the "spiritual way" for Kim.

• Les Colons (1907):

Les Colons is written by Robert Randau and published in 1907. Henri, the son of the powerful colonist Jos Lavieux named Kaddour, returns to the farm of his father after having finished his studies in Algiers. He studied Medicine but at his return he decides to become a colonist and works with his father. Henri resembles to his father in his physical appearance but, the studies softened his nature and temper. Jeanine, the daughter of Jos Lavieux also returns with her brother to the farm. She finished her secondary school and desires to marry a poor engineer from Algiers, despite the refusal of her father who wants her to get married with a rich colonist. When Henri and Jeanine arrived, they were welcomed by Helene. Helene is a young widow of a cousin of Jos Lavieux. The young beautiful widow struggles with her grief and her will to live her life again. She feels a need to love and be loved. Jos Lavieux desires her but she always refuses him; thus, he becomes aggressive. To protect herself, she married Jean Cassard. Jean Cassard returned from France after having finished his studies to restore his property and wealth ruined by his guardian. He moved to Ratene as a deputy governer of the mix town. He has a sister, Romaine, who married Henri, the son of Jos. Despite the quarrel between Jos Lavieux and Cassard about the property of Helene, the two men did not forget their shared political objectives. Cassard and Jos work for the emancipation of Algeria and for its autonomy. They always affirm that they are Algerians and will fight for their rights and for the prosperity of Algeria, "their" country. Jos and Cassard sided together against the "Assimilationistes". The end of the novel portrays Cassard is in his bordj surrounded by his books and keeps eye on the work in his lands. Jos Lavieux who decided to let the farm to his son and to settle somewhere else, died in an obscure way.

2. Biographies of the respective authors:

• Rudyard Kipling:

Rudyard Kipling was in Bombay, India on the 13th of December 1865. He lived there for six years then he was sent by his parents to England. He travelled back to India when he finished his school at the age of 17. He worked for English language newspapers in India. He wrote reports about what happened there. From 1882 to 1889 he edited and wrote short stories for the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, India. He, then, published *Departmental Ditties* (1886) and *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1887). "Kipling's literary reputation was established by six stories of English life in India, published in India between 1888 and 1889, that revealed his profound identification with, and appreciation for, the land and people of India"³². He married the American Caroline Balestier in 1892, and settled in England in 1903. He received

the 1907 Nobel Prize in literature. Among Kipling's important works are *The Light That Failed* (1891), *Many Inventions* (1893), *The Jungle Book* (1894), and *The Second Jungle Book* (1895), *Captains Courageous* (1897), *Stalky & Co.* (1899), *Kim* (1901), *Just So Stories for Little Children* (1902) and so many others. He died in 1923 at the age of 71 in London.

• Robert Randau:

Robert Arnaud, known as Randau, was born in Algiers on 13th February 1873. In 1896, he obtained his license in law at the University of Algiers. Then he entered the politic sciences school and the colonial school at Paris, but quickly resigned the colonial school. In 1898, Randau won the first place for the deputy of the mix town test also the first for the interpret exam which owed him the statute of a General of the Army, detached to the indigenes affaires. He had high function in the interwar period. In 1900, he got married to Renée Battandier. He was the founding father of the Algerianiste movement. It is in 1921, that "Algerianisme" was defined and formulated by Robert Randeau himself in his vigorous preface written about "Anthologie de Treize Poetes Africains". Many Algerian writers (Francophone) took part in the "Algerianiste Movement" which stood against assimilation and called for the emancipation and the autonomy of the French-Algeria. Some of his works are *Rabbin, Roman de Moeurs Juives* (1986), *Onze Journées en Force* (1902), *Les Colons* (1907), *Le Commandant et les Foulbé*(1910), *Les Algerienist* (1911), and so many others. He is one of the first protagonists of the "Algerianist movement". Robert Randau died in 1950 at the age of 77.

Endnotes:

¹⁹ M. H. Abrams, A Glossary of Literary Terms (USA: Heinle & Heinle, 1999), 184. Accessed on February 2016, <u>http://www.ohio.edu/people/hartleyg/ref/abrams_mh.pdf</u>
²⁰ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: the university of Chicago press), 256. Accessed on October 2015, <u>http://sixteenthcentury.pbworks.com/f/Greenblatt.pdf</u>.

²¹ Abrams, A Glossary of literary Terms, 183, 184.

²² Ibid 183.

²³ Clayton whisnant, "Foucault and Discourse", (a handout for HIS 389), 4. Accessed on September 2015, <u>http://webs.wofford.edu/whisnantcj/his389/foucault_discourse.pdf</u>

²⁴ Peter Childs and Roger Fowler, *The Routledge Dictionary of Literary Terms* (2 park square Abingdon), 163. Accessed on October 2015,

http://www.uv.es/fores/The_Routledge_Dictionary_of_Literary_Terms.pdf.

²⁵ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 2.

²⁶ Childs and fowler, *The Routledge Dictionary of Literary Terms*, 163.

²⁷ Ibid 163.

²⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 332.

²⁹ Ibid 332.

³⁰ Michel Foucault, Power/knowledge: selected intrviews and other writings 1972-1977, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 234. Accessed on January 2016, https://monoskop.org/images/5/5d/Foucault_Michel_Power_Knowledge_Selected_Interviews_and_Ot her_Writings_1972-1977.pdf

³¹ Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* (Pennsylvania State University: an electronic classics series publication: copyright 2004-2013), 3. Accessed on September 2014, http://202.74.245.22:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/483/Kim%20by%20Rudyard%20Kiplin g.pdf?sequence=1.

³² W.A. Redmond, "Rudyard Kipling", (Microsoft Corporation: Microsoft Student, 2009) [DVD].

The Historical Backgrounds:

a. The Historical Background of India between 1850s and 1900s:

Kim by Rudyard Kipling is set in the late nineteenth century; a period when the British Empire began resenting fears of getting overthrown from the "jewel in the crown", the name that was given to India. Though the era when the novel was produced was characterized by the increasing nationalism in India and the rise of several national movements, mainly the Indian National Congress, *Kim* does not refer to any of these; instead, it presents or paints an image of a British-India as Kipling dreamed of.

Until 1858, the East India Company was the leading power in India. The company had its own army; a body of Sepoys (Indian soldiers) led by British officers. By 1850, the British controlled most of the Indian subcontinent. Many Indians believed that in addition to controlling their land, the British were trying to control the Indian religions, thus converting them to Christianity. The Indian people also resented the racist ideologies that the British held towards them. The Indians' economic problems increased, with it the feeling of Nationalism increased too. In 1857, the sepoys discovered that the cartridges of their new Enfield rifles were greased with beef and pork fat (To use the cartridges, soldiers had to bite off the ends). Both Hindus, who consider the cow sacred, and Muslims, who do not eat pork, were outraged by the news; 85 of 90 sepoys refused to accept the cartridges. The sepoys that disobeyed to the British commanders were jailed. The next day, on May 10, 1857, the sepoys rebelled. They marched to Delhi, where they were joined by sepoys assigned there. From Delhi, the rebellion spread to northern and central India. Some historians have called this outbreak the '**Sepoy mutiny'** (the disobedience of Indian soldiers). Fierce fighting took place. Both British and sepoys tried to slaughter each other's armies.

The East India Company took more than a year to regain control over the country. The British government sent troops to help them. The Indians could not unite against the British due to weak leadership and serious misunderstanding between Hindus and Muslims. Hindus did not want the Muslim Mughal Empire restored. Indeed, many Hindus preferred British rule to Muslim rule. Most of the princes and maharajahs who had made alliances with the East India Company did not take part in the rebellion. The Sikhs (a religious group strongly opposed to the Mughals) also remained loyal to the British.

The mutiny stood for a turning point in Indian history. As a result of it, in 1858 the British government took direct command of India. The part of India that was under direct British rule was called the **Raj** (The term Raj referred to British rule over India from 1757 until 1947) A cabinet minister in London directed policy, and a British governor-general in India carried out the government's orders who after 1877 was given the appellation 'viceroy'. The Sepoy Mutiny fuelled the racist attitudes of the British toward the Indians. As stated by Lord Kitchener who was a British commander in chief of the army in India:

It is this consciousness of the inherent superiority of the European which has won for us India. However well educated and clever a native may be, and however brave he may prove himself, I believe that no rank we can bestow on him would cause him to be considered an equal of the British officer.³³

In the early 1800s, Indians began asking for more modernization and a greater role in the government of India besides nationalist feelings started to surface. Indians hated the system that made them second-class citizens in their own country. The British rule contributed in a way to the growth of nationalism in India, since it introduced western education in India. As claimed:

> Western education brought the Indians into touch with the works of great European thinkers and writers like Milton, Thomas Paine, Burke, J.S. Mill, Spencer, Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau and Mazzini and helped them imbibe the ideas of liberty, equality, fraternity, democracy and national freedom. The pioneers of Indian nationalism were moved by the aspirations for selfgovernment, for political power and representative institutions. The study of English language not only helped build up a democratic and national outlook, it also did a great service to the cause of Indian nationalism by providing a medium of communication for the educated Indians throughout

> by providing a medium of communication for the educated Indians throughout India to exchange views on a national scale. It cut across personal barriers and served as a lingua franca.³⁴

This growing nationalism led to the founding of nationalist groups such as the Indian National Congress in 1885. The latter held the first meeting in Bombay on December 1885; it has been encouraged by some members of the Indian civil service that were approved by the viceroy Lord Dufferin who approved also the Congress. At the beginning, it was not in mind that the Congress would act as a political opposition. Its founders and the viceroy expected it to be a pressure group recognized for Indians that were highly educated and westernized, that they would have attempted to enter the Civil Service and had gone on to careers in teaching, law, and business. They were holding their meetings in English as a symbol of the high level of education of the members besides their wide circulation all over the country.

The Indian national congress promoted the idea of nationalism all over India. The number of the delegates of the Indian national congress increased quickly; all of them were from different professions. "One of the greatest presidents of the Indian National Congress was DadabhaiNaorji, also known as the grand old man of India. An extremely learned and educated man, he lived in England for many years and even got elected to the British parliament."³⁵

In 1886, a Public Service Commission was set recommending cancelling the rules which gave authorities in India the power to appoint natives to the higher administrative jobs. On June 1893, the House of Commons passed a resolution that "all open competitive examination heretofore held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Service of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously in India and England, such examinations in both countries being identical in their nature, and all who compete were finally classified in one list according to merit"³⁶

The British in India begun resenting a kind of untrustworthiness towards the educated Indians to whom they gave the appellation "Babu"; while earlier in 1883 Lord Ripon wanted to "make the educated natives friends instead of the enemies of our rule"³⁷; Lord Ripon predict the danger the educated natives would present if ever they opposed the British rule. The nationalists were further inflamed in 1905 by the partition of Bengal. The province was too large for administrative purposes, so the British divided it into a Hindu section and a Muslim section and this resulted in acts of terrorism. In 1911, the British took back the order and divided the province in a different way.

In *Kim*, Kipling narrates what he wished had happened instead of what had really happened. He speaks of an India that took the British rule for granted and ignored the Sepoy Mutiny of the 1957 and the movements and events that happened after that, pushing the British Empire out of the Indian Territory. Though *Kim* is produced in the late nineteenth century, Kipling does not refer to any event surrounding 1880's and 1890's British-India.

b. The Historical Background of Algeria between 1870 and 1900:

Few years after, the publication of Rudyard Kipling's novel *kim* (1901), it was proceeded by the novel of Robert Randau *les colons* (1907); a period that witnessed a shift in France's power after the loss of the French mercantilist empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, in addition to the events of the Napoleonic wars and Waterloo.³⁷ To deal with the situation, France adopted a discourse of regained power and glory by establishing the Algerian colony as "la nouvelle France".³⁸

Until the 1870's, Algeria was governed by the military forces. Repressive strategies such as the "cautonement", the "reservement" and the "refoulement" were performed by the French government to exercise the expropriation of lands and push the indigenous to segregated areas. Moreover, these repressive strategies served the colonizer in the division of Algeria into three different zones: the civil zone inhabited by indigenous settlers, the "commune mixte" inhabited by indigenous population under the rule of colonial administrators. The military zone was confined to the "teritoire du Sud".³⁹ To contain the native's subversion and exercise high colonial repression over them, the colonizer introduced

the "indigénat" or the "code Algérien de l'indigénat", first applied in Kabylia after the El Mokrani rebellion in 1874, and then extended to the rest of the country.⁴⁰ In addition to the indigénat, France introduced the Senatus-Consult (1863-1865) which aimed to index and privatize the property of each tribe. However, the Senatus-Consult only served the colonizer to expropriate more hectars of the most fertile land.⁴¹

In this new territory (Algeria) endowed with an extraordinary antic richness, a hybrid structure started to be established. By the late 1870's the colonial property was offered to French settlers from the two French departments, Alsace and Loraine, which were lost to Germany, but also to settlers from Spain, Italy... ⁴² The naturalization of all children of European origins born in Algeria, following the 1884 law, created the so-called French-Algerian community⁴³. Algerian Jews were completely assimilated, and the Muslim population increased frome three to nine millions.⁴⁴ The demographic growth of the indigenous people imposed on the French government in Algeria significant political concessions, as a way to maintain its political influence in the country.⁴⁵

By the beginnings of the 19th C, an intellectual movement was founded under the name of "Algerianisme". Jean Pomier was the founding father of the movement, together with his friend Robert Randau⁴⁶. The movement was effectively launched in 1921, but for Leblond the founding date is 1907⁴⁷, with the publication of the novel of Randau *Les Colons* (1907) in which the words "Algerianiste" and "Algerianisme" first occured⁴⁸. The Algerianiste movement is a literary movement that formed "l'Association des Ecrivains Algeriens" and "la Revue Afrique"⁴⁹. This intellectual movement claimed the Algerian autonomy. According to jean pomier "il s'agit d'unir (et non d'unifier) les Algeriens en une Algerie" "this is uniting (rather than unifying) the Algerians on a one Algeria"⁵⁰ (Translation ours); meaning that the French-Algerian settlers wanted unity but, within social hierarchy.

After colonizing the Algerian territories, France was in need of legitimizing the act of colonization and making it real. Intellectual institutions and authorities developed narrative products that explained false objectives of the colonization .Their aim was to change and reform the history of Algeria and its inhabitants. They wanted to delete the traces of the Berbers and the Arabs and make of North Africa, historically and culturally a European territory⁵¹. The colonizer based his attempt on deleting the Algerian identity on the fact that Africa was a Roman antiquity rather than an Arab or Turkish. In this sense, Louis Bertrand in *Le Sang des Races* considers the colonization of Algeria as the recuperation of the Latin heritage: "Nous somme venus reprendre l'oeuvre de Rome en ce pays, que leur constitution géographique, leur voisinage et leur passé semblent placer naturellement sous l'hégémonie latine"⁵² We are here to take again the Roman oeuvre in this country whose geographic construction, their neighbourhood and their past seemed to put them naturally under the Latin hegemony. However, for the military regime, Algeria was seen as a colony, with a population to reckon with, control and rule over while the civilian regime considered Algeria as a French territory and inseparable part of France.

From 1900, two doctrines emerged in Algeria; assimilation and association. These two doctrines had for a purpose the desegregation and the neutralization of the colonized and its integration into the French culture.⁵³ In fact, the French laws reduced the Algerians into subservient. They established assimilation based on the expropriation of land and denied all rights for native Algerians. This part of history is illustrated through literature, as in Robert Randau's novel *Les Colons* (1907) which gives an overview of social, cultural and political characteristics of this period of colonial history.

In this chapter we provided the historical backgrounds of India (1850-1900s) and Algeria (1870-1900). We did our best to select the major events that surrounded the era when the two novels were produced, and mainly those in relation to our research.

Endnotes:

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³⁴ Manzurul Karim, "Contributin of Indian Leaders to Indian Nationalist Movement: An Analytical Discussion" (African journal of Political Science and International Relations vol.9 (6). pp. 200-211., June 2015.), 203. Accessed on February 2015, <u>http://www.academicjournals.org/AJPSIR</u>pdf.
 ³⁵ Ibid, 204.

³⁶ Bensidhoum Fatima, "Rudyard Kipling and Louis Bertrand: Their Ideas on British-India (ns) and French-Algeria (ns) in Kim and Le Sang des Races", (Magister Thesis Mouloud MAMMERI University of Tizi-Ouzou, 2011), 21.

³⁷ Ibid, 107.

³⁸ Salhi Kamal, Francophone Postcolonial Cultures: Critical Essays, (USA : Lexington Books, 2003),
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- ³⁹ Ibid, 23.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid, 23.
- ⁴¹ Ibid,24.
- ⁴² Ibid, 26.
- ⁴³ Ibid, 26.

⁴⁴ "Algeria-History and Background", (net industries, 2016). Accessed on February 2016, <u>http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/19/Algeria-HISTORY-BACKGROUND.html</u>

⁴⁵ Bensidhoum, Rudyard Kipling and Louis Bertrand: Their Ideas on British-India (ns) and French-Algeria (ns) in Kim and Le Sang des Races, 26.

⁴⁶ Akadem, *Francophonie de la Littérature Algérienne* (dictionnaire encyclopédique illustré
 Hachette : 1997), 1. Accessed on February 2016,
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⁴⁷ Peter Dunwoodie, *Writing French Algeria*, (Clarendon press, 1998), Accessed on September 2015, <u>https://books.google.dz/books/about/Writing_French_Algeria.html?id=uJTiAphzZdkC&rediresc=y.eb</u> <u>ook</u>

⁴⁸ "Algerian Literature", (Revolvy. Creative Commons BY-SA) Accessed on February 2016, http://www.revolvy.com/main/index.phps=Algerian+literature

⁴⁹ Akadem, *Francophonie de la Littérature Algérienne*, 1.

⁵⁰ Amar Nait Messaoud, "L'Ecole Algérianiste et les Limites du "Réformisme" (La Depeche de Kabylie, August 30th 2008). Accessed on august 2016, <u>http://www.depechedekabylie.com/cuture/59925-lecole-algerianiste-et-les-limites-du-reformisme.html</u>
⁵¹ Bensidhoum, "Rudyard Kipling and Louis Bertrand: Their Ideas on British-India (ns) and French-Algeria (ns) in Kim and Le Sang des Races", 28.

⁵² Ibid, 111.

⁵³ Ibid, 29.

Results and Discussion:

A. Results:

Our dissertation studies Imperialism and identity in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901), and Robert Randau's *Les Colons* (1907). We decided to rely on Said's "Orientalism" and Greenblatt's "New Historicism" to achieve our study. Our choice is motivated by the fact that Said has theorized all the aspects that concern Orientalism and Greenblatt has shown how Imperial writers cannot control their colonial thoughts and prevent themselves from embedding them in their writings. Kipling and Randau are supporters of Imperialism and the British presence in India as well as the French presence in Algeria, respectively. Then, to justify colonialism, they misrepresented the colonized and even devoided them from their identity, claiming it to be of the colonizer right.

The authors do not stop at the level of mis/representations. They deprive the Indians and Algerians of their lands, Identities and cultures. The Anglo-Indians appropriated the Indian identity as well as India and claimed it to be the British legitimate right, mainly those born in India. To legitimize this appropriation of land and identity, Kipling used all the possible means in order to prove the backwardness of Indian people. It is also the case with Robert Randau who established the French–Algerians as the legitimate natives in Algeria at the detriment of the Berbers and the Arabs considered as the others and reduced to voiceless shadows

Applying Said's and New Historicist's notion of 'Representations' showed how the two authors depicted the Indians and Algerians in a negative way. To legitimize colonization, they attributed a bulk of stereotypes to Indians and Algerians. This reveals that Kipling and Randau aim to glorify the superiority of the colonizer over the colonized which is the real motive of Orientalism. Studying the two novels, we come to realize that the objective of both authors is to pin down the native Indians as well as native Algerians to inferiority and promote the British and French superiority; thus, reinforcing the claim that it is the Western right to civilize the non-civilized orient

We have also attempted to read *Kim* (1901) and *Les Colons* (1907) in the light of Benedict Anderson's "Imagined Communities". The two authors described India and Algeria as "constructed communities" where the Anglo-Indians and French-Algerians enjoyed a special sense of belonging. Applying the two concepts, "the right of blood" and "the right of the soil", we have demonstrated how the two authors being colonizers 'legitimized' their invented identities.

B. Discussion:

The west created the colonial discourse or what Said calls Orientalism that is "ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, "us") and the strange (the Orient, the East, "them"). This vision in a sense created and then served the two worlds thus conceived."⁵⁴ Orientalist stereotypes aim to justify and reinforce colonialism. Literature is one of the ideological means used to propagate the Occidental representation of the Orient. Imperialist writers are on the top of the list of authors that worked on promoting the Orientalist discourse based on stereotypes like backwardness, ignorance, and primitiveness.

Birgit Flohr, in an essay about the representation of the "self" and the "other" in 18th century travel literature considers that "the identity of the self as knowing is opposed to the identity of the other as ignorant."⁵⁵ In colonial literature, the colonized that represents "the other" is depicted as ignorant, savage, primitive, and unable to rule over himself; "according to Europeans, Europeans must describe and analyze the orient because the Orientals are not capable of describing or analyzing themselves."⁵⁶ As maintained in Brigit Flohr's essay, the self considers the other as a threat over which it creates a protecting superiority through setting up an opposition between the self as the one who knows and can understand and the

other who does not know and does not understand. This representation of the other has as an effect the creation of binary opposition of the self and the other. The self is the privileged and the other is the unprivileged. The self is the civilized and the other is the savage and barbarian. Rudyard Kipling and Robert Randau are not an exception; both of them base their works, *Kim* and *Les Colons* respectively, on stereotypes that degrade the colonized east and foster the west.

I. The Representation of the Anglo-Indians and the French-Algerians:

a. The Representation of the Anglo-Indians:

To legitimize colonialism, imperial writers do not stop at the level of degrading the native characters; they work on constructing and reshaping 'Identity'. "After the natives have been displaced from their historical location on their land, their history is rewritten as a function of the imperial one."⁵⁷ The colonizers devoided the colonized from their identity reducing them to non-existent. Since one's name is part of one's identity, the writers do not provide clear names to the natives; instance from *Kim* "the Hindu boy–whose name varied at Lurgan's pleasure"⁵⁸ or even do not name them as in Robert Randau's *Les Colons*. According to Oxford Dictionary, Identity is: one, "who or what somebody or something is". Second, "the characteristics, feelings or beliefs that distinguish people from others"⁵⁹. Any given person may be identified according to his/her religion, ethnicity, language, culture, state...etc.

Imperial writers believe that the colonizers have the right to be identified to their colonies as the legitimate inhabitants. They claim to be the true natives or "Les vrais fils du sol" and it is embedded in their imperial works through the way they represent their characters. "Representations", a key concept in New Historicism, are "ideological products" or "cultural constructs" specific to a given era. Imperial literary works are a set of representations that play the role of propagating the already established ideology based on the dichotomy Occident/Orient that is the case of *Kim* and *Les Colons "The Colonists"*. Both

works are full of Mis/Representations aiming to justify and legitimize the Anglo-Indian and French-Algerian identities.

For Kipling, ethnicity determines identity⁶⁰; he claims that identity is something we inherit. In order to be British one must be descendant of a British family; however, a British can appropriate the Indian/native identity. What is forbidden to Orientals is the legitimate right of the westerners. Kim as a white man claims not only a doubled identity but rather multiple identities. Right from the beginning of the novel, Kim is presented as the son of "[...] Kimball O'Hara, a young colour-sergeant of the Mavericks, an Irish regiment."⁶¹ According to the prophecy, Kim is going to be a sahib just as his father was one. Kim experiences what Eric Erikson calls;

The identity crisis... [that] occurs in that period of the life cycle when each youth must forge for himself some central perspective and direction, some working unity, out of the effective remnants of his childhood and the hopes of his anticipated adulthood.⁶²

Before getting to the Sahib status that provides him the British identity, Kim experiences other Identities; he is a "low-caste Hindu boy"⁶³, he is "chela to Teshoo Lama"⁶⁴ sometimes he claims: "I am only a boy"⁶⁵, "I am all free"⁶⁶ and "I am Kim- Kim- Kim- alone- one person- in the middle of it all"⁶⁷. Other times he asserts to be "a sahib and the son of a sahib"⁶⁸.

The quest for identity is the symbol of Kim's journey. The boy's identity is widely discussed throughout the novel. For instance, Kim asks: "Who am I?"⁶⁹ then sometimes the answer is: "'I am Kim. I am Kim. And what is Kim?' His soul repeated it again and again"⁷⁰, "Who is Kim- Kim?"⁷¹. He shows his incapability to identify himself, neither to the land where he is born in and lived his childhood in its streets nor to the white man and women that are his father and mother. Besides, he refers to the fact that Kim may be who he wills to be. Each time he comes to accept one of his identities he asks the question again:

[...] It is my Kismet. No man can escape his Kismet. But I am to pray to Bibi Miriam, and I am a Sahib.' He looked at his boots ruefully. 'No; I am Kim. This is the great world, and I am only Kim. Who is Kim?' He considered his own identity [...] He was one insignificant person in all this roaring whirl of India, going southward to he knew not what fate.⁷²

Kim at times, identifies himself to the Lama, the rare times when Kim seems to enjoy what he says; "I am now that holy man's disciple"⁷³, "I am not a sahib I am thy chela."⁷⁴ When he identifies himself to the old man that he loves so much, we feel his pride.

Kim does not only ask himself, he asks his friend also "Oh, Mahbub Ali, but am I a Hindu?"⁷⁵ and the answer he gets, may be, does not fit his will; "I am a Pathan; thou art a sahib and son of a sahib"⁷⁶ his friend provides him with another answer that stresses Kim's double identity and his ability to embrace the identity he wishes at any time, but Kim always comes back to question his identity:

'Therefore, in one situate as thou art, it particularly behaves thee to remember this with both kinds of faces. Among Sahibs, never forgetting thou art a Sahib; among the folk of Hind, always remembering thou art -' He paused, with a puzzled smile. 'What am I? Mussalman, Hindu, Jain, or Buddhist? That is a hardknot.'⁷⁷

For more emphasis Mahbub Ali describes Kim as fellows:

'He was born in the land. He has friends. He goes where he chooses. He is a chabuk sawai [a sharp chap]. It needs only to change his clothing, and in a twinkling he would be a low-caste Hindu boy.'⁷⁸

Since Kim is "burned black" he is identified as a "Hindu Boy"⁷⁹ in the first part of the novel. He lives by begging in the streets of Lahore. Then, Kim befriends the old Lama and identifies himself: "I am but the Holy One's disciple"⁸⁰. After that, from his amulet, his father regiment discovers that he is of a white descendance so he assumes with some difficulty: "I am still a sahib"⁸¹

Kipling's representation shows Kim's superiority. He robes the native identity of the colonized and claims it to be of his right. Besides, he does not deny his English Identity what gives birth to the Anglo-Indian identity. As an Anglo-Indian boy, he is depicted as more intelligent than the natives even the elder ones. In *Kim*, the British Raj is referred to as the

"Great Game"⁸². The British Raj is the appellation given to the British rule in India during 1858-1947 (as referred to in the historical background). "Raj" in Hindustani means literally "rule"⁸³. Then India is the field of the game. Kim though he is a child, is given a mission in the Great game as a spy, a mission that should be given to a man⁸⁴. Hurree Babu and Mahbub Ali are elder than Kim and work as spies for the British government from a very long time. They work on taking "ethnological notes", so when it comes to an important mission it is given to the British boy Kim. That is to maintain that the colonizer is superior to the colonized no matter his age or experience.

The author's reference to early invaders of India, mainly European ones, may be understood as an appropriation of the land or an emphasis on the legitimacy of the Anglo-Indians as the "true" natives; "The last of the Great Ones,' said the Sikh with authority, 'was Sikander Julkarn [Alexander the Great]."⁸⁵ As if to say that India was once governed by a European, so the British as Europeans have the legitimate right to claim the Indian identity and India as part and parcel of the British Empire. To stress the point, the author appropriates also the Indian religion;

In the entrance-hall stood the larger figures of the **Greco-Buddhist** sculptures done, savants know how long since, by forgotten workmen whose hands were feeling, and not unskillfully, for the mysteriously transmitted Grecian touch.⁸⁶

Buddhism, as we all know, originates from India based on the teachings of Siddhartha Gautama or Buddha (the enlightened one). By attributing Buddhism to the Greek, Rudyard Kipling claims that the Indian religion is brought up from Europe; as to say India has always been a follower of Europe.

b. The Representation of the French-Algerians:

Like Kipling, Randau is overwhelmed by his imperialist obsessions. He is hopeful for the destiny of Algeria. According to Raid Zaraket, Randeau believed that multiple races are gathered to make a new country in Algeria: he says "terriblement optimiste sur le destin algerien, Robert Randeau avait l'impression qu'un pays neuf etait entrain de se créés, avec de multiples races entrain de se melanger^{".⁸⁷} "terribly optimistic for the destiny of Algeria, Robert Randeau, had the impression that a new country is emerging with a mixture of multiples races["]. (translation ours). This new country, Randeau dreams of, holds a new African race or "la nouvelle race Africaine", born out of the fusion of different Mediterranean races. "nous somme tous de la nouvelle race africaine, qui n'éprouve nulle honte de choyer sa terre^{".⁸⁸} "we all belong to the new African race, not ashamed to coddle its land".(translation ours). For Robert Randeau, the country's future needs both physical efforts and a certain intellectual attitude to get an autonomous Algerian race, detached from prejudices and ancestral sentimentalities and education, as the "Algerianiste" Movement aimed to:

créér une race n'est qu'instituer une esthetique nouvelle dans un groupe d'hommes; un jeune peuple est un progrès inoui des vieux peuples. Pour donner de la coherence à la société disparate algérienne, il s'imposait de dépetre d'abord les préjugés apportés de la metropole, des sentimentalités atrocement fausses des aieux, des inepties redondantes de l'education clerical.⁸⁹ create a race is introducing a new aesthetic in a group of men; a young generation is an unheard progress of ancient generations. To give coherence to the disparate Algerian society, it is imposed to get out of the prejudices on metropolis, the dreadfully false ancestral sentimentalities, and the ineptness of the clerical education. (Translation ours)

Power and intellectuality is personified by Robert Randeau in his novel *Les Colons* through the two colonists Jos Lavieux and Jean Cassard. Jos Lavieux represents the archetypal colonist. He controls under the name of Kaddour a number of tribes. He is a greedy strong land owner. "le vigoureux colon Jos Lavieux, dit Kaddour"⁹⁰; "the vigorous colonist Jos Lavieux, named kaddour". (translation ours). He has the pride of the race and the tough resentement. He knows how to use power and clever tricks to satisfy his desires; "elle l'estime pourtant parceque il est fort et qu'elle le croit capable de tout quand ses passions sont déchainées"⁹¹. "yet, she estimates him because she thinks he is strong and she believes that he is capable of all when his passions are provoked." (translation ours). Jos Lavieux received the Arabic name of Kaddour for his extreme "arabofolie".

parceque il est arabophile à outrance; jamais tu ne lui verras d'autre société que celle des trong-de-figuier; [...]. Un jour, les marabouts prechérent la révolte dans le sahel et proclamérent sultan un pouilleux; celui-ci s'empressa de toper avec Jos, de baiser son

index et de prendre le vieux pour **khalifa**; [...]; les insurgés le baptisèrent Kaddour; depuis on l'appelle plus qu'ainsi".⁹²

because of his excessive arabopholie,[...]. One day, the mrabouts did preach a revolt in the sahel and proclaimed a wretch as a sultan; this one hurrying to high-five with Jos, kissing his index and naming the old man as a khalifa; [...]; the insurgents baptized him Kaddour; since that he is called only in this way. (translation ours).

Also, Jos Kaddour is aware of the natives life, their habits and traditions, and he always participates in their ceremonies. "[...]; chaque fois qu'il y a un taam dans une zaouia, il est de frairie; il donne du flouss aux dérouiches, aux tolba, aux queteurs secrets des confréries; aux fetes, il egorge des moutons sur la tombe des saints".⁹³ "every time there is a meal in a zaouia; he offers money to " dérouiches, tolba" and to secret seekers of brotherhood; at cerimonies he sacrifices sheep at the saints grave." (translation ours). In fact, the daily contact and the relationships of Jos Lavieux with the indigenes served him to better manipulate the native people and exercise his control over them. Jos kaddour succeeds to establish a place among the indigenes and gain their support. He is recognized by the natives as a leader. He is named a **khalifa**, also "roi de bled" as we read in this extract:

subit-il l'epreuve de l'adversité, les fideles se serrent encore autour de lui. Reussit-il un habille coup de partie, les fidéles applaudissent II emane en fluide benifique : il a, disent les marabout, la « baraka ». La societe indigene connait des diversions analogue. Elles porte en Algerie le nom de « çofs ». Il tiennent a n'en pas douter une place considerable dans la vie de bled. Cette place est precisement celle que tient dans le roman le clan Kaddour, dont le chef, Jos Lavieux dit Kaddour merite le surnom de « **roi de bled** ».⁹⁴ undergoing an adversity test, the faithful huddle together with him. If he succeeds in a coup (d'etat), the faithful applaud. He emanates a beneficial (fluide): he has, the marabout say,(la Baraka). The indigenous society knew analogous diversions. It is called in Algeria the "çofs". They hold undoubtedly a considerable place in the life of the bled. This place is precisely the one that clan Kaddour holds in the novel, the chief, Jos Lavieux called Kaddour deserves the nickname "the king of the bled". (Translation ours)

However, the relationship between Jos Lavieux and the muslims, or more precisely, between the colonist and the indigene is not so friendly. It is a cooperation of interest characterized by absolute hierarchy. "his love for the Muslims follows essentially a feudalist model; an exchange of deference from below for protection from above, predicated on an immutable social hierarchy",⁹⁵. Jos Lavieux uses his power to exploit the indigenes and

sometimes cooperate with some of them to exploit others, as he did when he travelled with the caid cheikh Ahmed to inspect land they have extorted from the peasants. Not only with the indigenes, but Jos Kaddour is a colonist with a bad relationship even with the administrators upon whom he exercises his monopoly without acknowledging their high status. "il est a couteaux tirés avec le makhzen, mal avec le prefet [...] mal avec le procureur [...] mal avec le directeur de l'agriculture [...]"⁹⁶ "he is at daggers drawn with the [makhzen], [...] bad with the chief, [...] bad with the prosecutor [...], bad with the director of agriculture[...]"(translation ours).

The rival of Jos Lavieux is Jean Cassard who is a deputy administrator in the mixed town. Cassard is of berber origins. He is named chief by the berbers among whom he had grown. "a cause de son audace et de sa bravoure, de sa force, de son aieul le forban, et de sa facilité a reunir les calembour et les bon mots obscenes, les bergers le choisirent pour chef."⁹⁷ "thanks to his audacity and his bravery, to his power, and his ancestor the forban, and his strength in speech with good obscene words, the shepherds choose him as a chief." (translation ours). In the novel, Jean Cassard stands for the author himself. He represents the intellectual colonist that the new country is in need of. Cassard returned to settle in Algeria to become a colonist. His ambitious colonial projects are fed by major orientalist readings. Intellectuality is the point that makes a slight difference between Jos Kaddour and Jean Cassard.

Cassard and Lavieux exercise colonization and authority over the indigenes, and both of them claim the emancipation of the Algerian colony. For example at a diner between French-Algerians, Jos Lavieux refuses to serve a French wine and claims instead an Algerian champagne; as we read in the novel:

[...]du vrai, du champagne d'Algerie que je fabrique dans mon champ, et qui est mousseux numero ouahad. [...] Que notre pays s'attache de plus en plus a se suffir à lui meme. [...] tu as raison mon fils! Emancipons nous, [...] homme de l'Algerie, nous n'obeirons qu'aux lois bonnes pour l'algerie et que nous aurons par avance discutée.⁹⁸

[...]it is the genuine, an Algerian champagne which I rpoduce in my own field, that is sparkling wine number one. [...] may our country get more and more self-satisfied [...] you are right my son! We should emancipate [...] men of Algeria, we will obey only to the good laws for Algeria discussed in advance. (Translation ours).

It is also the case with Jean Cassard. The idea of autonomy is shared between the two colonists despite their different personalities. In a dialogue between "Cassard the autonomist" and the "assimilationiste Gaviat", Cassard clearly declares that the prosperity of Algeria is related to its autonomy. " l'Algerie que peuplent cinq millions de berberes islamisés et huit-cents mille européens ne saurait etre gouvernnée selon les methodes appliqués au territoire métropolitain. Nous ne prospérons que si notre colonie est transforméé en dominion."⁹⁹ "Algeria that is populated by five millions of muslim berbers and eight hundred millions of of Europeans is unable to be governed according to the methods applied in the metropolitan territory. We will not prosper unless our country is transformed to a dominion."(translation ours).

In fact, all the masculine heroes of Randeau affirm that the ideal man is represented as Jos Lavieux. "tout les heros masculin de Randeau sont des mytonymes de Jos Lavieux."¹⁰⁰ "all the masculine heroes of Randeau are mytonyms to Jos Lavieux" (translation ours). In other words, the ideal men to govern Algeria are the French-Algerians, the colonists, not the Algerian natives.

In this chapter, we attempted to demonstrate how Imperialism reshaped Identity; the western intrusion in both India and Algeria led to the expropriation of the native's land and identity, and to the creation of the so called Anglo-Indian and French-Algerian identities. These new identities, forged and claimed by the British and the French colonizers are justified by natural belonging, based on "the right of the soil", since the protagonists in both novels are born in the conquered colonies (India and Algeria). In addition, Kipling and Randau tend to legitimize their Indian and Algerian identities, respectively, through history; for Kipling introduced hints that refer to India as European from ancient times and Randau considered

Algeria as a Roman heritage.

Endnotes:

⁵⁴ Edward Said, *Orintalism*, 43.

⁵⁵ Brigit Flohr, "Representations of the "Self" and the "Other" in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature", (essay), 6. Accessed on November 2015. <u>https://www.itp.uni-hannover.de/~flohr/papers/m-lit-18-century5.pdf</u>

⁵⁶ Perry Nodelman, "The Other: Orientalism, Colonialism, and Children's Literature" in *Childrens Literature association Quarterly* 17, n° 1(spring 1992): 29-35, 29. Accessed on December 2015, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/249281/summary.pdf

⁵⁷ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 131-132.

⁵⁸ Rudyard Kipling, *Kim*, 145.

⁵⁹ Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of current English, 8th Edition, 2010.

⁶⁰ Klára Šumberová, "British Imperial Experience as Reflected on Different Identities in Kipling's Novel Kim", (Masaryk University in Brno, 2006), 16, 17, 18. Accessed on September 2015, <u>http://is.muni.cz/th/75336/ff_b/Bakalarska_diplomova_prace.pdf</u>.

⁶¹ Ibid, 3.

⁶² W. A. Redmond, "Erik Erikson". (Microsoft Corporation: Microsoft Student, 2009)[DVD].

⁶³ Rudyard Kipling, *Kim*, 117.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 172.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 110.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 174.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 206.

⁶⁸ Ibid,138.

- ⁶⁹ Ibid, 122.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid, 258.
- ⁷¹ Ibid, 170.
- ⁷² Ibid, 109.
- ⁷³ Ibid, 20.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid, 247.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid,19.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 135.

- ⁷⁷ Ibid, 132.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid,100.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 100,117.

⁸⁰ Ibid,48.

⁸¹ Ibid,147.

⁸² Ibid, 119.

⁸³ Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd Edition, 1989.

⁸⁴ Rudyard Kipling, *Kim*,

⁸⁵ Ibid, 32.

⁸⁶ Ibid, 8.

⁸⁷ Raid Zaraket. "Introduction" in *Les Colons*, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2007), vii. Accessed on January 2016, <u>http://www.sielec.net/pages_site/PUBLICATIONS/ListeAM.htm</u>

⁸⁸ Robert Randau, *Les Colons*, 48.

⁸⁹ ibid, 52.

⁹⁰ ibid, 19.

⁹¹ ibid, 36.

⁹² ibid, 78.

⁹³ ibid, 78.

⁹⁴ ibid, 196.

⁹⁵ Seth Graebner, *History's place: Nostalgia and the City in French Algerian Litarature*, (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007), 76. Accessed on March 2016, <u>https://books.google.fr/books?id=sNUDI41e6ooC&dq=history%27s+place&hl=fr&source=gbs_navlin</u>

ks_s.google/Ebook

⁹⁶ Robert Randau, Les Colons, 43.

⁹⁷ ibid, 92.

⁹⁸ ibid, 27.

⁹⁹ ibid, 41.

¹⁰⁰ ibid, 198.

II. The Representation of the Natives in *Kim* and *Les Colons:*

a. The Representation of the Natives in Kim:

Imperial writers tend to represent the natives in a way that maintains them under the control of the colonizer. The colonizer created subversion in order to maintain his status of power over the colonized. Subversion as claimed by Greenblatt "is the very product of power and furthers its ends"¹⁰² since from the other side, the natives used subversion in order to regain their freedom. Imperial authors un/consciously ignore or contain the natives' subversions and they focus on orientalizing them; a process that Greenblatt calls "containment". Then, Imperial works are "invisible bullets" used by their authors to propagate orientalist ideologies.

"As an Anglo-Indian, Kipling is more likely to act the role of a propagandist for British India."¹⁰³ Kipling's *Kim* (1901) is among his works that deal with the theme of empire. It is about the protagonist's journey (Kim who is the orphan of an Irish 'sahib') from Lahore to Benares. The journey witnesses plenty of Orientalist representations. Indeed native Indians are degraded endorsing the British/ Anglo-Indians superiority. Being Anglo-Indian, Kim's superiority is alluded to from the first page of the novel with the emphasis on his skin colour; "Though he was burned black as any native; though he spoke the vernacular by preference[...]; Kim was white"¹⁰⁴, "Kim was English"¹⁰⁵. His white skin is the first sign that he is born to be superior; thus, it is his innate duty to civilize and enlighten the non-white. For instance, when Kim says: "Ask him [the lama]. He will tell thee I was sent to him from the stars [...]"¹⁰⁶; he emphasizes the notion of the divine mission.

Kipling makes it clear that the natives are inferior to the British in all spheres. At the beginning of the novel, native boys are characterized as subordinate to Kim, "he kicked Lala Dinanath's son off the trunians-since the English held the Punjab and Kim was English."¹⁰⁷ Even as a child, he unconsciously celebrates his superiority as a white. And he is constantly

laughing at the native boys like when they are afraid of "Strange priests"¹⁰⁸ he laughs at them saying: "Run to your mother's laps and be safe."¹⁰⁹ The mockery does not stop at the level of children. In chapter two, 'quoting a northern proverb', a soldier tells Kim: "let they hair grow long and talk Panjabi [...] that is all that makes a Sikh."¹¹⁰; that is to say, a Sikh or any other native ethnic group in India is nothing more than a physical appearance. A native is a native; they are all pinned down to the same status of subordination, though those Sikhs according to History are loyal followers of the British rule¹¹¹.

Furthermore, Kim unconsciously gets aware of the Orientalist notion "Us" that goes in hand with its opposite "Other". "How comes it that this man is one of us"¹¹² Kim wonders how a native/other takes part with the British/us in the 'Great Game'. Those natives that are unpredictable and complex, as Bennet says "[...] one can never fathom the Oriental mind"¹¹³, with no notion of time since "All hours of twenty-four are alike to Orientals"¹¹⁴. How comes it that these 'Others' are joined to 'us'? A question that Kim asks himself. Kim also recognises that "one must never forget that one is a sahib and that [...] some day one will command natives"¹¹⁵. To emphasize the natives' inferiority, the author changed the spelling of words like: "opeenion", "effeccient"¹¹⁶, "raight"¹¹⁷, and "releegion"¹¹⁸ in Babus' speeches (an obese Babu and Hurree Babu); so as to demonstrate the inferiority and incapability of those speakers to learn English since it is superior to their capacities. Kipling uses all the means to say that: 'they' cannot be part of 'us'.

Moreover, natives are described as treacherous and liars. Orientalists view that "Orientals are inveterate Liars"¹¹⁹; then throughout the novel native characters are either liars or treacherous or both at the same time, but Kim is aware of that and shows it to the reader. In chapter one;

Kim asked and paid for a ticket to Umballa. A sleepy clerk grunted and flung out a ticket to the next station, just six miles distant. 'Nay,' said Kim, scanning it with a grin. 'This may serve for farmers, but I live in the city of Lahore. It was cleverly done, **Babu**. Now give the ticket to Umballa.'¹²⁰ The Babus though they work for the British rule, are viewed not to be trustworthy; "Do you know what Hurree Babu really wants? He wants to be made a member of the Royal Society"¹²¹. Then, they are the characters to whom treachery and lies are attributed the most. In chapter twelve in a conversation between Kim and Hurree Babu, Kim addresses Hurree saying: "Thou art here-speaking not one word of truth in ten."¹²² It is stated that in a general way "the Babu makes lying speeches to the sahibs."¹²³ and Kim, though he is white, learned to lie, as stated in the novel: "Kim could **lie like an Oriental**."¹²⁴ (emphasis added) since 'white men' are supposed not to be liars.

Natives, mainly Babus, are represented from the Western point of view upon the East. Both of Hurree Babu who is Bangali and Mahbub Ali who is afghan work for the British Secret Service as interpreters and spies; in so doing, they risk their life for the sake of the British Empire. Hurree Babu and Mahbub Ali got the European education; both of them are highly educated. They are westernized; they follow and imitate the European way. They work for the British and they speak in English, but the author treats them in an Oriental way. They are described in a way to make the readers feel that Hurree Babu and Mahbub Ali consider themselves and their belongings inferior. Instances from Hurree's tongue "I am only Babu"¹²⁵, "I am unfortunately Asiatic, [...] And all-so I am Bangali."¹²⁶ And Mahbub Ali "the big burly afghan"¹²⁷ is depicted as a free thinker as he says "I am a Sufi"¹²⁸. Though these two characters are close to the British, as for Hurree "[...] himself had been taught by the sahibs"¹²⁹, the author makes of them a mockery; claiming that all they want is to be members "of the Royal Society by taking ethnological notes."¹³⁰ A thing that is impossible since they are born Orientals they cannot be British. Here the author deprives his native characters from the British identity; in a way to say that Orientals cannot claim the British identity.

Then, we may say that the author contains the educated Indians since they represent the nationalist movement; they are the leaders of nationalism in India. As already mentioned in the historical background, the educated Indians were considered as a threat to the British government mainly during 1980's and 1990's. Those educated Indians are named "Babus", they are laughed at in *Kim* naming "Hurree Babu", though in reality they are feared by the British government and considered as being a threat since they propagated the feeling of nationalism within Indians and created nationalist groups that helped rising the voice of nationalism in India.

The native's subordination, throughout the novel, is mainly embedded in the character of the Lama. Though the Lama is a native, Kipling has given him voice. The purpose of this privilege stands in favor of Orientalism. The character of the Lama plays an ambivalent role. First, the Lama, as any other native, is depicted as subordinate to his disciple Kim and in a great need of him to find his sacred 'River of the Arrow'¹³¹ in order to cleanse himself. As argued by Said: "throughout the novel, Kipling is clear to show us that the lama, while a wise and a good man, needs Kim's youth, his guidance, his wits, the lama even explicitly acknowledges his absolute, religious need for Kim [...]"¹³². We may say that some of the stereotypes attributed to Orientals are gathered in this character. The Lama says about Kim that "he came upon me to show me a road I have lost"¹³³; here the Lama as an Indian native stands for the whole "Orient" and then Kim who is white stands for the "Occident"; that is the Orient is in need of the Occident to show him the right way, which stands for the "White men's Burden"; to bring light and civilization to "backward" peoples. The Lama is described to be old and weak in need of Kim's youth and strength. Adding to that, he is illiterate and uncivilized in a need of a literate and civilized Kim; for instance, in the first chapter when the Lama appears for the first time he asks:

'O Children, what is that big house?' he said in very fair Urdu.
'The Ajaib-Gher, the Wonder House!' Kim [...]
'Ah! The Wonder House! Can any enter?'
'It is written above the door-all can enter.'
'Without payment?'
'I go in and out. I am no banker,' laughed Kim.
'Alas! I am an old man. I did not know.'¹³⁴(emphasis ours)

Kipling makes the lama play the role of the subordinate, and when Kim moves the Lama moves; in a scene from chapter one Kim says to the Lama "Come it is time-time to go to Benares.' The Lama rose **obediently** $[...]^{n135}$ (emphasis ours).

Second, the Lama, contrary to the other natives, is described as "such a man as Kim, who thought he knew all castes, had never seen."¹³⁶ He is wise, naive, a 'holy man' unconscious of Imperialism, meditating in his quest for the holy river. Besides, his acceptance of civilization and improvement, for instance, when he pays for Kim's studies. The Lama is respected wherever he goes with Kim unless in front of the British since he is a native; thus, pinned down to subordination. Through the Lama, Kipling could show his admire for Indian natives but with emphasis on Imperialism; the British/colonizer innate superiority upon the colonized.

b. The Representation of the Natives in Les Colons:

As a colonial novel Robert Randau's *Les Colons* stands with Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*, in promoting imperial ideas and legitimizing colonization through stereotypical images of the colonized, considered as the other. The dichotomy of colonized/colonizer includes not only the appropriation of the land, but also the erasure of the colonized identity and culture.

The novel does not offer a space to the native people. Their issues and concerns are marginalized and subordinated. They have neither a place nor an identity in their own land. They are nameless and unvoiced; "alors je t'enverrai sa valise par un "**tronc –de-figuier**"¹³⁷ "then I will send your luggage with a "fig-trunk" (translation and emphasis ours). The absent voice of the indigenous population deprived them from taking part in the construction of the reshaped Algerian identity. They are never addressed, and they are forced to bear the state of otherness.

In addition, the occident deployed an undefined number of intellectual and political means of propaganda in order to denigrate the image of the oriental, and to excuse the

European intrusion in the colonized countries under the pretext of enlightenment. The westerners relied on stereotypical images to form a fake identity of the colonized. For instance, the novel of Randau depicts the Algerian natives as lazy people. ; Jos Kadour says: "je ne suis ni un feneant d'Arabe ni un chien de Maltais, je suis un colon."¹³⁸ "I am neither a lazy Arab nor a Maltese dog, I am a colonist" (translation ours). Laziness is one of the most pejorative images put on native people to emphasize their inferiority; as argued by Chris Kortright:

This image [laziness] is a good example of how the colonizer justifies his actions. This image becomes the excuse for the colonial situation because without such images the actions of the colonialist would appear shocking. The image of the lazy na-tive is a useful myth on many levels; it raises the colonizer and humbles the colonized. It becomes a beautiful justification for the colonizer's privilege. The image is that the colonized are unbearably lazy; in contrast the colonizer is always in action. It implies that the employment of the colonized is not very profitable, therefore justifying the unbearable wages paid to them.¹³⁹

The novel associates the natives with dependency. They are considered as unable to rule over themselves. The fact of being lazy people, in addition to the incapacity of the indigenes to rule over themselves, could be a strong argument to legitimize the indigenes subjugation, and the expropriation of their land for colonial benefit; as referred to in the novel when the "assimilationiste Gaviat" said: "Dans mes rapports au gouverneur je m'élevais toujours, il est vrai, contre l'expropriation abusive des terres indigènes par l'état ; cette éviction, c'est prouvé ruine le fellah et cree un prolétariat arabe."¹⁴⁰ "In my reports to the governor I, actually, always, stand against the state' abusive expropriation of the indigenous land; such an ousting, is proved to ruin the "fellah" and creates a sort of Arabic proletariat" (Translation ours). Expropriating the land and associating the native people with dependency and ignorance to justify the act of exploitation unveils how stereotypes are used to make the colonial acts in Algeria legitimate.

The natives in the novel are also depicted as savages and detached from civilization. "ils dissertent sur le regime foncier de l'Algerie, sur la criminalité arabe, sur l'usure Kabyle.¹⁴¹ "they talk about the Algerian property regime, about the Arabic crime, about the Kabyle usury" (translation ours). Being a 'non-civilized population', is a logical reason which gives, in some way, the colonizers the right to invade the Algerian territory since their mission is to enlighten and civilize the world. This "mission civilizatrice"¹⁴² is a pretext that served the French colonizer in his greed and search for power. To maintain the western superiority, the natives are performed as convinced by their inferiority; "excuse moi, sidi (the colonizer) j'ai a te parler".¹⁴³ This conviction guarantees for the colonizer the containment of the native's subversion, despite the marginalization, the inequality and the misery they are plunged in. In this respect Yassine Belkamel writes:

In Algeria, locals were not treated as equals. They were constantly reminded that they were inferior to both the French and other Europeans, of all whom enjoyed full rights. [...]. It became obvious that the colonized were "subjects" and not "citizens". And were liable to special legal and social provisions: they were in effect restricted to the lowest economics and social classes in colonial society[...]¹⁴⁴

Moreover, the descriptive strategy exploited in the novel articulates the favorite settler representation of the indigene population. The French Algerians are associated with elegance, politeness and diplomacy. By contrast, the indigenes are depicted as violent, cruel and primitives an example, the novel describes Helene, the young French-Algerian woman, as well dressed with a refined European taste¹⁴⁵; while the indigenous women are described laboring in the field revealing ravaged, mournful and roasted faces¹⁴⁶.

Despite the use of many Berber and Arabic words by the colonists while speaking, the novel criticizes the colonized people even at the level of language. For them, the language of the colonized resembles to animal sounds rather than to the human language;

As-tu remarqué soeurette que la race quinine indigene ne parlait pas comme la notre? Elle n'a de rapport avec ses maitres que **par les pierres que lui jettent se nourrissent d'excrements et de charognes, s'attache, ainsi que le chat a un chien et non a un individu écoutes ses jappement rauques de prolétaire ! Krobs, Krobs !** Ce qui on arabe signifie du pain, du pain! Dans nos fermes au contraire, les chien de garde hors du souci de la nourriture, ne la quierent pas la nuit, et interroge, selon leurs consignes : ouach ! ouach ! qu'y a-t-il ?¹⁴⁷ (emphasis ours)

Sister, have you noticed that the quinine indigenes speak differently from us? The only relation it has with its master is in the **stones he throws to it they feed with**

excrements and carcasses, attached then, as a cat to a dog rather that a person hear these proletarian husky-voiced yapping! Krobs, Krobs! In Arabic this means bread, bread! In our farms instead, the watchdogs are fed regularly, they do not get it in the dark, and question, depending in orders: Ouach! Ouach! What's going on? (translation and emphasis ours)

In addition, the natives are depicted as hypersexual and unable to control themselves. This gives more strength to the image of savageness of the indigenous people. The novel illustrates this part through Mohamed who is accused of turning around the wife of the "l'adjoint indigene"¹⁴⁸. Not only men, but native women also are associated with lust. They are reduced to prostitutes, as we read in the novel: "Porteurs d'eau, charbonniers, débardeurs, accroupis sur les divans de céramique du patio, s'entretiennent gravement avec les Nailet-a-la ceinture d'argent, pour qui le coït est un acte aussi naturel que le manger, le boire et le dormir."¹⁴⁹ "Water carriers, coalman, long shores, squatting on ceramic patio couches, have meetings gravely with the Nailets with-a-silver belt, in which coitus is a natural act also as to eat, to drink and to sleep"

In this chapter we focused on the way Randau and Kipling represented the native characters. Both authors rely on stereotypical and pejorative images, to stress the inferiority of native Indians and Algerians, and by the way, highlight the western superiority. The colonizer's presence in both India and Algeria is justified by the civilizing mission. In fact, pretending that they are the chosen people to enlighten the world, served the British and the French colonizers to infiltrate the colonies, until they dispossessed the indigenous population of their land, and appropriated their identity.

Endnotes:

¹⁰¹ Samual G. Turner, Subversion and Containment in Adrienne Rich's "Aunt Jennifer's Tigers", (BYU English Symposium Submission, 2015), 2. Accessed on September 2014, http://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgiarticle=1021&context=english_symposium.pdf ¹⁰² Stephen Greenblatt, "Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and its Subversion" in *Shakespeare* Negotiations, (Clarendon, 1988). accessed February 2016, on http://www.risingpress.org/cnu/308/invisible.pdf

¹⁰³ Mouloud Siber, "Rudyard Kipling, Edward Morgan Foster, William Somerset Maugham and Joseph Conrad: The British Imperial Tradition and the Individual Talent", 3.

¹⁰⁴ Rudyard Kipling, *Kim*, 3.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 3.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 64.

- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 3.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 8.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 8.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 32.

¹¹¹ The Age of Imperialism 1850_1914: chapter 11(4) British Imperialism in India, 360. Accessed on October
2015,

http://moodle.aischool.org/pluginfile.php/12323/mod_resource/content/0/The_Age_of_Imperialism_1 850-1914.pdf

- ¹¹² Rudyard Kiplind, Kim, 148.
- ¹¹³ Ibid, 82.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid, 26.
- ¹¹⁵ Ibid, 115.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid, 146.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibid, 165.
- ¹¹⁸ Ibid,166.
- ¹¹⁹ Edward Said, Orientalism, 39.
- ¹²⁰ Rudyard Kipling, Kim, 26.
- ¹²¹ Ibid, 159.
- ¹²² Ibid, 202.
- ¹²³ Ibid,240.
- ¹²⁴ Ibid,23.
- ¹²⁵ ibid, 167.
- ¹²⁶ Ibid, 205.
- ¹²⁷ Ibid, 18.
- ¹²⁸ Ibid, 260.
- ¹²⁹ Ibid, 207.
- ¹³⁰ Ibid, 159
- ¹³¹ Ibid, 11.
- ¹³² Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, first vintage books (1994), 139.
- ¹³³ Rudyard Kipling, *Kim*, 16.
- ¹³⁴ Ibid, 7.
- ¹³⁵ Ibid, 25.

¹³⁶ Ibid, 6.

¹³⁷Robert Randau, Les Colons, 22.

¹³⁸ Ibid, 311.

¹³⁹Chris Cortright, *Colonization and Identity*, (The Anarchist Library, 2003) Accessed on September 2016, <u>https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/chris-kortright-colonization-and-identity.pdf</u>

¹⁴⁰ ibid, 40.

¹⁴¹ ibid, 188.

¹⁴² Fatima Bensidhoum, 108.

¹⁴³ Les Colons, 93.

¹⁴⁴ Yassine Kamel, "Political Ethnicity and the Military in Algeria" in *Forging military Identity in Culturally Pluralistic societies: Quasi-Ethnicity*, (Lexington Books, 2015), 94. Accessed on April 2016, https://www.amazon.fr/Military-Identity-Culturally-Pluralistic-Societies-

ebook/dp/B01564SDC6/ebook

¹⁴⁵ Peter Dunwoodie, Writing French Algeria, 159.

¹⁴⁶ Robert Randau, Les Colons, 124.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 136.

¹⁴⁸ ibid, 58, 59.

¹⁴⁹ ibid, 60.

III. India and Algeria as "Imagined Communities":

a) India as an "Imagined Community":

Benedict Anderson argues that a "nation is constructed"¹⁵⁰; that is imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of the same group. A nation "is **imagined** because the members of even the smallest **nation** will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them yet in the minds of each lives the image of their **communion**."¹⁵¹ (emphasis ours) Rudyard Kipling confirms the theory of Anderson; for instance, he writes that Kim "…was born in the land [India], he has friends, he goes where he chooses. He is a chabuk sawai [a sharp chap]. It needs only to change his clothing, and in a twinkling he would be a low- caste Hindu boy."¹⁵² The capacity of moving from one nationality to another sustains the fact that nation is "'imagining' and 'creation."¹⁵³

On the basis of Anderson's definition of a nation as imagined, when we read *Kim* we feel that Kipling creates a utopian nation that is "British India"¹⁵⁴, imagined according to his will. He attributes to India characteristics that fantasize it; "...mixture of old-world piety and modern progress that is the note of India today."¹⁵⁵ Besides "India the land of pilgrims"¹⁵⁶, it "is the only democratic land in the world."¹⁵⁷ He describes India as he wanted it to be not as it was during the late 1900s. He adds that "one does not own to the possession of money in India."¹⁵⁸ That is to say he devalorizes money. In India there is no need for money to survive; "I go in and out. I am no banker,"¹⁵⁹ says Kim.

In addition, in his "imagined" "utopian" India, Kipling even reshapes history. The period when *Kim* was published knew an increasing nationalism in India besides several nationalist movements emerged. The growth of nationalism, lead to several rebellion acts; one of the major rebellions is "the sepoys mutiny" (already mentioned in the historical background). Kipling uses the term "mutiny"¹⁶⁰ thrice in his novel without providing any

details, though the mutiny caused a great disorder to the British rule. Kipling left out such events because they do not fit his Anglo-India.

Social classes is a creation of society or the "abstraction society"¹⁶¹ as Anderson names it. Fabrice Patez argues that "…la notion de *société* est l'expression d'une conception artificialiste du social."¹⁶² "…the notion of society is the expression of an artificial conception of social." (translation ours) That is societies also are imagined just as the imagined communities. Kipling's "Royal society"¹⁶³ is created for the colonizers only and the colonized have no access to it. Fabrice Patez adds that :

Tönnies, Weber et Durkheim se rejoignent en effet, au-delà des différences terminologiques et théoriques, pour distinguer deux types généraux d'organisation sociale et pour les insérer dans un schéma évolutionniste similaire : la société, fondée sur la volonté individuelle et la rationalité, est "moderne" tandis que la communauté, fondée sur la contrainte collective et la subjectivité, est "traditionnelle". Ainsi, cette opposition bipolaire divise l'histoire des sociétés humaines en deux catégories : d'une part, la société caractérise le monde occidental tel qu'il s'est formé depuis le XVIe siècle environ, d'autre part, la communauté regroupe les sociétés humaines nonoccidentales et non modernes. La communauté est donc définie comme le négatif **de la** *société*.¹⁶⁴ (emphasis ours) Tonnies, Webber and Durkheim join in fact, beyond the terminological and theoretical differences, to distinguish two main types of social organizations and to insert them in a similar evolutionist scheme: a society based on individual willingness and rationality is modern while community is founded on collective constraint and subjectivity. Thus, this bipolar opposition divided human societies history into two sections: on one hand, the western world characterized society from its creation around the sixteenth century, on the other hand, the community that encloses the non western human societies and non modern ones. So community is then defined as the negative form of society. (Translation ours)

The notion of Orientalism comes back again, on one side, an English may easily be a native for instance "Kim found it easier to slip into **Hindu** or **Mohammedan**[...]"¹⁶⁵, besides "let thy hair grow long and talk Punjabi [...]"¹⁶⁶(emphasis ours) and you are a 'Sikh'. On the other side, whatever effort a native may do or even risk his life, he may not take part in the royal society; "Do you know what Hurree Babu really wants? He wants to be made a member of the Royal **Society** by taking ethnological notes."¹⁶⁷. Kipling focuses on the point that the British are superior by attributing them the appellation of the "Royal **society**" thus

focusing on the inferiority of the Indians by dividing them into several communities (Hindu, Mohammedan, Sikhs...) that are different from each other and do not often agree.

Rudyard Kipling's claim of Anglo-Indian nationality may be justified by the fact that he was born in India. The character Kim, "was born in the land [India]"¹⁶⁸, stands for every British born in India; "c'est le lieu de naisssance qui définit l'origine des individus, la naissance sur le territoire national qui garantie de l'attachement et de l'assimilition a la nation."¹⁶⁹ "It is the place of birth that defines the origin of individuals, born in the national territory and that guarantees the commitment and assimilation to the nation." (Translation ours). In fact, a person is identified in relation to the country where he is born, giving him the right to belong to that nation. In other words, it is called "le "droit du sol"¹⁷⁰; "the right of the soil", which is claimed by Kipling in his *Kim*.

Since Kim is born in India, according to the text, as a "native born"¹⁷¹, he attributes himself the right of an Indian identity; but he is also British because of his white skin and the origins of his parents; "le " droit du sang"[...] l'atribution de la nationalité est determinée par des origines familiales, l'attachement "naturel" de l'individu à sa famille garantissant son attachement à la nation."¹⁷² "The "right of blood", [...] the attribution of a nationality is determined by familial origins. The natural attachment of an individual to his family guarantees his commitment to the nation." (translation ours). In other words, even if a person is born in another country than his parents' country, he is biologically attached to his mother land giving him the right of belonging to that nation. The case of Kim that is born in India from British parents (Irish); his father "Kimball O'Hara, [was] a young coulour-sergent of the mavericks, an Irish regiment"¹⁷³, as for Kim that is born in India from British parents, goes to the creation of the Anglo-Indian identity by all rights.

Taking into consideration "le droit du sol" and "le droit du sang" justifies why Kipling deprives native Indians from the British identity. In order to claim one's belonging to a nation, one must either be born in that country or have origins from that country.

b) Algeria as an "Imagined Community":

Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* confirms Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities", and so does Robert Randau's *Les Colons*. In this sense, Randau invents a French-Algerian nation. As a "pied noir", Robert Randau attributes himself and the other colonists the right of belonging to Algeria and being identified as French-Algerians. In his novel, he refers to Algeria as a utopian country. He describes it in the "Algerianiste" way; the way he wished it could be at the time he lived in. As claimed: "Ici on avait toujours accordé trop d'importance au paysage, on l'avait décrit, admiré, on l'avait fertilisé, embelli."¹⁷⁷ Algerianist writers tended to describe Algeria admiringly, according to their will and imagination. They gave it an image that satisfied and fed their imagination.

Despite the fact that the period when the novel *Les Colons*(1907) was written was juxtaposed with nascent rebellions in Algeria, such as the traditional Kabyle rebellion of El Mokrani, the novel gives the impression that harmony and peaceful living overwhelmed the Algerian territory. Hence we read in *Les Colons*:

[...]de diamant est la mer de midi et de chrysargyre celle du soir; de grandes voiles blanches triangulaires batten au Coeur de la baie. Sous les larges quais dormant les plages ou prés de leurs nefs tirées sur la rive peroraient les pheniciens aux rouges tuniques; collinettes et mamelons berberes aux silouhettes sensuelles etreignent le golfe et mele de la volupté aux palabres du negoce.¹⁷⁸ [...] Diamond is the noon-sea and chrysargyron that of evening; large triangular white

[...] Diamond is the noon-sea and chrysargyron that of evening; large triangular white sails batten in the heart of the bay. Under the large docks sleeping beaches or near their ships drawn on the bank holding forth the Phoenicians red tunics; sensual silhouettes of Berber collinettes and nipples hug the Gulf and interfere a pleasure to the palaver of trade. (Translation ours)

Since rebellion did not fit his imagined French-Algeria, Randau ignored it outright. He insists on providing descriptions of the landscapes with no reference to wartime; even those descriptions are the fruit of his imagination. The imagined French-Algerian community goes back to the roman period. Europeans considered Algeria as a Roman heritage as they claimed it: "Une patrie [...], fille de la Latinité"¹⁷⁹; thus, they thought they should have it back. Robert Randau, in his novel *Les Colons*, introduces hints relative to the idea of Algeria being a Roman heritage. As Nacer Khelouz explains: "*Les Colons* as a novel, invites to a diachronic historical research, studying the effect to come to the cause, in order to make the reader accept the voyage of the origins and to legitimize the belonging of the French to Algeria"¹⁷⁹. This means, to strengthen his position in legitimizing the conquest of Algeria, the French colonizer besides the mission of civilization, evoked an imagined historical belonging to perfectly deny that the conquest of Algeria is rather for the preeminent position the colony occupied in the metropolitan political and cultural imagination. The events in the novel of Randau take place in "Ratène";

La route contournait la tourmante de roches qui s'etaient immobilsés, menacente, autour de ratène, éventrait les tombeaux puniques creusés dans la pièrre et un aqueduct romain en ruines, se parsemait d'ossements glaiseux, de debris qui avait été heroeque.¹⁸¹

The road bypasses the immobilized torment of rocks, menacing, around "ratène", disemboweled the Punic tombs carved into the stone and a Roman aqueduct in ruins, sprinkled with loamy bones of debris that had been thoroughly heroic. (Translation ours)

The bones, the tombs and the ruined aqueduct are ancient traces used by the author as instances of Ratene's ancient glory. Even the name of the village is not chosen randomly; it is derived from "Athens"¹⁸², the historical capital of Europe. Also, the name of Ratene sounds in harmony with Hélène¹⁸³, a name given to a young French-Algerian in the novel.

The French-Algerian identity may be justified by the fact that Robert Randau is born in Algeria from French parents. As for the protagonist Cassard "un Algerien pur sang"¹⁸⁴, he is born in Algeria or a "pied noir"; that is to say, Cassard and all the French that were born in Algeria have the right to claim the Algerian identity. This right is justified by "the right of the soil"; the right a person acquires from the country where he is born. Moreover, "the right of blood" provides Cassard the right of being identified to the French since his parents are French. So, 'the natural attachment of an individual to his family guarantees his commitment to the nation'. Combining his Algerian identity by "right of soil" and his French Identity by "right of blood" provides Cassard the French-Algerian identity.

Algeria, during the second half of the nineteenth century, was considered as "la Nouvelle France" "the New France" by the Europeans. This appellation gives a new hope to France to regain its power following the dissolution of the France's mercantilist empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, in addition to the events of the Napoleonic wars and waterloo. As "la Nouvelle France", Algeria represents a melting pot of immigrants who constructed a new belonging for themselves in the new territory. Those western settlers substituted the Algerian natives since the "civilizing mission" is transformed into a mission of exploitation and appropriation. The European settlers considered that they are the chosen people to enlighten the world. For Algeria, it is not only a mission of enlightenment and civilization, it is more a mission to possess again their abandoned property since they consider Algeria as their left heritage. It is believed that its geographical nearness and its ancient roman past placed it naturally under Latin hegemony and possession.

Thus, Algeria as an imagined community is a colonial propaganda to legitimize the presence of the colonizer in Algeria. It is a fake justification to deny the colonizer's greed in one of the most fertile rich lands of Africa.

In this chapter we have read *Kim* (1901) and *Les Colons* (1907) bearing in mind Benedict Anderson's "Imagined Communities". Kipling and Randau fanaticized India and Algeria, respectively; they gave images of how they wanted them to be at the time they lived in. Besides their imagined countries, both authors invented new identities that fit their imaginations; the Anglo-Indian and the French-Algerian communities. These identities are legitimized on the basis of two notions "the right of the soil" and "the right of blood" since both the Anglo-Indians and French-Algerians in *Kim* and *Les Colons* are claimed to be born in India and Algeria from British and French lineage.

Endnotes:

¹⁵⁰ Euan Hague, "Benedict Anderson" in Key Thinkers on Space and Place, (London: SAGE, 2010), https://uk.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-17. Accessed 2016. on April binaries/36582 02 Hubbard Kitchin Ch 01.pdf ¹⁵¹ Benedict Anderson, *imagined communities: reflection on the origin and spread of colonialism*, 7. Verso. 1991), Accessed 2016, (London: on April https://sisphd.wikispaces.com/file/view/Benedict Anderson Imagined Communities.pdf ¹⁵² Kim, 100. ¹⁵³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 7. ¹⁵⁴ *Kim*, 22. ¹⁵⁵ Ibid, 12. ¹⁵⁶ Ibid, 23. ¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 6. ¹⁵⁸ Ibid. 181. ¹⁵⁹ Ibid, 7. ¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 44, 48, 111. ¹⁶¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 7. ¹⁶² Fabrice Patez. *Quelques remarques sur l'imaginaire national*. Les Cahiers du Ceriem, Centre D'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Relations Interethniques et les Minorites, 1998, pp.3-13. <halshs00010215>, 7. ¹⁶³ Kim, 159, 160, 165, 146, 156. ¹⁶⁴ Fabrice Patez, *Quelques Remarques sur l'Imaginaire National*, 4. ¹⁶⁵ *Kim*, 5. ¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 32. ¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 159. ¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 100. ¹⁶⁹ Fabrice Patez, *Quelques Remarques sur l'Imaginaire National*, 13. ¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 13. ¹⁷¹ *Kim.* 115. ¹⁷² Fabrice Patez, *Quelques Remarques sur l'Imaginaire National*, 13. ¹⁷³ *Kim*, 3.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, 13.

¹⁷⁵ Fabrice Patez, *Quelques Remarques sur l'Imaginaire National*, 13.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 13.

¹⁷⁷ Zahia Smail, *Themes in Francophone Algerian Novel*, (University of Exeter, 1991), 26.
 <u>Accessed on October 2015, http://bu.umc.edu.dz/theses/anglais/ZAH331.pdf.</u>

¹⁷⁸ Robert Randau, *Les Colons*, 175.

¹⁷⁹ Zahia Smail, *Themes in Francophone Algerian Novel*, 25.

- ¹⁸⁰ Nacer Khelouz, Le Roman Algerien de l'Entre-Deux-Guerres à l'Epreuve du Politiques : en Lisant Robert Randau et Abdelkader Hadj Hamou, 93.
- ¹⁸¹ Robert Randau, Les Colons, 22.

¹⁸²Nacer Khelouz, Le Roman Algerien de l'Entre-Deux-Guerres à l'Epreuve du Politiques : en Lisant Robert Randau et Abdelkader Hadj Hamou, 95.

¹⁸³ Ibid, 95.

¹⁸⁴ Robert Randau, Les Colons, 26.

Conclusion:

This research paper has attempted to study Imperialism and Identity in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901) and Robert Randau's *Les Colons* (1907). The two works are vivid examples that justify Imperialism and its impact on identity. It attempted, so far, to decipher the messages of both authors that justify and legitimize the Occidental colonization of the Orient.

This research has proved that the two writers meet in many points concerning the representation of Indian and Algerian peoples. The latter were attributed a number of stereotypes that make of them lazy, primitive, uncivilized and backward peoples. Orientalism, as a discourse, does not only target the people but also their language, culture and identity. This study, showed how the two authors "otherized" the Indians and Algerians as well as their languages and cultures. Thus, they appropriate their identity claiming it to be their legitimate right.

The two writers meet in some points but diverge in some others. They agree on the primitiveness, ignorance and backwardness of Indians and Algerians as being the orient. They also agree on the attribution of the native-identity to the Anglo-Indians and French-Algerians. The authors differ in their empires and colonies; Rudyard Kipling represents the British Empire and its colony India while Robert Randau represents the French Empire and its colony Algeria. They also differ on the fact that Kipling named and gave voice to his Indian characters, though it is done only to laugh at them, but Randau was indifferent to the natives; he only refers to them using strange sounds as "krobs!". However, they may have employed different techniques, Kipling and Randau share the same objective that is to devoid the colonized native identity and attribute it to the colonizer. And they do justify and legitimize it by all means, such as their imagined Anglo-Indian and French-Algerian identities, since they are themselves convinced that it is their divine right.

In this dissertation, we have tried to study the points that have not been discussed in the scope of previous works done on this topic. Besides, in an attempt to make Randau known to our readership, we have decided to relate him to a well known writer who is Kipling. But, because of the lack of time and scope, our paper did not encompass all the comparable elements in the two books. Our dissertation permitted us to study Imperialism and Identity in Kipling and Randau in the light of Orientalism and New Historicism based on British and French colonial Empires and Indian and Algerian colonies, respectively. This opens a possibility of studying both works in the light of the Ideology "Divide to Rule".

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