

Making Algeria French



This book is published as part of the joint publishing agreement established in 1977 between the Foundation de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge. Titles published under this arrangement may appear in any European language or, in the case of volumes of collected essays, in several languages.

New books will appear either as individual titles or in one of the series that the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and the Cambridge University Press have jointly agreed to publish. All books published jointly by the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and the Cambridge University Press will be distributed by the Press throughout the world.

Cet ouvrage est publié dans le cadre de l'accord de co-édition passé en 1977 entre la Fondation de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme et le Press Syndicate de l'Université de Cambridge. Toutes les langues européernnes sont admises pour les titres couverts par cet accord, et les ouvrages collectifs peuvent paraître en plusieures langues.

Les ouvrages paraissent soit isolément, soit dans l'une des séries que la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme it Cambridge Press ont convenu de publier ensemble. La distribution dans le monde entier des titres ainsi publiés conjointement par les deux établissements est assurée par Cambridge University Press.

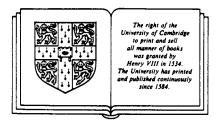


# Making Algeria French

Colonialism in Bône, 1870 – 1920

DAVID PROCHASKA

University of Illinois



#### **CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS**

Cambridge New York Port Chester Melbourne Sydney

EDITIONS DE LA MAISON DES SCIENCES DE L'HOMME Paris



#### PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK 40 West 20th Street, New York NY 10011–4211, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

© Cambridge University Press 1990

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1990 First paperback edition 2002

ISBN 0 521 53128 4 paperback

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

```
Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Prochaska, David.

Making Algeria French: colonialism in Bône, 1870–1920 / David Prochaska.

p. cm.

Bibliography: p.
ISBN 0 521 34303 8 hardback

1. Bône (Algeria)—History. 2. French—Algeria—Bône—History.

1. Title.
DT299.B6P76 1990
965'.5—dc20 89-33176

CIP

ISBN 0 521 34303 8 hardback
```



## For Harry,

my intellectual and spiritual mentor early on -who better read it

and for Mohan Lal Chipa,

who for no good reason befriended me -and who will never read it.



# Contents

Tables	page ix
Maps and figures	xi
Illustrations	xiii
Abbreviations	xv
Preface and Acknowledgments	xvii
1 Theoretical foundations: Settler colonialism and colonial urbanism	1
PART 1: From precolonial Annaba to colonial Bône,	•
1830–1870	29
2 Annaba on the eve of the French conquest	31
3 Bône during the first decades of French rule, 1830-1870	62
PART II: Bône: The formation of a settler colonial city, 1870–1920	95
4 The urban economy and the regional setting	97
5 The people of Bône	135
6 Patronage, corruption, and the "Boss" of Bône:	
Jérome Bertagna	180
7 The creation of a colonial culture	206
Conclusion: Unmaking French Algeria	230
Epilogue: Making Making Algeria French	245
Notes	259
Sources and bibliography	308
Index	325



# **Tables**

Table 2.1	Population of selected tribes in Annaba region, ca. 1830	43
Table 2.2	Animals of selected tribes in Annaba region, ca. 1830	48
Table 2.3	Selected occupations of Moors in Annaba, 1833–4	52
Table 3.1	Division of forest concessions in Constantine province, 1862	74
Table 3.2	Major forest concessions in Edough Mountains, 1862	75
Table 3.3	Algerian land concessions to forest concessionaires in Bône region	76
Table 4.1	Number of European and Algerian businessmen in Bône by trade (per 15,000 population), 1883	118
Table 4.2	French, other European, and Algerian business owners in Bône by trade (per 15,000 population), 1904–7	125
Table 4.3	Covered market and Algerian funduq retailers, 1883	128
Table 5.1	European and Algerian male/female ratios, 1876–1911	143
Table 5.2	European and Algerian household structure (percent), 1876–1911	146
Table 5.3	European and Algerian fertility ratios, 1876–1911	149
		ix



Tables		
Table 5.4	Europeans and Algerians in major city areas, 1872-1906	159
Table 5.5	European subgroups and Jews in major city areas, 1872–1911	161
Table 5.6	Jews of two generations in major city areas (percent)	162
Table 5.7	Segregation indexes between native French and other population groups, 1872–1911	164
Table 5.8	Algerians and Europeans by industry (percent), 1876–1911	167
Table 5.9	Algerian and European subgroups by industry (percent), 1876–1911	169
Table 5.10	Algerians and Europeans by functional ranking (percent), 1876–1911	174
Table 5.11	Algerian and European subgroups by functional ranking (percent), 1876–1911	175
Table 5.12	French, European, and Algerian wages by position in job (average francs per day),	
	1904–7	177



# Maps and figures

Figure 2.1	Map of Europe and the Magnrib.	33
Figure 2.2	Map of Annaba region.	34
Figure 2.3	Map of precolonial Annaba.	37
Figure 2.4	Map of social groups in Annaba region, ca. 1850.	42
Figure 3.1	Bône population, 1833-55.	86
Figure 3.2	European crude birth and death rates, 1833-66.	88
Figure 3.3	European transiency, 1833-63.	90
Figure 3.4	European male/female ratios, 1833-55.	91
Figure 3.5	Birthplace of Bône Europeans, 1848 and 1866.	92
Figure 4.1	Map of mines and railroads in colonial Bône region.	100
Figure 4.2	Map of port of colonial Bône, 1837-1955.	112
Figure 4.3	Colonial Bône employers by economic sector, 1876–91.	115
Figure 5.1	Europeans and Algerians in colonial Bône, 1872-1921.	136
Figure 5.2	Europeans and Algerians in Bône region, 1907.	141
Figure 5.3	Birthplace of Bône Europeans, 1866-1911.	142
Figure 5.4	European crude birth and death rates, 1870–1929.	143
Figure 5.5	Algerian crude birth and death rates, 1870–1925.	144
		xi



## Maps and Figures

Figure 5.6	European subgroups in colonial Bône, 1872–1911.	146
Figure 5.7	Birthplace of French and other Europeans, 1866–1911.	147
Figure 5.8	French residency in Bône by department of birth, 1896.	148
Figure 5.9	Map of colonial Bône, 1909.	156
Figure 5.10	Map of central Bône, 1909.	158
Figure 5.11	Algerians and Europeans by vertical ranking (percent), 1876–1911.	171
Figure 5.12	Algerian and European subgroups by vertical ranking (percent), 1876–1911.	171
Figure 5.13	French, other European, and Algerian job positions (per 10.000 population), 1904–7.	177

xii



# Illustrations

Illustration 2.1	View of Bône.	32
Illustration 2.2	View of Bône after Rouargue frères.	35
Illustration 2.3	Mosque of Salah Bey.	38
Illustration 3.1	Arab Bureau of Bône by FJ. Moulin.	63
Illustration 3.2	Marquis de Bassano's blast furnace at L'Allelick, 1847.	79
Illustration 3.3	Napoleon III visits Makta el Hadid Mine, 1865.	93
Illustration 4.1	Djebel Kouif phosphates mine, 1918.	101
Illustration 4.2	Algerian market, 1880s.	129
Illustration 4.3	Mozabite quarter.	132
Illustration 4.4	Hadj Omar Bengui's kiosk on Cours Bertagna, 1904.	134
Illustration 5.1	View of Bône, 1880.	137
Illustration 5.2	Cours Bertagna, early twentieth century.	178
Illustration 6.1	Bône city hall, early twentieth century.	184
Illustration 6.2	Inauguration of monument to Jérome Bertagna, 1907.	193
Illustration 7.1	The main church of Bône.	217
Illustration 7.2	The Hôtel d'Orient and Municipal Theater of Bône.	218
Illustration 7.3	Quai des Phosphates, Bône.	218
		xiii



## Illustrations

Illustration 7.4	Saint-Cloud beach, Bône.	219
Illustration 7.5	Ruins of Hippo and Basilica of Saint Augustine.	220
Illustration 7.6	Tomb of Sidi Brahim, Bône.	221
Illustration 7.7	Rue Gambetta, Bône.	221
Illustration 7.8	Statue of Bertagna with Carloutche doffing his cap.	227
Illustration C-1.	Former parish church at Randon outside Bône, 1976.	231
Illustration C-2.	Former European cemetery of Bône, 1976.	243
Illustration E-1.	Beni M'haffer settlement (called Beni Ramassés by the French) near European cemetery 1976	246

xiv



# **Abbreviations**

AN

AOM	Archives Nationales, Dépôt d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence
APCA	Archives de l'Assemblée Populaire Communale de Annaba (former Archives Municipales de Bône)
AWC	Archives de la Wilaya de Constantine
BNV	Bibliothèque Nationale, Versailles
PP	British Parliamentary Papers, Accounts and Papers
SGA	Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, Statistique Générale de l'Algérie (Algiers: Imprimerie Algérienne, 1870-1929)
SNED	Société Nationale d'Edition et de Diffusion
TEFA	Tableau d'Etablissements Français en Algérie (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1837-66)

Archives Nationales, Paris



## **Preface**

Albert Camus received the Nobel Prize in 1957. At a press conference afterwards, he was asked about the Algerian Revolution, then raging. "If I had to choose between justice [independent Algeria] and my mother [Algérie française], I would choose my mother." Camus was a Frenchman born in colonial Algeria, a settler or pied noir, to use the somewhat pejorative term. Like George Orwell in India, he was a colonial by background. "At present the Arabs do not alone make up all of Algeria. The size and seniority of the French settlement, in particular, are enough to create a problem that cannot be compared to anything in history. The Algerian French are likewise, and in the strongest meaning of the word, natives."

Camus's father worked as a cellarman in the wine trade. In 1913 the elder Camus was posted to Mondovi in eastern Algeria. Mondovi was located eight miles inland from Bône, the third largest port city in Algeria. The largest, Algiers, was where the Camus family came from, and where Camus set The Stranger (L'Etranger). "Mother died today. Or, maybe, yesterday; I can't be sure." The second largest port, Oran, furnished the locale for The Plague (La Peste). "From dark corners, from basements, from cellars, from sewers, they [rats] came up in long tottering lines to stagger at the light, turn round and die near men." Bône itself was situated on the site of St. Augustine's Hippo. All three of these settler colonial cities were populated by more Europeans than native Algerians.

Albert Camus was born in Mondovi in 1913. Ten years before Jérome Bertagna, the "boss" of Bône, died in Mondovi. Where Camus's background was Spanish, Bertagna's was Italian. Where the Camus were dirt-scrabbling poor, Bertagna made his fortune in colonial Algeria. Elected mayor of Bône in 1888, Bertagna was the single most powerful person in the region until his death in 1903. It was he who was primarily responsible for constructing the port of Bône through which Camus's father shipped pressed grapes to France. With his economic wealth and

xvii



## Preface

political clout, Bertagna created a vast 7,500-acre estate in Mondovi, 1,500 acres of which he devoted to vineyards, perhaps including the one where Camus's father worked.

Making Algeria French constitutes a postcolonial look at the colonial past of Bône-become-Annaba. The title is ironic, for the unmaking of French Algeria soon followed its making, a case of the failure of success. Eschewing earlier colonial interpretations, I view the Bône past differently, as French settler colonialism in a colonial city. Furthermore, I have employed elements of a modernist prose structure to convey a sense of my postcolonial perspective as well as to present my substantive findings. In keeping with the shape of a city, therefore, this work is multidimensional and architectonic, rather than one-dimensional and linear. To be sure, we will get from the top of the Cours – the main street in Bône/Annaba – to the port at the foot, and from one side of town to the other, but not before pausing to explore some of the side streets, and taking a few detours to point out the sights. I invite the reader, then, to take a guided tour with me through colonial Bône.

\* \* \*

Given the circumstances under which this book was conceived and carried out, I am happy to acknowledge the aid of the following individuals. First of all, this study simply would not have been possible had it not been for the aid of Jean-Claude Vatin, Directeur, Centre d'Etudes et de Documentation Economique Juridique et Sociale, Cairo; R. Ainad Tabet, former director, Archives Nationales d'Algérie, who kindly granted me unrestricted access to the Algerian archives; Brahim Jatni, Secrétaire General, Assemblée Populaire et Communale de Annaba; and Nick Macris, Dravo Corporation. Also in Algeria, Prof. Louis P. Montoy of the Université de Constantine; Abdelkrim Badjadja, director of the Archives de la Wilaya de Constantine; and Prof. James Malarkey facilitated my research.

On this side of the Atlantic, I owe a special debt of gratitude to Edmund Burke and Paul Rabinow. Steven Vincent, Robert Moeller, Ronald Toby, and James Barrett read earlier versions of the study. Charles Tilly and John Modell provided valuable advice on the quantitative aspects of this project. I also wish to acknowledge the support of Rob and Val Hollister, Connie Hungerford, Rollie Guild, Steven and Rebecca Tobias, Liz Friedman, Daniel and Janet Atlan, Fryar Calhoun, Elinor Accampo, Lynn Dumenil, Irving Elichirigoity, and most of all, Sally.

A study such as this requires time and money to bring to fruition. The University of California, Berkeley, the French Government, and

xviii



## Preface

the Mabel McLeod Lewis Fund at Stanford provided financial support for lengthy archival research. At Berkeley I received additional support from the Institute of International Studies and the Graduate Division. At the University of Illinois, I have received extensive support from the Center for Advanced Study, the Center for African Studies, International Programs and Studies, the Faculty Research Board, and the Humanities Released Time program. My grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Long, also provided welcome support at opportune moments. More recently, my work has been supported by the American Philosophical Society, the ACLS-SSEC, the National Humanities Center, and the Davis Center for Historical Studies at Princeton. Finally, I thank the staffs of the archives and libraries which made available the documentation utilized in this study, especially the Archives de l'Assemblée Populaire et Communale deAnnaba, Archives de la Wilaya de Constantine, and the Archives Nationales de France.

The maps and figures have been produced by James Bier. In France, Mme. Brigitte Richon kindly made copies of several photographs of colonial Bône that she had gathered in the course of her photographic research for Frederic Musso's L'Algérie autrefois (1976). It has been a pleasure working with the staff of Cambridge University Press, especially Frank Smith.

Earlier versions of Chapter 6 and 7 appeared as "The Political Culture of Settler Colonialism in Algeria: Politics in Bône, 1870–1920," Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée, no. 48–49 (1988), pp. 293–311, and as "Reconstructing L'Algérie Française," in Jean-Claude Vatin, ed., Connaissances du Maghreb (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1984), pp. 65–78, respectively. Parts of Chapter 3 were published in "Fire on the Mountain: Resisting Colonialism in Algeria," in Donald Crummey, ed., Banditry, Rebellion and Social Protest in Africa (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1986), pp. 229–52; and a section of Chapter 5 in "La ségrégation résidentielle en société coloniale. Le cas de Bône en Algérie de 1872 à 1954," Cahiers d'Histoire 25 (1980): 53–74.

I take responsibility for what is wrong with this work as well as what is right.