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Introduction

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7. According to Robinson and Gallagherr, British occupation of this territory was a strategic necessity due to the perceived need to forestall a French advance into the area or some other unfriendly power (Germany or Belgium) threatening the interests of Britain in India. Ronald Edward Gallagher, John Robinson, and Alice Denny, Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1981), Chapter 11, especially 308–29.


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27. Bissell, 239.


32. Boym, xiii.

33. Boym, xvi.

34. See my “Rome and France in Africa . . . ” and Graebner, *History’s Place*. Graebner examines nostalgia in the colonial literature of Algeria, exploring the concept in relation to place. He deals almost exclusively with male writers.


38. Rîtîvoi, Yesterday’s Self: Nostalgia and the Immigrant Identity, 32.


49. Holmes, 13.

50. The Amrouch, mother and daughter were the rare exceptions. Fadhma A. M. Amrouche, *Histoire de Ma Vie, Domaine Maghrébin* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1968). Fadhma Amrouche (1882–1967) was the illegitimate daughter of a Kabyle widow, who entrusted her to Catholic missionaries to escape the opprobrium of her compatriots. She was thus brought up as a Christian. She wrote poetry, which was published by her daughter, Marguerite (Marie-Louise) Taos Amrouche (1917–1976), and her son, Jean Amrouche. Her autobiography was published posthumously. Taos Amrouche, who was a friend of André Gide and Jean Giono, published a number of works. These include Marie Louise Amrouche, *Jacinthe Noire, Roman* (Paris: Charlot, 1947); Marguerite Taos Amrouche, *Rue des Tambourins* (Paris: La Table Ronde, 1960); Marguerite Taos Amrouche, *L’amant Imaginaire: Roman*, 4th ed. (Paris: Editions Robert Morel, 1975). Her collection of her mother’s poems was published as Marguerite Taos Amrouche, *Le Grain Magique. Contes, Poèmes et Proverbes Berbéres de Kabylie* (Paris: n.p., 1966).


55. Exceptions relevant to this study and discussed below are Karen Blixen, Nellie Grant, and Isabelle Eberhardt.


**Chapter 1**

1. The Berbers of Algeria comprised the Kabyles, originating from the Djurdjura mountains, the Chaoui from the Aurès mountains, the Mozabites from the Mzab in the south and the Tuareg, nomads of the desert. Of these four the Kabyles were the most numerous.


4. Tanzania, formerly Tanganyika, was a German colony until 1918.

5. Other ethnic groups include the Luhya, Meru, Kisii, Kalinjin, Embu, and Kamba.

6. The mortality rates in 1847 were 54.57 percent for every 1000 males and 43.22 percent for every 1000 females. In 1852 the figures were 61.91 percent and 41.97 percent, respectively; in 1853, 48.12 percent and 32 percent and
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in 1854, 53.35 percent and 44.17 percent. By 1891 it had dropped to 32.57 percent and 25.30 percent. The lower female death rates were apparently due to better adaptation to the climate, coupled with more strenuous workloads and alcoholism among men. Claudine Robert-Guiard, *Des Européennes en Situation Coloniale: Algérie 1830–1939* (Paris: l’Université de Provence, 2009), 73–74.


9. Ibid., 85.


15. Ibid., 83.
17. The tax was levied according to the number of huts an African possessed, thus targeting wealthier Africans, who owned multiple huts. As the settler population increased so too did the demands for labor. In 1908 a poll tax was introduced, which was levied on every African male over the age of 16 who did not pay a hut tax.
18. Trzebinski, *The Kenya Pioneers*, 15. According to Trzebinski, of the 31,983 Indians who were contracted to build the railway, 6,794 remained on till completion.
20. In 1905 British East Africa was transferred from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office. For an account of the dispute, see ibid, 4–5.
22. Ibid., 197.
23. In Rhodesia the settler population in 1901 was 11,000; in 1920 it was 32,620. Ibid.
25. As mentioned in the introduction, I distinguish between colonial myths and the themes and activities that I consider inherent to colonial nostalgia.


33. MSS. Afr.s.1456-East Africa European Pioneer Society, Box 9, binder listing names and information on Kenya pioneers. What is now known as the Limuru Girls’ High School was founded in 1922 by Arnold McDonell, who appointed Roseveare as the first head mistress.

34. MSS. Afr.s.2318–Alice Hammond, Kenya Memories, Chapter four.

35. Women caterers, prostitutes and a few officers’ wives accompanied the 1830 expedition. For a detailed demographic account of women in the early stages of colonization in Algeria, see Robert-Guiard, *Des Européennes en Situation Coloniale: Algérie 1830–1939*, especially 61–75.


37. On leaving Algeria she went on to found an establishment in Tunis and from there went on to create a network throughout the Levant. She was beatified in 1939 and canonized in 1951.


42. Noirfontaine, Algérie. Un Regard Écrit, 34.

43. Bodichon considered marriage to be legally detrimental to women and throughout the 1850s, with Caroline Norton, was involved in a campaign to improve women’s rights. Their campaign culminated in the Matrimonial Causes Act, which ended divorce by Act of Parliament and implemented divorce through the law courts. Most scholarship on Bodichon concerns her role as feminist and writer. See, for example, Pam Hirsch, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, 1827–1891: Feminist, Artist and Rebel (London: Chatto & Windus, 1998); Sheila R. Herstein, A Mid-Victorian Feminist, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). There is much less on her activities in Algeria beyond her painting.


45. Bodichon wrote a number of articles on her impressions of Algeria for the English Woman’s Journal.


Quotation from the fly-page signed by Barbara Bodichon.

47. I use Algerian in the sense of the population native to Algeria and not the settlers. The distinction during the colonial period was Algérien (for settlers) and indigène for the population native to Algeria. Rather than referring to the local population as Muslims, which suggests a religious spin and excludes other local groups, I prefer the modern appellation.

48. I hesitate to make assertions about the absence of Algerians in her painting as I have seen very few of them, but in those I have seen such figures that are present, are very small, and blend into the background.

49. I have written about Eugène Bodichon’s ideas elsewhere: Imperial Identities, 122–127.

50. Bodichon, Algeria; Considered as a Winter Residence for the English, 82.


52. In Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” in Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1988), 271–313. Spivak suggests that focusing on “barbaric” practices involving women, such as sati, was a question of “white men saving brown women from brown men” (296). Although it is possible to apply such reasoning to the issues of polygamy and child marriage in Algeria, I would argue that the situation in Algeria was complicated by the fact Arab women were seen as potentially symbolic and practical vectors of the civilizing mission.


55. Ibid., 63.

56. Ibid., 65.


60. Ibid., 33 [my emphasis].

61. Ibid., 17.

62. Ibid.


67. Pommerol published a number of fictional and non-fictional works on Algeria. *Islam Saharien* (Paris, 1902), the follow-up to *Une femme chez les Sahariennes*, was serialized in the literary paper, *Minerva* in June and July 1902.

68. Her work was reviewed internationally in journals and magazines such as the *Spectator* (86, 1901, 774), *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* (17, 1901, 212), *Literature* (142–47, 1900, 462), *Book News* (19, 1901, 344), *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* (32, 1900, 193).


70. Ibid., 26–27. The military remained a presence in the Sahara throughout the colonial period.

71. Ibid., 191.

72. Ibid., 191 and 202.

73. Ibid., 4.

74. Ibid., 21–22.

75. There is an extensive literature on the use of women in this way and the gender implications of this use. See Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987); Julia Ann Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda, eds., *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1998); Inderpal Grewal, *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire and the Culture of Travel* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994); Simon Katzenellenbogen, “Femmes et Racisme Dans les Colonies Européennes,” *Clio, Histoire, Femmes et Sociétés* 9 (1999); Philippa Levine, *Gender and

76. Pommerol, Une Femme Chez les Sahariennes: Entre Laghouat et In-Salah, 53: “Or, selon moi—sauf exception difficile à clairement concevoir—, il n’y a pas de femmes honnêtes sous ce climat, dans ces races. Il n’y a pas de fiancée chaste. Il n’y a pas de vertu. Car la vertu, l’honnêteté, la chasteté sont la conservation volontaire d’un état de pureté morale et physique. C’est un instinct ou effort qui vient de la personne même, une estime qu’on veut éprouver de soi à soi. Comment l’épouse, la fiancée, la jeune fille arabe du Sud pourraient-elles sentir ou vouloir rien de tout cela? Je les ai—youlez le rappelez-vous?—comparées aux gazelles et aux chattes. Vous imaginez-vous une chatte vertueuse? Une chatte pudique autrement que par caprice ou par dédain?”


82. Quoted by Trzebinski, The Kenya Pioneers, 91.


85. MSS. Afr.S.504-Dobbs, 34.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid. ii. According to the memoir, C. M. Dobbs was born in 1882 and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. His forebears were apparently of Danish origin, having settled in England after the Danish invasions and ending up in Yorkshire. His was a well-to-do family whose sixteenth-century ancestors included a Sheriff (1543) and a Mayor of London (1551), who had been knighted by King Edward VI, and whose grandson had married a daughter of the Earl of Tyrone. Marion Dobbs, on the other hand, came from Lancashire and although her line was obviously not as “illustrious” as her husband’s her mother’s younger brother had achieved the rank of Major General and had been knighted for his services. Marion Dobbs learned French and German in Bavaria and taught languages until she went to Kenya, where she continued to study languages but only taught her children.
90. Interview with Christine Nicholls, July 13, 2005.
91. Ibid.
92. These were: Architect 1; Bakery 1; Café Proprietor 1; Civil Service 1; Education 4; Farmer 8; Hotel Manager 1; Missionaries 6; Nursing 10; Pianist 1; Post Office 3; Prison superintendent 1; Salvation Army 1; Social Work 1; Traveller 2. Data taken from two binders entitled: European Pioneers, East Africa, Biographies A to H and I to Z, compiled by W.G. Beaton (no date). MSS. Afr.s.1456, Box 9.
95. Ibid.
98. MSS. Afr.s.504-Dobbs, 31.
99. Cole, *Random Recollections of a Pioneer Kenya Settler*, 98–99. On the determination of Nellie Cole, see MSS.Afr.s.1424-Cholmondeley, Letter from Lord Delamere to Gladys [his wife], March 27, 1930. Eleanor Cole née Balfour, was the daughter of the 2nd Earl of Balfour and Lady Edith Bulvar-Litton. She married the Hon. Galbraith Lowry Egerton Cole in 1917. She became an active member of the East African Women’s League and was appointed its president in 1944, taking up the position in 1946 on her return to Kenya from Great Britain.
101. In 1911 Theodore Roosevelt stayed at Juju House, MacMillan’s residence, when he came to Kenya to hunt big game.
102. MSS. Afr.s.1217-Hilda MacNaghten.
109. MSS.Afr.s.2018-Miss K.A. Hill-Williams, chapter 2. Hill-Williams parents met in South Africa during the Boer War. Her mother was a “great sportswoman” who hunted, played golf and rowed “in a boat with sliding seat on the Severn,” a sport not many women of her day did. They were married in London and had two daughters, Hilda (1904) and “Tuppence” (1906). They went out to East Africa when a friend of Hill-Williams’ father asked him to join a big game expedition. Once there they decided to settle.


111. The Nairobi Club, which was established slightly earlier than the Muthaiga Club, was the haunt of civil servants and officials with whom the settlers rarely saw eye to eye. The Muthaiga Club became the most important settler club. See Nicholls, *Elspeth Huxley*, 29, and Stephen Mills, *Muthaiga: The History of Muthaiga Country Club; Vol. 1: 1913–1963* (Nairobi: Mills Publishing, 2006).

112. Among its founding and permanent members mentioned in this chapter were Eleanor Cole, Lady MacMillan, Helen Cleland-Scott, K. (Tuppence) Hill-Williams, and Hilda MacNaghten. A historical outline of the league and its various branches can be found at: http://www.eawl.org/eawl-early-years.html.


116. The Ordinance only came into force after World War I and was amended by the July 1920 law.


119. MSS.Afr.s.504-Dobbs, 4.


123. MSS. Afr.s.504-Marion Dobbs, 143.

124. MSS. Afr.s.1217-MacNaghten.

125. MSS, Afr.s.1058-Madeline La Vie Platts, 27.


127. Life for the settlers, male or female, was not easy. In the early decades the rate of suicides as a result of failed enterprises or an inability to deal with colonial existence gained notoriety for the colony. See C. J. D. Duder and C. P. Youé, “Paice’s Place: Race and Politics in Nanyuki Districe, Kenya, in the 1920s,” *African Affairs* 93, no. 371 (1994): 253–278, 53.


Notes

Chapter 2


2. Adhering fairly closely to Max Weber’s definition of charisma, Berenson and Giloi argue that it is the attribute of a leader or personality endowed with a sense of mission as well as powers or qualities that are exemplary. Fame, on the other hand, is more closely associated with renown and the famous person is not necessarily a charismatic personality, although of course s/he can be. Both are concepts of long-standing, the former having originated BCE and the latter during the medieval period. Celebrity, they argue is a newer concept, tied more closely to the advent of the print and media cultures. Blixen could certainly be considered charismatic after she left Kenya and reinvented herself as a Scheherazade type storyteller, but it is not that period of her life with which I am concerned.


4. Ibid.

5. See, for example, Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).

6. I have deliberately chosen to use the concept of transgression rather than crossing or transference, concepts used by more recent scholarly works when it comes to crossing boundaries of race or gender, as I feel it is a stronger concept and hence more appropriate for the period.


10. In 1912 five landowners owned 20 percent of the land alienated to Europeans. In the fertile Rift Valley 50 percent of the land was owned by Europeans. Zeleza, 41.


14. *Out of Africa* was published in London and Denmark in 1937 and in New York in 1938, where it was sold to the Book of the Month Club.

15. The political nature of much of the early criticism of Eberhardt has obscured the fact her literary merit was also disputed. See Robert Randau, *Isabelle Eberhardt. Notes et Souveniers*, Paris, La Boîte á Documents (first published 1945, 227 & 243. For the political criticisms, see Kobak, *Isabelle. The Life of Isabelle Eberhardt*, 239–245.

16. For example, Lucienne Favre in Algeria, Elspeth Huxley in Kenya. Huxley’s work, although immensely popular, never really transcended the colonial barrier.


18. Kingsley journeyed to Africa in 1893 and 1895. Her most renowned works were *Travels in West Africa* (London, 1897) and *West African Studies* (1899). Mary Hall crossed Southern and Central Africa in 1904 producing the work *A Woman’s Trek from the Cape to Cairo* (1907).

19. Trophimowski was eager to escape the “pernicious influence of civilization” and farm in Algeria, although he did not in fact remain long enough to pursue this goal; Augustin had joined the foreign legion and was in Bone. See Kobak, 48–49.

20. Eberhardt’s belief she was born a Muslim appears to have developed in early adulthood. Kobak, 28–29.


22. Exports of Kenyan coffee increased from 8.5 tons to 5,328 tons in the period 1909–1920. In monetary terms this signified a jump from £239 to £392,507. Zeleza, 42.
24. The initial investment in 1914 was 300,000 Danish Kroner, which in 1975, was the equivalent of 3m Kroner or approximately $500,000. (Thomas Dinesen, *My Sister...* 53) By today’s standards it would be about 6 times the 1975 amount.
30. “Réminiscences.Vers les horizons bleus” in *Écrits sur le sable I.*, no. 73.
31. For her views on nomads, see: “Au pays des sables” and “Pour tuer le temps. Sudoranais 2e partie” both in *Écrits sur le sable* 1, no. 44 & 242.
33. CAOM, 75APOM/38-Arnaud-Randau, VI Premiers contacts avec les gens et les choses de Ténès.
34. “Dernières visions. Sud Oranais 1er partie,” in *Écrits sur le sable* 1, no. 203.
35. Eberhardt on Slimène Ehni in her diary, “Marseille, 7 mai 1900” in *Écrits intimes*, 241.
36. Quoted by Delacour in *Écrits intimes*, 245.
37. Ibid., 244. A marabout was a Muslim holy man and mystic.
38. CAOM, Série 23X26, Letter from Ehnni to Augustin Moerder (no date).
42. Lyautey spent much time sorting through her work and corresponding with Barrucand about it. About half of her manuscripts were intact; the other half was incomplete or damaged. Barrucand pieced together what Lyautey sent him and published it as “Du l’ombre chaude de l’Islam,” for which Lyautey expressed “a great satisfaction.” CAOM Serie X-31/MIOM/17-Lyautey. Letter to Barrucand, February 19, 1909.
56. In addition to the Somalis as servants, the Masai were singled out for their intelligence and as excellent warriors. They were, according to one colonial administrator: “more intelligent than, and of a type superior to, the other native tribes around them.” D. Storrs-Fox, quoted by Tidrick, Kathryn Tidrick, “The Masai and Masters: A Psychological Study of District Administration,” *African Studies Review* 23, no. 1 (1980): 16.
58. Ibid., 17.
66. According to Tidrick, one of the Kenya hotels was nicknamed “the House of Lords” for this very reason. Kathryn Tidrick, *Empire and the English Character* (London: Tauris, 1992), 130.
67. For analyses of the significance of hunting to British imperialism, see Edward I. Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History*


72. Ibid., 21.


76. MacMillan was knighted in 1918. See Chapter 3.


81. In her work on Olive Schreiner and Isak Dinesen, Susan R. Horton states that due to colonial policies, such as the law restricting the size of Kikuyu livestock, conditions worsened for the Kikuyu. She adds that Blixen “would have experienced a gradual but profound constriction of her own relations with the Kikuyu laboring on her coffee plantation.” Horton, *Difficult Women, Artful Lives. Olive Shreiner and Isak Dinesen, In and Out of Africa.*, 209.


83. Eberhardt and her mother arrived in Algeria in May 1897. Her mother died in November of the same year. For Eberhardt’s sentiments regarding the death of her mother, see “Premier Journalier. Cagliari, le 1er janvier 1900” in *Écrits sur le sable*, Vol. I, 304.


98. Randau, *Isabelle Eberhardt*, 64.
99. CAOM Serie 23X33 Letter from Bonneval to Eberhardt, March 11, 1900.
100. A certain Ms. C. d’Ambre.
103. Colonial society had mostly been highly critical of Eberhardt’s behavior. Her sexuality, transgender dressing, and familiarity with the Arabs came under negative scrutiny. Negative press coverage in two Algerian papers, *Les Nouvelles* and the *Union Républicaine* had been so relentless that Eberhardt had sued the latter for libel.
104. CAOM 30MIOM/28-AKHBAR, August 1922, n 13917.
108. CAOM Série 23X57, Letter from the society to Barrucand, March 12, 1930.
110. See, for example, Claude-Maurice Robert, “Sur les traces d’Isabelle-Eberhardt” in *L’Envoûtement du Sud d’el Kantara à Djaret,* Alger, Bacoconier Frères, 1934, 81–84; The first theatrical production of Eberhardt’s life, by Lucienne Favre & Constance Colin, was staged at the Montparnasse theatre in 1939. This romanticized bioplay is still produced from time to time. Two films have been made of Eberhardt’s life in recent years: Leslie Thornton’s *There was an Unseen Cloud Moving* (1988, Women make movies) and Ian Pringle’s *Isabelle Eberhardt* (1990, a French-Australian co-production).
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115. Ibid., 184.


Chapter 3

1. Errol Trzebinski, The Kenya Pioneers, 1st American ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1986), 178. Trzebinski gives the figures as 60,000 horses and mules and twice as many oxen.

2. MSS. Afr.s.2018-Miss K.A. Hill Williams, 14, See also MSS.Afr.s.1558-Margaret Elkington, chapter eleven.


5. MSS. Afr.s.2154-Box 7, Huxley papers, File 1, Letter to Vera, November 17, 1922, Kitimuru.


7. According to Trezbsinski, within a few months of the outbreak of war 85 percent of the young men in the colony had joined some sort of unit, 179.


12. Segregation in Kenya was administrative and not legal as it was in the United States or became in South Africa. It saved the British government from having to define by law what it overlooked in practice. See Kathryn Tidrick, Empire and the English Character (London: Tauris, 1992), 137.

13. Maxon, Struggle for Kenya. The Loss and Reassertion of Imperial Initiative, 1912–1923, 282. According to Maxon, the Colonial Office lost control of the colony during the war but regained it in 1923, as laid out in the Devonshire Declaration in July 1913. (79 and 13)


16. By 1929 only 35 percent of able-bodied Kenyan men were laborers, although there were large numbers of squatters. *Colonial Report no 1510. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya. Report for 1929*, 76.


In colonial Algeria, according to Robert-Guaird, until the twentieth century no Algerians worked in domestic service in European households. Rather, domestic service was undertaken by Europeans. Claudine Robert-Guaird, *Des Européennes en Situation Coloniale: Algérie 1830–1939*, 158–159.


19. Ibid.

20. See ibid. and Charles Chenevix Trench, *Men Who Ruled Kenya* (London/New York: The Radcliffe Press, 1993), 76; Maxon, *Struggle for Kenya The Loss and Reassertion of Imperial Initiative, 1912–1923*, 210–213; Marshall S. Clough, *Fighting Two Sides: Kenyan Chiefs and Politicians, 1918–1940*, 1st ed. (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1990), 53–60. In 1924 the Native Authority Amendment Ordinance allowed for the establishment of local native councils (LNCs). Their members were partially elected, partially nominated and could pass by-laws and levy rates. By 1936, however, only 20 such councils remained (out of 34). No doubt their functioning was unimpeded as long as they did “what they were told.” Trench, 69.


22. The more extreme minded settlers clamored for segregation, which never became an official policy. The Colonial Office in London was fearful that an outright refusal of Indian demands would create problems in India, where Indians had many more rights than they did in East Africa. But restricting Indian immigration and economic opportunities in favor of Africans garnered sympathy among Colonial Office officials. See Maxon, *Struggle for Kenya. The Loss and Reassertion of Imperial Initiative, 1912–1923*, 162. See also

23. MSS. Afr.s.633, Box 3, File 3/1, folio 1-2: “Indian Question the Native outlook. Baganda and Indians. Rumours of Equal Rights for Indians with Whites” (no date), but it was the follow-up of an article which appeared in the same paper on July 1, 1921.


27. MSS.Afr.s.2154-Box 7-Huxley papers, file 1, Letter to Robin, March 14, 1923 from Deloraine, Njoro, Kenya Colony.


32. Dane Kennedy, “Introduction” Alyse Simpson, *The Land That Never Was* (London: Selwyn & Blount, 1937), vi. For example in 1923 there were 3,450 immigrants and 3,374 emigrants; the following year there were 4,079 immigrants and 3,236 emigrants. The trend continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s. See Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia 1890–1939*, 195.

33. MSS. Afr.s.2154, Box 7-Huxley papers, file 3, Letter to Robin and Vera Grant from Kitimuru, March 1, 1921.


35. Ibid., 262.

36. Ibid., 6.


40. Ibid., 133.


45. Ibid., 15.

46. Ibid., 7.

47. Ibid., 14.

48. Ibid., 15.

49. Ibid., 72.

50. Ibid., 263.

51. Ibid., 76, Also 55, 81, 111–112.


53. At the end of the nineteenth century anxieties about women’s role in society found expression in unexpected places. See, for example, Mary Louise Roberts, *Disruptive Acts: The New Woman in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).


55. In 1921 the European population in Algiers was 147,896; in Oran it was 102,210, and in Constantine it was 36,333. See Mahfoud Kaddache, *La Vie Politique à Alger de 1919 à 1939* (Algiers: SNED, 1970), 15.

56. Ibid., 11.


59. The *Code de l’indigénat* subjected the Algerians to special laws and restrictions, thus keeping them in inferior status. Algerians could be released from the indigénat through naturalization, but to be naturalized they had to renounce the Islamic personal statutes.


61. Algerian protest movements were much more developed than in Kenya. Many of Algerians who had emigrated to France for economic reasons or else had remained there after the war, joined the *Étoile Nord Africaine*, headed by Messali Hadj.


*Mos Soeurs musulmanes*, Algiers, Jacques Cartier, 1931 (1st published 1921). 97

Ibid., 105.


Ibid., 117.

*Seduction Orientale*, Algiers, Soubiron, 1931. For an analysis of the novel in terms of colonial ideology, see Lorcin, 2004.

*Visions d’Algérie*, Algiers, Baconnier frères, 1929.

In addition to *Seduction orientale*, she wrote *Du vice à la vertue, roman d’une Naiila*, Paris, Argo, 1932, *Dans la tiédeur de la tente*, Alger, La Typographie d’art, 1933.


Godin’s father was a military officer, hence the family’s presence in Saint Maxint. He left the military to teach in Algeria.

CAOM 75APOM/16-Fonds Arnaud-Randau, manuscript of “La vie littéraire en Algérie.” Other authors mentioned by Randau, discussed in this study, are Maria Bugéja, Jeanne Faure-Sardet, Mareval Bertoin, and Magali Boisnard.

CAOM 75APOM/16-Fonds Arnaud-Randau, “L’Association des Ecrivains-Algériens.”


Ibid. Michel Corday, “Introduction.”


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81. Ibid.
87. Raymond Poincaré, Discours prononcé au Palais du Trocadero le 3 décembre 1921, Ligue française pour le droit de femmes, 6 BMD, DOS VER, Box 3, File 3.

Chapter 4


3. Phrase quoted from *Western Mail*, appearing on the fly-page of *A Wife in Kenya*.


5. My thanks to Julia Clancy-Smith for this information.


9. Louis Bertrand was a leading figure of the Algerian literary scene. He provided Rhaïs with a letter of introduction to René Doumic. Both men were elected to the *Académie française*.

10. Luigi Pirandello, *Les Oeuvres Libres*, Recueil littéraire mensuel (Paris, Fayard, 1927); the other collected work is entitled *Blida*, and is prefaced by Louis Bertrand and included works by Gaston Ricci, Ferdinand Duchêne and Robert Migot. Duchêne was the first to receive the Grand Prix Littéraire de l’Algérie, when it was established in 1921.


16. The allure of Biskra was enhanced by the likes of André Gide and Matisse. Gide visited the town in 1893 making it the setting of his novel *L’Immoraliste*, whereas Matisse’s 1907 painting “The Blue Nude” was sub-titled *Souvenir de Biskra*.


23. Her novels and short stories were published or serialized in: *Revue des Deux Mondes, Revue de Paris. Revue Bleue, Revue Hebdomadaire*. In 1951, a poem by Michel Carée, based on the novella Kerkeb was presented at the Paris Opera set to the music of Samuel Rousseau. Among her most popular works were: *Saâda, La Marocaine* (1919, 26 editions); *Le Café chantant* (1920, 15 editions); *Les Juifs ou la fille d’Éléazar* (1921, 19 editions); *La Fille des pachas* (1924, 16 editions); *La Fille du douar* (1924, 17 editions); *La Chemise qui porte Bonheur* (1925, later 17 editions); *Le Mariage de Hanifa* (1926, 16 editions) and *Par la voix de la musique* (1927, 16 editions); see Jean Déjeux, “Elissa Rhaïs, Conteuse Algérienne (1876–1940) in *Revue de l’Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 37, no. 1 (1984): 47–79, 50.

24. According to Jules Roy (Le Monde, June 4, 1982, 19) Collete, Morand, and Mallarmé supported her, although it is not clear which Mallarmé he means, Stéphane Mallarmé having died in 1898.


30. I have discussed gender in relation to Rhaïs’ work at greater length in my article “Sex, Gender and Race in the Colonial Novels of Elissa Rhaïs and Lucienne Favre.”


33. The Rif War started in 1920 between the Spaniards and the Moroccan tribes from the Rif mountains, under the leadership of Abd-el-Krim over the Moroccan territory ceded to the Spaniards by the 1912 Treaty of Fez, which transformed Morocco into a protectorate. In 1925 the French joined the Spaniards bringing the war to an end, in 1926.


35. Rhâïs, *La Fille des Pachas*, 96. See also 46–47.

36. Ibid., 262.


38. Sid Mustapha Pacha in *La Fille des Pachas*, 4; Sid El Hadj in *La Riffaine*, 45–46.


40. Ibid., 119.

41. Ibid., 89.

42. Ibid., 53.


45. Pierre Mille and Jean Richepin were colonial novelists. Gyp was the nom-de-plume of the Comtesse de Martel de Janville, a best-selling novelist who along with writers such as Anna de Noailles and Marie Louise de Hérédia, published romances “which largely adhered to the reassuring form of the romance while exploring the social and emotional implications of gendered identity.” Diana Holmes and Carrie Tarr, *A “Belle Époque?” Women in French Society and Culture, 1890–1914* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 49; on Gyp, see also Mary Louise Roberts, *Disruptive Acts: The New Woman in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).


47. Ibid., The Tunisian newspaper was *Ez Zohra*, 12 mars 1909.

48. CAOM, Arnaud/Randau 75APOM/51. file 36/i, clipping of an article entitled “l’Algérie dans l’Empire,” no author, no date, no journal/newspaper title.

49. Ibid.

51. Boisnard, Mâadith, 33.
52. Ibid., 113.
53. See I. Yetiv, Le thème de l’aliénation dans le roman maghrébin d’expression française de 1952-1956. Sherbrooke, CELEF, 1972. In an interview with young French Muslims whose parents or grandparents were of Maghrebi origin, I asked whether they felt French or Algerian. One young woman (3rd generation French-Algerian) replied that she was culturally French—her friends were French, she liked French literature, movies, music, but that she was politically Algerian. Interview at the Paris Mosque on May 24, 2007 with a veteran of the Algerian War and a group of children and grand children of veterans, in the context of a summer course I taught in France (see http://www.hist.umn.edu/hist1910w/May24.html).
56. CAOM, Arnaud/Randau 75APOM/51. file 36/i, clipping of an article entitled “l’Algérie dans l’Empire,” no newspaper, no author, no date.
57. Boisnard, Le Roman de Khaldoun, 47. Andalucian in this case means the Arab Andalucia.
58. Ibid., 56.
60. Unlike Florence Riddell, whose account of her peregrinations, I Go Wandering: A Travel Biography (London: J. B. Lippencott, 1935) provides some information on her activities and experiences in Kenya, information about Strange’s background comes from the occasional personal reference in Kenya Today and from the advertisements in the backmatter, or the information on the fly leaves, of her books, as well as the website, Mystery File, which contains information on mystery writers. http://mysteryfile.com/blog/index.php?page=2&category=publishers. Accessed January 9, 2009.
62. Ibid., 134–135.
63. Ibid., 254.
64. Ibid., 261 and 270.
66. Ibid., 18–19.
67. Ibid., 57.
68. Ibid., 22–23.
69. Ibid., 26–27.
70. Ibid., 28.
71. Ibid., 66.
72. Ibid., 181.
74. For a recent fictionalized and much exaggerated account of Happy Valley behavior and the unsolved Errol murder, see James Fox, White Mischief (London: Cape, 1982). The book was made into a film in 1987.
77. Riddell, Kenya Mist.
78. Riddell, I Go Wandering: A Travel Biography, 124.
79. Riddell, Kenya Mist, 16 and Riddell, I Go Wandering: A Travel Biography, 286.
81. Nora K. Strange, Imperial Mountain (London: Hutchinson, 1941), 143.
84. Riddell, Kismet in Kenya, 21 and 22.
85. Ibid., 58.
87. Ibid., 135 and 303.
90. See, for example, Richard Griffiths, Fellow Travellers of the Right. British Enthusiasts for Nazi Germany 1933–1939 (London: Constable, 1980); Edward VIII and Wallis Simpson, later the Duke and Duchess of Windsor, were the most prominent fascist-sympathizing aristocrats. A documentary based on recently released FBI files shedding further light on their sympathies, Britain’s Nazi Kind Revealed directed by Clive Maltby, was aired on British television (Channel 5) on July 16, 2009.
91. Rhodes House Archive, MSS. Afr.s.2154-Box 1. Letter from Nellie Grant to Elspeth Huxley, Njoro, December 11, 1934.
92. Strange, Imperial Mountain, 5–6.
94. Strange, Imperial Mountain, 142.
Chapter 5


4. The centenary occasioned a prodigious literary and artistic output. The official work was the *Le Livre D’or Du Centenaire de l’Algérie Française* (Algiers: Fontana, 1930). The film commissioned for the centenary was *Le Bled*, directed by Jean Renoir. According to Ageron, *De L’insurrection De 1871 Au Déclenchement De La Guerre De Libération (1954)*, 406, the film was criticized for its inaccuracies by Louis Massignon, professor at the College de France and one of France’s leading Arabists. The French public was no doubt unaware of its propaganda value.


9. Ibid., 16.

10. According to Robert-Guiard, there were 120 mixed marriages from 1830 to 1877; 227 from 1878–1900; 67 in 1938, and 88 in 1938. These figures do not include marriages between Europeans and indigenous Jews, which were rarer. Claudine Robert-Guiard, *Des Européennes en Situation Coloniale: Algérie 1830–1939*, 132–136. For further information on the barriers to interethnic marriages, see 115–119.


13. Ibid.


17. Ibid.


20. Ibid.


24. Marius and Ary Leblond, Ferdinand Duchêne, Musette (pseudonym for V. M. AugusteRobinet), Magali Boisnard, Maximilienne Heller, Charles Hagel, Louis Lecoq, Elissa Rhaïs, and Raymond Marival to name but a few. Their works were critiqued and published in leading metropole journals.
25. Colonial literature and colonial questions were profiled under specific headings, for example in the *Mercure de France*, where as of the 1930s, the novel rubric in “Revue de la Quinzine” was often devoted to “colonial and exotic” novels. The rubric “romans féminins” appeared in the '20s and included colonial writers such as Rhaïs’. See, for example, *Mercure de France*, no. 652 (August 15, 1925): 179–186.


27. For an elaboration of these two trends, see Marius-Ary Leblond, *Après l’exotisme de Loti, le roman colonial*, Paris, 1927. Marius-Ary Leblond is the pseudonym for the cousins Aimé Merlo and Georges Athenas who nearly always collaborated and who were considered by their peers to be authorities on colonial literature.


30. Ibid. Among the leading novelists of the movement were: Robert Randau, Louis Le Coq, Henri Hagel, Magali Boisnard, Raymond Marival, and Ferdinand Duchène.


32. Its most renowned adherent was Albert Camus. Other participants included Gabriel Audisio and Emmanuel Roblès.


34. From 1921 to 1952, six women were awarded the prize: Maximilienne Heller (1922), Jeanne-Faure-Sardet & Lucienne Favre (1930), Magali Boisnard (1935), Lucienne Jean-Darrouy (1945), and Mme Canavaggia (1951).


36. In the 1930s most European girls would have attended the Limuru Girls High School or the Nairobi Girls School before being sent (usually at the age of 11 or 12) to boarding school in Britain. European boys attended the Prince of Wales School for Boys, founded in the early 1930s, or if they were children of government officials the Nairobi Government School established in 1928. They were usually sent to boarding school in England at the early age of 7 or 8. Schooling during the colonial period was not coeducational and was racially segregated. It was only after World War II that some racial
mixing occurred in Kenya, although the schools did not become coeducational. The leading schools for Africans were the Lions High School for Boys and the Alliance Girls High School; the latter being of a lower standard than the former. Interview of Joan Considine on Monday, July 18, 2005. Although fees were relatively low during the colonial period, grants were given to poor whites as it was felt that whites had to be well educated. The exceptions were the Afrikaaners who were too poor to pay the fees [and did not qualify for grants.] They were therefore practically illiterate. Interview with Christine Nicholls on July 13, 2005. Schools were desegregated in 1962, a year before independence.


39. She wrote 48 works, which included biographies, novels, memoirs, and political commentary.


42. MICR.AFR. 607 (4) Helen Mayers—Autobiographical Reminiscences—1910–1931, 17


48. Ibid., 118.

49. Ibid., 123.

50. Rhodes House Archives. MSS. AFR.S.2154-Box 1-file 3, Letter from Nellie Grant to Elspeth Huxley, Njoro, Wednesday, February 13, 1935.

51. Author’s interview of Christine Nicholls in Oxford on July 13, 2005.


54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.


57. Ibid., 80.

58. Ibid., 81–82.

59. Ibid., 82.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid., 84.


64. Ibid.

65. Francis Scott, one of the colony’s leading figures, declared that it was “perfectly supreme . . . a masterpiece. You have told the tale of Kenya from its
infancy and portrayed D very truly.” Letter to EH from Francis Scott, June 10 [1935?]. Her publisher declared that he was “pleased indeed to see that the book has been so well received in the country with which it deals . . . and congratulate you on the excellent reviews which the work has received in the English press.” Letter to EH from Harold Macmillan of Macmillan & Co., London, June 20, 1925, both in MSS.AFR.s.2154-Box 10, File 1/10. Rhodes House Archives.


67. The women who formed part of the interwar golden age were Agatha Christie, Dorothy Sayers, Ngaio Marsh, Margery Allingham, and Josephine Tey. See: Jessica Mann, *Deadlier Than the Male: Why Are Respectable English Women So Good at Murder?* (New York: Macmillan, 1981).


69. Ibid., 18.

70. Ibid., 58.

71. Ibid., 278.

72. Ibid., 281.

73. Ibid., 7 and 269.

74. Letter to Vera from EH, Balcome Place, Balcome, Susses, September 1, 1935. MSS.AFR.s.2154, Box 7, File 3, Letters from Elspeth Huxley to Robin and Vera Grant. Huxley papers. Rhodes House Archives.


76. Letter from JG to Vera, Njoro July 18, 1934. MSS.AFR.s.2154, Box 5, File 2, Letters from Josceline Grant to Vera Grant, Huxley Papers. Rhodes House Archives.

77. Letter from NG to EH, Njoro, 17.8.1938. MSS.AFR.s.2154, Box 1, File 6, Letters from Nellie Grant to Elspeth Huxley, 1938. Rhodes House Archives. A conferéce was convened by President Roosevelt and held in Evian, France in July 1938 to try and settle the Jewish refugee problem. Lord Winterton was the head of the British delegation and argued against the settlement of Jews in Great Britain, but envisaged the possibility of settling some in Kenya and Rhodesia.


79. Letter from NG to EH, Njoro, October 31, 1941. MSS.AFR.s.2154, Box 2, File 3, Huxley papers. Rhodes House Archives.

80. The page ends in mid sentence and what follows has either disappeared or has been destroyed, for following on are two pages about the situation in
the colony. Letter from NG to Frank, October 19, 1941. MSS.AFR.s2154, Box 2, File 3, Huxley papers. Rhodes House Archives.


86. Ibid., 165.


89. Letter from Huxley to Macmillan, quoted by ibid., 135.


94. Ibid., 168.

95. Ibid., 227–228.


98. On the rivalry between Kenyatta and Leaky, see Frederiksen, “Jomo Kenyatta, Marie Bonaparte and Bronislaw Malinowski on Clitoridectomy and Female Sexuality,” 36–37.


101. Joyce Cary’s Mister Johnson, about an African who tried too hard to emulate his British employer, was published in the same year as Red Strangers but hardly sold at all. It was later considered to be among his best novels and had a postcolonial revival and a Bruce Beresford film adaptation in 1990.


105. Ibid., 37.


107. Most members of the Fabian society were pro-imperialist; their criticisms were about the degree of exploitation and the obtuseness of settlers with regard to Africans.


111. In addition to the women mentioned in previous chapters, who continued to write in the ’30s, the most notable were Maximilienne Heller, Lucienne Favre, Lucienne Jean-Darrouy, Jeanne Faure-Sardet, Angèle Maraval-Bethoin. Sixty-six works of literature were published by women in the interwar period. 87. CAOM. APOM/48-Fonds Déjeux, Dossier 222.


117. “L’Algérie va-t-elle connaître à son tour les horreurs de la guerre civile?” La Dépêche algérienne, jeudi 17 septembre, 1936.


119. Ibid.

120. Among the U.F.S.F. delegates and pro-suffrage women to visit Algeria were the activist and Cécile Brunschvicg (1877–1946), who was the director of La Française from 1924, and lawyer and pacifist feminist Maria Vérone (1874–1938).


122. Ibid.


128. Lucienne Favre and Jeanne Faure-Sardet were jointly awarded the prize in 1931, Favre for her work to date and Faure-Sardet for her novel *Deux femmes*, which does not feature in the holdings of the Bibliothèque nationale or World Cat. According to a 1932 article in *Minerve* on the awarding of the prize to the two women, it was a novel about “native” mores (*de moeurs indigènes*). Lucienne Jean-Darrouy received her prize in 1943 for *Au pays de la mort jaune*. For information on the prize, see Jean Déjeux, “Le Grand Prix Littéraire de l’Algérie (1921–1961),” *Revue d’Histoire Littéraire de la France* 85 (1985) 60–71; Jeanne Adam, “Polémique autour du premier Grand Prix Littéraire de l’Algérie. La situation des lettres algériennes en 1921” in *Le Maghreb Dans L’imaginaire Français: la Colonie, le Désert, L’exil*, ed. Jean-Robert Henry (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1985).


131. Prior to taking up writing she tried, unsuccessfully, to establish herself as an actress.


135. Clipping of a newspaper review: Lucien Decaves “Théâtre Montparnasse, Prosper” there is no newspaper title or date, although the performance of the play in 1934 suggests that it dates from then. Sheet 3, DOS FAV in Archives of the Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand.

136. She received the *Grand Prix Littéraire de l’Algérie* in 1943. Her novels include: *Le Mariage de Mademoiselle Centhectares: Figures de Colons Algériens* (1930); *Mariette Et Le Péché* (1936); *Au Pays de la Mort Jaune* (1940); *Au Jardin de Mon Père: Contes de la Terre d’Algérie* (1942); *Les Française Dans La Guerre: Vie et Mort de Denise Ferrier: Aspirant Conductrice Au 25e Bataillon Médical 9ème D.I.C* (1946).

137. A. Fournier-Chancogne, “Une femme de letters féministe. Mme.Lucienne Jean-Darrouy” in *La Française* Saturday, June 21, 1930. Messaouda Yahiaoui claims Jean-Darrouy was a lawyer, but her article contains some errors and in my research I have not been able to confirm the fact. Messaouda Yahiaoui, “Regards de Romancières Françaises Sur les Sociétés

138. Extract from an article by Lucienne Jean-Darrouy, which appeared in l’Echo d’Alger, quoted in “Les Femmes et les Tribunaux de Commerce,” La Française, January 14, 1934. For her appearances in other towns, see “La Propagande Suffragiste dans l’Afrique du Nord,” La Française, January 7, 1933.

139. “‘Hélia’ de Jeanne Faure-Sardet” in Minerve, March 26, 1933. DOS t, Archives Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand.


143. Lucienne Favre, Dimitri et la Mort, Roman (Paris: J. Ferenczi et fils, 1925); Lucienne Favre, Bab-El-Oued (Paris: G. Crès, 1926); Lucienne Favre, La Noce, Roman (Paris: B. Grasset, 1929); Favre, L’homme Derrière le Mur. Two earlier works published in 1923, Indulgencès plénières and Une Voix dans le desert, do not feature in the holdings of the collective catalogues of France or World Cat. In 1928 she received the Prix Corrard for L’homme le mur and Bab-el-Oued was runner up for the Prix Feminina. DOS FAV, Sheet 6, Archives of the Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand.

144. For a detailed analysis of the issues of race, gender, and race in the novel, see Lorcin, “Women, Gender and Nation in Colonial Novels of Inter-War Algeria.”

145. Favre, Orientale 1930, 9, 12. A marbout is a holy man (living saint in Islam); a marabouta is a holy woman.

Fatima was the prophet Muhammed’s daughter. The connotations of religious subordination and marginalization are obvious.

146. Ibid., 10.

147. Robert-Guiard devotes a chapter to the demography of spousal choice in colonial Algeria. She states that until World War II, marriages between the French and the néo-French were tolerated but not encouraged. Furthermore, French women more than French men were inclined to form endogamous relationships. Robert-Guiard, Des Européennes en Situation Coloniales: Algérie 1830–1939, 113–136.


150. Ibid.
153. Ibid., 13.
154. Ibid., 29.
155. Ibid., 23.
156. For more about spas and colonization, see Eric Thomas Jennings, Cur- ing the Colonizers: Hydrotherapy, Climatology, and French Colonial Spas (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
158. Ibid., 21.
159. Ibid., 19.
161. For an in-depth analysis of these themes see Lorcin, “Women, Gender and Nation in Colonial Novels of Inter-War Algeria.”
162. Favre, Mille et Un Jours: Mourad, 9.
163. Ibid., 127–128, 34; Favre, Orientale 1930, 10.
165. Ibid., 57–58.
166. Ibid., 59.
167. Ibid., 43. The novel was completed in 1937.
168. Ibid., 231–233.
169. Faure-Sardet, Fille D’arabe, 11.
170. Ibid., 13.
171. Ibid., 52.
172. Ibid., 110.
174. Faure-Sardet, Fille D’arabe, 149.
175. Ibid., 175.
176. Vient de Paraître, publicity clipping in the novel. No date.
177. Favre also develops this theme in her novels, see in particular: Favre, Bab-El-Oued, 111–112; Favre, Orientale 1930, 242.
178. Favre, Orientale 1930, 70.
179. For an analysis of the legal implications of miscegenation in the colonies, see Emmanuelle Saada, Les Enfants de la Colonie: les Métis de L’empire Fran- çais Entre Sujection et Citoyenneté (Paris: Découverte, 2007); Peabody and

180. See, for example the case of working class Marie from France who marries an Algerian, Ahmed, after World War I and returns to Algeria in *Orientale* 1930, although they eventually return to France to escape the “archaic” pressures of Ahmed’s Muslim family. See Lorcin, “Women, Gender and Nation in Colonial Novels of Inter-War Algeria”; Lorcin, “Sex, Gender and Race in the Colonial Novels of Elissa Rhaïs and Lucienne Favre.”

**Chapter 6**


3. According to Anderson, oath-taking actually started in 1944.

4. Mss.Afr.s.424. “Mau Mau ceremonies as described by participants.” C. J. A. Barnett was Kenya Police Reserves Officer. He states that the copy of the papers on the Mau Mau ceremonies came into his possession c. August 1954, although he was uncertain of who compiled them. The papers itemize the commitments made by participants in taking the oath and declare that these became increasingly violent as time went by. Like all official documents drawn up in times of severe conflict, their contents cannot be taken at face value. Although I provide this information I am mindful of by whom, when, and why it was produced.

5. For details of the development of Mau Mau and the British response, see: Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*. For a more sensationalized account,


7. Anderson gives the figures of Kikuyu detained at 70,000 with about 150,000 spending some time during the Emergency in the detention camps. The Special Emergency Assize Courts tried 2,609 Kikuyu on capital charges, of whom 40 percent were acquitted, 1,574 were convicted and sentenced to death, and 1090 were actually hanged. Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*, 4–6.

8. Ibid.


11. For the accounts of the events from the settlers’ point of view, including a number of women’s testimonies, see: Maurice Villard, *La Vérité Sur L’insurrection Du 8 Mai 1945 Dans le Constantinois: Menaces Sur l’Algérie Française* (Montpellier: Amicale des Hauts Plateaux de Sétif, 1997). This work, which in spite of its obvious pro-settler bias contains some useful material, was written as a riposte to a television program on the Sétif massacres shown on the ARTE channel of French television on May 10, 1995, which emphasized the repression and Algerian casualties to the detriment of those of the settlers. The pied-noir community originating from Sétif (L’Amicale des Hauts Plateaux de Sétif) residing in France compiled this collection of written testimonies, statistics, and photographs to manifest their “victimization” both by the Algerians in 1945 and by the French media in 1995, who, they claim, occluded their tribulations at Sétif. Needless to say there is no mention of Algerian casualties.


13. Planche argues that at the height of the repression 500 Arabs were killed daily and that the degree of the violence was linked to rumors, which had circulated for over a year in the settler community, that trouble was eminent. Planche, *Sétif 1945: Histoire d’un Massacre Annoncé*, 1 and 10. See also chapters 6 and 11.


17. Official casualty figures for the Emergency to the end of 1956 are 11,503 “terrorists” killed, 95 Europeans of which 35 were civilians, 29 Asians of which 26 were civilians, and 1,920 “loyal” Africans. F. D. Corfield, *The Origins and Growth of Mau Mau: An Historical Survey* (Nairobi: Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, 1960), 316. Branch states that “the anti-colonial rebellion and civil war claimed the lives of approximately 25,000 Kenya Africans” (Branch, *Defeating Mau Mau, Creating Kenya: Counterinsurgency, Civil War, and Decolonization*, 5). Alastair Horne provides the following casualty figures for the Algerian War of Independence: French military losses 17,456 (including 5,966 killed “accidentally”), 64,985 wounded and injured, and 1,000 missing (including deserters). European civilian casualties of 10,000, caused by over 42,000 acts of terrorism, of which 2,788 were dead and 500 disappeared. French figures give 141,000 Algerian male combatants killed, 12,000 members of the F.L.N. killed in internecine purges, 16,000 Muslims civilians killed by the F.L.N. and a further 50,000 Muslims abducted, presumed killed, by the F.L.N., and a further 4,300 killed by the F.L.N. and M.N.A. in France. In the immediate aftermath of the war the figure given by the Algerians was 300,000 killed. Today the Algerian government gives the figure for their total war dead as 1 million. Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria, 1954–1962* (2006), 538.


22. Quoted in ibid., 190.


28. Quoted by Ranjana Khanna, *Algeria Cuts: Women and Representation, 1830 to the Present* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), 83. See also
Beauvoir and Halimi, *Djamila Bouacha, the Story of the Torture of a Young Algerian Girl Which Shocked Liberal French Opinion*.


33. Françoise Gicquel, Commissaire Divisionnaire de la Service de la Memoire et des Affaires Culturelles de la section “archives”, Archives de la Prefecture de Police, recounted an anecdote told to her by a researcher of pied-noir origin. On being told that drilling in the Sahara had been successful the researcher’s mother cried “Nous sommes foutus” (we’re finished), implying that international oil interests would start meddling with the colonies internal politics to the detriment of the settlers.


38. Ibid., 305.

39. By 1956 conscripts were openly rebelling. For an account of these events, see: Hamon and Patrick, *Les Porteurs de Valises: la Résistance Française à la Guerre d’Algérie*, 47–51.


42. Ibid., 98.

43. Ibid., 142.

44. Ibid., 118.


56. Ibid., 10.
57. Patouète, the “dialect” of the *pieds-noirs*, was a hybrid of the many Southern European languages of the neo-French. For an analysis of its importance to *pied-noir* identity, see David Prochaska, “History as Literature, Literature as History: Cagayous of Algiers,” *American Historical Review* 101, no. 3 (1996): 671–711.
60. Baïlac’s claim that there was no political message is disingenuous given her description of its political ramifications, when it was performed in Paris in her memoir of the war. See Baïlac, *Les Absinthes Sauvages; Témoignage Pour le Peuple Pieds-Noirs*, 211–219.
63. In this it is reminiscent of Deepa Mehta’s 1998 film, *Earth* about the post-independence partition of India.
64. Baïlac, for example, continued to believe that only a minority of Algerians sought independence (“…la plupart des Musulmans ne sont nullement convaincus que leur destin doive les conduire inéluctablement à l’indépendance d’Algérie.”) Baïlac, “Les Grands Jours D’alger,” 52.
65. Ibid., 49.
66. Marie Sils, *Ces Forêts D’orangers* (Paris: Gallimard, 1962), 13. (Marie Sils was the pseudonym of Antoinette Marchal. She was from Epinal in the Vosges, had a law degree and was married to the magistrate Jacques Scheurer. This book is significant as an illustration of the literary empathy between women writers in France and the “lost” territory)
67. Ibid., 17 and 25.
68. Ibid., 38.
69. Ibid., 364.
72. She also goes by the name Loesch-Gagliardi.
74. Ibid., 11–12.
75. Ibid., 10.
76. Ibid., 257 and 60; ibid.
77. The French countryside at this time was depopulated and many departments had abandoned or semi-abandoned villages.
78. Loesch, *La Valise et le Cercueil*, 265.
82. Dessaigne, *Déracinés!*
83. Ibid., 78.
85. Rhodes House Archives.MSS.Afr.2154-Box 2-Huxley papers. Letter from NG to Frank, October 19, 1941.
89. Ibid., 16.
90. Ibid.
91. Letter from Margery Perham to Elspeth Huxley, March 15, 1942, ibid., 18. Apartheid was introduced as a legal and political system in 1948.
93. Huxley to Perham, April 26, 1943, ibid., 144.
94. Perham to Huxley, August 20, 1943, ibid., 223.


99. Ibid., 194.


101. Ibid.

102. Ibid., xviii.

103. Ibid., 50.


105. Ibid.

106. Ibid., 170.


108. Ibid., vii–viii.

109. Ibid., 126.

110. Ibid.


112. Ibid., 126.

113. Ibid.

114. Ibid.


116. Ibid., 20.

117. Ibid.


121. Rhodes House Archive, MSS.Afr.s.2199. Box 2, File 2/3: Diary September 1955–1956. Entry for October 13, 1955. Mary Casey was the niece of William Powys, one of the early settlers who had originally served as a manager on the farm of Galbraith Cole before he set up on his own and took up painting.

122. Casey kept her journal until shortly before her death in 1980. Extracts from the period 1963 to 1979 were edited and published posthumously by
Judith Lange and Louise de Bruin, as were collections of her poems and *The Kingfisher’s Wing*, a “visionary recital” of the life of Plotinus. Mary Casey, Louise De Bruin, and Judith M. Lang, *A Net in Water: A Selection from the Journals* (Bath, U.K.: Powys Press, 1994).


124. Ibid.


126. Ibid.

127. MSS.Afr.s.2199. File 1/7: Diary VII. Mary Casey: Entry for April 29, 1953.

128. MSS.Afr.s.2154-Box 3, File 5. Letter from NG to EH. Njoro, October 9, 1952.

129. Ibid.

130. MSS.Afr.s.2154-Box 3, File 5. Letter from NG to EG. Njoro, October 26, 1952.

131. MSS.Afr.s.2154-Box 3, File 5. Letter from NG to EG. Njoro, Tuesday, November 25, 1952.


134. MSS.Afr.s.2154-Box 3, File 7. Letter from NG to EH. Njoro, Sunday, December 5, 1954.


138. Ibid.

139. Ibid., 218–219.

140. Ibid., 240.

141. Ibid., 222.

142. Ibid., 296.

143. According to the review by H. R. Tate, the conversations of the Mau Mau leaders in the novel and all the details of the movement’s “structure, ceremonial and organization are accurate and actual, based on information collected over the past few years by the police and ‘screening teams’”; H. R. Tate, “A Thing to Love by Elspeth Huxley,” *African Affairs* 54, no. 214 (1955): 67–69.


145. Ibid., 48.
146. Ibid., 64.
147. Ibid., 60.
148. Ibid., 66.
149. Ibid., 80–81.
150. Ibid., 210.
151. Ibid., 222.
152. Ibid., 119.
153. Ibid., 120.
154. Ibid., 210.
155. Ibid., 189.
156. MSS.Afr.2154-Box 1, File 4/2. Letter from NG to EH. Njoro, Friday, February 26, 1960.
157. Interview with Christine Nicholls, July 13, 2005. Ms. Nicholls mentioned the presence of a transcript of the interview by W. P. Kirkman in Rhodes House, Oxford. My thanks to her for this information.
158. At the 1960 Lancaster House Conference, he was against the maintenance of white settlement. As a result settler sentiment, according to Nellie Grant was “very very high against Macleod and also Renison [the governor]” Grant, *Nellie’s Story*, 235.
159. MSS.Afr.s.2179 Transcript of a tape-recorded interview with the Rt. Hon. Iain Macleod, M. P. Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1959–1961, interviewed by W. P. Kirkman at the White Cottage, Potters Bar, Middlesex, on December 20, 1967, 24–25. See also 49–50, where Macleod discusses what were then the Rhodesias.
160. Ibid., 88.

Chapter 7

3. De Gaulle was the target of a number of assassination attempts, the best-known of which was masterminded by Lt. Col. Jean Bastien-Thiry. He was executed in March 1963 for his role in the attempt.
8. Ibid., 65.
9. Ibid., 41–42. During the final two years of the war, when the O. A. S. activity was at its height, the inhabitants of the district of Bab-el-Oued in Algiers, where many of the modest settlers lived, banged on their saucepans each night to the beat of Al-gé-rie Fran-çaise.
10. Ibid., 120.
11. Ibid., 118.
13. Elbe’s other books include *Pourquoi Cologne* (Paris, Presses de la Cité, 1964), for which she received a prize from the *Société des Gens de lettres*. She now lives in Majorca.
15. Ibid., 15.
16. Aron was voted into the Academy in 1974, but died a few days before his inauguration.
18. Ibid., 14.
19. Ibid., 15.
25. Ibid., 176.
28. By this time it had also become clear that an independent Algeria could mean an American share in the exploitation of its considerable oil reserves, which would not be possible if France kept Algeria.
30. Ibid., 288.
31. Ibid.


34. Ibid., My emphasis. The *Cercle* has branches in Lyon, Nice, Perpignan, and the Toulousain. Its main library is in Lyon.


36. The first article states: Cette Association a pour but de rechercher partout, en France et hors de France, rassembler, répertorier, conserver et faire connaître la documentation sous toutes les formes d’expression (histoire, littérature, arts plastiques, documents sonores, musique, etc.) concernant l’Algérie avant et pendant la présence française, et les suites de cette présence. Elle se donne pour règle une objectivité totale, en s’interdisant toute discrimination ou prise de position fondée sur des considérations philosophiques ou politiques. Elle se met en mesure, ainsi de fournir aux contemporains et aux générations futures un moyen fiable d’information sur la part d’histoire partagée par les Français et les Algériens pendant plus d’un siècle, et sur les conséquences proches ou lointaines qui en ont résulté pour les deux pays.

L’Association peut aussi recueillir, dans le même esprit des informations concernant la Tunisie et le Maroc. Pour favoriser la réalisation de son dessein, elle peut s’associer à d’autres institutions analogues d’intérêt spécifiquement culturel.


40. Ibid., 14.

41. Ibid., 24.


43. Ibid.

44. Ibid., 257. The novel is dedicated “to the doctor who helped me to be born.”


46. Ibid., 37–38.

47. Cardinal and Leclerc, Autrement dit, 17.


49. Cardinal and Leclerc, Autrement dit, 114.

50. Ibid., 146.

51. Ibid., 167–168.


53. In addition to the fiction and nonfiction, a large number of pictorial representations of colonial Algeria were also published. See, for example, Marie Cardinal, Les Pieds-Noirs (Paris: Place Furstemberg, 1994); Gérard Guihet-eau and Marc Combier, L’Algérie oubliée: images d’Algérie, 1910–1954 (Paris: Acropole, 2004); Teddy Alzieu, Oran, Mémoire en images; (Joué-les-Tours: A. Sutton, 2001); Elisabeth Fechner, Oran et l’Oranie, Souvenirs de là-bas (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 2002); Guy Tudury, Alger de 1830 à 1962: souvenirs et images d’une ville, Rediviva (Nîmes: Lacour, 1994).
54. It was claimed that “un roman” had been an editorial error. Jean Déjeux, “Élissa Rhaïs, Conteuse Algérienne (1876–1940),” *Revue de l’Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 37, no. 1 (1984): 65.


56. Ibid., 181–182.


66. Chorfi, “Isabelle Eberhardt s’est devouée à la terre de l’Islam.”


68. Dossier 230 of the Déjeux papers contains dozens of articles and other material written by Algerians in the 1980s and 1990s. Among this material is a poem by Chami Ahmed entitled “A Isabelle Eberhard [sic].”


74. The strip of “Mektoub” was drawn by the Australian illustrator Maria Pena and first published in Fox comics in 1989. It was later published together with three others stories about women travelers in Philip Bentley, *Passionate Nomads: A Collection of Arabian Adventures* (Sandringham, VC: Second Shore, in association with Paper Tableaux, 2006).

75. My thanks to Professor Abderrahmane Moussaoui for drawing my attention to these events. Moussaoui is currently working on the pilgrimage of St. Raphaël. The choice of these sites, both religious establishments dedicated to the Virgin Mary, is due to the fact the cathedral in Algiers, Notre Dame d’Afrique, was similarly dedicated.


79. The official material of governance of the colonies in both France and Britain was of course housed in the National Archives of each country.


81. According to Tawney, some 15,000 known names were targeted with the hoped for result of about 10 percent, a figure which was achieved. Tawney, “Personal Thoughts on a Rescue Operation,” 346.


83. In January 1959 the colonial governors of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika met at Chequers to discuss the constitutional future of the three colonies. Alan Lennox-Boyd was then Colonial Secretary and the idea was a slow move to independence over the next 20 years. After the general election of 1959, Iain Macleod replaced Lennox-Boyd and the process was speeded up. My thanks to Roger W. Horrell, O. B. E., C. M. G. for providing me with his insights on the period.


86. McKenna, later starred in Born Free, the biopic of Adamson and her lions.


89. Elpeth Huxley, The Flame Trees of Thika, 128.

90. Ibid., 83.

91. Ibid., 120.

92. Ibid.


95. Ibid., 299.

96. Elspeth Joscelin Grant Huxley and Hugo van Lawick, Last Days in Eden (New York: Amaryllis Press, 1984). Van Lawick had been married to Jane Goodall with whom he published a number of books connected to her research on chimpanzees.

97. Although game parks were established during the colonial period, attitudes toward game were ambiguous. Not only was hunting an important dimension of both settler existence, but during the two wars the settlers indulged in mass slaughter of animals for food both for themselves and, especially during World War II, to feed the prisoners of war (mainly Italians). On hunting and game parks, see Brian Herne, White Hunters. The Golden Age of African Safaris (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1999). For a Marxist take on hunting in East Africa, see Edward I. Steinhart, Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya (Oxford/Nairobi: James Currey, 2006).

98. Huxley and Lawick, Last Days in Eden, 169.

99. Ibid., 168.


103. It starred Virginia McKenna and Bill Travers and was directed by James H. Hill and distributed by Columbia Pictures. McKenna won a Golden Globe for her portrayal of Adamson.


106. Ibid., Adamson, *The Spotted Sphinx*; Adamson, *Pippa, the Cheetah, and Her Cubs*.

107. Researchers from the United Kingdom and the United States, some of whom were encouraged like Adamson by Louis Leakey, joined the ranks of former settlers interested in conservation: Jane Goodall, the Douglas-Hamiltons, Diane Fossey, to name but a few.


109. Ibid., 35.

110. Ibid., 144. In fact Cole sold off his estate in smallish plots to Africans.

111. Ibid., 41.


114. Ibid., 224.
117. Ibid., 229.
119. Ibid., 282.
120. The term is Rítívoí’s from Andreea Decíu Rítívoí, *Yesterday’s Self: Nostalgia and the Immigrant Identity* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002).
121. Ricciardi’s base is in London, where, according to her website, “Her non-descript terraced house has been turned into an African haven filled with light, African artefacts and rambling plants.” http://www.mirellaricciardi.com/bio.html accessed September 2, 2009.
123. Ibid., 7.
124. Ibid., 15.
127. Ibid., 64.
128. Ibid., 9.
129. Ibid., 258.
131. Ibid., xiii.
132. Ibid., 244–255.
133. Ibid., 254.
134. Ibid., 278.
Conclusion


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