

## The Colonization of Algeria: The Role of Saint-Simonians

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In July 1830, French troops invaded the Ottoman Regency of Algiers, partly in search of a new empire to replace that lost in the previous century.<sup>1</sup> Algeria soon posed unforeseen problems. As a prospective colony, it was not an empty land, as the French had imagined, but contained three million Muslims. The invasion was described as a new crusade by some army officers, which provoked Muslims to unite in a jihad against the infidel, led by the self-proclaimed leader the Emir Abd el-Kader (1808-1883, still remembered as a national hero). The action was not popular in France (Charles X lost his throne while his troops were landing in Algiers). A government enquiry in 1833, when 31,000 men had already been committed, acknowledged the high cost and lack of obvious potential but linked the “honor and interest” of France to a successful outcome.<sup>2</sup> However, the French proved reluctant colonizers, faced by cholera, plague and a climate unsuited to European crops. By 1848 there were only 15,000 French settlers.

Saint-Simonians were prominent in both the conquest and settlement of Algeria.<sup>3</sup> They were a psychologically, though not philosophically, close-knit group

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I am grateful to Dr Greg Burgess and the organizing committee for inviting me to take part in the 19<sup>th</sup> George Rudé Seminar.

<sup>1</sup> On the French conquest of Algeria see C. R. Ageron, *Modern Algeria: A history from 1830 to the Present*, trans. M. Brett (London, 1991); Y. Turin, *Affrontements culturels dans l'Algérie coloniale. Écoles, médecines, religion, 1830-1880* (Paris, 1971); J. Sessions, *By Sword and Plow: France and the Conquest of Algeria* (Ithaca, 2011); M. Evans and J. Phillips, *Algeria: Anger of the Dispossessed* (New Haven and London, 2007); A. Hannoum, *Violent Modernity: France in Algeria* (Harvard, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> France Commission D'Afrique, *Procès verbaux et rapports de la Commission d'Afrique*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1834), 449-55.

<sup>3</sup> M. Emérit, *Les Saint-Simoniens en Algérie* (Paris, 1941); Magali Morsy, ed., *Les Saint-Simoniens et l'Orient: Vers la modernité* (Aix-en-Provence, 1990); M. Levallois and S. Moussa, *L'Orientalisme des*

mainly of engineering graduates from the *École Polytechnique*, who, after the death of their inspiration, the philosopher Saint-Simon in 1826, were the first to organize self-financing worker communes in Paris to solve unemployment. Declaring themselves in favor of free love, their leaders, Prosper Enfantin and Michel Chevalier, were convicted of sexual immorality and jailed in 1832. Their followers floundered, but perhaps attracted by contemporary fascination with the 'Orient', and stimulated by Napoleon's 1798 invasion of Egypt, most left on a quest to find the perfect female leader in Cairo. A few learned Arabic, married local girls and adopted Muslim culture, and some tried to persuade Egypt's leaders to build a new Suez Canal. By 1835 poverty and cholera had driven most back to Paris. The sect fragmented, some started socialist groups, and others became wealthy bankers and businessmen. Some discovered a new 'Orient' in Algeria. A number of Saint-Simonian army officers had taken part in the initial invasion, less by choice but rather because their radical views made it politically wise to assign them to distant and dangerous parts. Others may have been influenced by Michel Chevalier's 1832 "Mediterranean System," in which he envisaged a transport revolution combining rail and steamships, and the Suez and Panama canals, which would make France the dominant modern power.<sup>4</sup> Others, also army officers, gained prominence in the government's 1837 Scientific Commission to Algeria, modeled on Napoleon's earlier study of Egypt. They researched the geography, geology and ethnography of the new territory to define its economic potential. Saint-Simonians were also significant in making Algeria known to the French in scholarly journals, but particularly in the illustrated magazine, *Magasin Pittoresque à deux sous*, launched in 1833 by Edouard Charton (1807-1890) and Euryale Cazeaux (1803-1880). Their lavish wood block illustrations familiarized middle class French families with the new land. Other Saint-Simonians dominated investment in mines and some became settlers. This paper investigates whether they made a definable Saint-Simonian contribution to France in Algeria between 1830 and 1871.

Cavaignac and Lamoricière, who became the most senior army officers in Algeria, were Saint-Simonians and this left an impression on their attitudes to their enemy and colonization, although in the fighting they applied the same brutal tactics as their opponents. Eugène Cavaignac (1802-1857), son of a famous republican of the First Republic, and brother of Godefroy, a republican leader in the July Monarchy, urged his fellow officers to "see the Arabs, not as enemies who must be destroyed, but as men who must be convinced."<sup>5</sup> Louis Juchault de Lamoricière (1805-1865), who made a major contribution to checking Arab resistance, accepting Abd el-Kader's surrender in 1847, founded the Arab Bureaux. Its purpose was to liaise with the indigenous leaders so that they could be left to run more distant areas autonomously. Saint-Simonians were more likely than other officers to learn Arabic and participate in the Arab Bureaux, but did not necessarily understand Muslim culture more than other Frenchmen. A Saint-Simonian Arab Bureaux officer wrote, "But what does this mean to govern the Arab people? ... Applying to these people our social form, in one piece, is like beating the sea with a stick.... Here is what the Arab people are: almost three million souls who live in the confusion of all the imaginable abominations."<sup>6</sup>

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*saint-simoniens* (Paris, 2006); O. Abi-Mershed, *Apostles of Modernity. Saint-Simonians and the Civilising Mission in Algeria* (Stanford, 2010).

<sup>4</sup> *Le Globe*, 12 February 1832, afterwards published as a pamphlet.

<sup>5</sup> L. E. Cavaignac, *De la régence d'Alger: Notes sur l'occupation* (Paris, 1839), 227-28.

<sup>6</sup> C. Richard, *De la civilisation du peuple arabe* (Alger, 1850), 5.

Former Saint-Simonians, engineers, geologists, philosophers and doctors were prominent in the 1837 Scientific Commission. Its thirty-nine volumes were essential reference texts for decades.<sup>7</sup> Henri Fournel, chief government engineer, was pivotal. After four years researching the geology of Algeria, he concluded that “It is from below (the product of mining and artesian water) that the definitive conquest of what is above ground will be achieved.” He produced the first geological map, revealing Algeria’s enormous mineral potential as well as the invaluable sources of artesian water in the southern areas.<sup>8</sup> His findings encouraged the development of iron and other industries, often financed by Saint-Simonians such as the Pereires (bankers) and the Talabot brothers.

The ethnographic research of the Commission was imbued with the assumption of many Frenchmen, including Saint-Simonians who spoke Arabic, that the French had a right to occupy Algeria because the indigenous peoples were primitive and vicious barbarians in need of a French “civilizing mission.” A leading Arab account of the Muslim legal system was translated by the Saint-Simonian Arabist, Nicolas Perron. Perron also drew attention to the massive differences between the Muslim and French systems, asserting that Muslim norms included death by stoning; chopping off of hands; adultery resolved by the husband killing the wife without recourse to law; sodomy and bestiality.<sup>9</sup> Ernest Carette and the medical doctor, Auguste Warnier, published the first detailed ethnographic study and map in 1846.<sup>10</sup> Carette agreed with other French observers that the two main groups, Berbers and Arabs, who spoke different languages and were culturally distinct, came from different racial stock. He argued that the Berbers were mainly Kabyles and that they were settled, industrious and would be amenable to French civilization, while the Arabs were nomadic, wild and less tractable. Indeed he claimed that the former were of European descent, a not insignificant point when asserting that Europeans had a right to colonize the area.<sup>11</sup> In addition Carette included vivid illustrations of local women, which reinforced current French assumptions, well-publicized by the memoirs of Napoleon’s soldiers in Egypt and paintings such as Delacroix’s “Women of Algiers in their apartment” (1834), that Muslim women were devoid of morals and were sexually available to European men.

What made Saint-Simonians more distinct was they were among the first to envisage Algeria as a place to send unemployed and discontented workers as a solution to the repeated and frequent social crises which were affecting France’s major cities. When the Saint-Simonian movement broke up in 1832, some created a Fourierist movement, led by Considerant, himself a former Saint-Simonian sympathizer. Fourierists promoted the idea of communal colonization. They argued that the poor could become colonists living in self-financing communes similar to those the Saint-Simonians had tried to create in Paris in 1830, with the government providing land, basic accommodation and equipment for colonists. The idea that colonization could be a panacea for the social crisis was seized on, quoting the experience of the English in Australia. In the 1840s it became so common a notion

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<sup>7</sup> *Exploration scientifique de l’Algérie pendant les années 1840, 1841 et 1842, publié par ordre du Gouvernement et avec le concours d’une commission académique*, 39 vols (Paris, 1844-1867).

<sup>8</sup> H. Fournel, *Richesse minérale d’Algérie* (1849).

<sup>9</sup> Khalil ibn-Ishâk, *Précis de jurisprudence musulmane, ou Principes de législation musulmane civile et religieuse, selon le rite malékite*, trans. N. Perron, 6 vols (Paris, 1848-1857).

<sup>10</sup> A. E. H. Carette and E. Warnier, *Carte de l’Algérie divisée par tribus* (Paris, 1846).

<sup>11</sup> An excellent modern account, P. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London, 1995).

that Napoleon's self-proclaimed heir, Louis-Napoleon, wrote a Saint-Simonian style pamphlet praising the merits of colonization as a solution to poverty.<sup>12</sup>

The best publicized Saint-Simonian study of colonization was that of Prosper Enfantin, *Colonisation de l'Algérie* (1843). He offered his account as part of the Commission's report, but it was turned down because Enfantin had been commissioned to write about regional ethnography. He argued for mass colonization by European civilians rather than by retired soldiers, in opposition to the strategy of the governor-general, Bugeaud. Enfantin also suggested that socialist ideas on "the organization of work" might be applied in Algeria, where, he claimed, some indigenous communities were already using land communally.<sup>13</sup>

Enfantin's book was enthusiastically reviewed by some of his former sect,<sup>14</sup> but Lamoricière remarked that in trying times the government had little use for defrocked apostles.<sup>15</sup> With Bugeaud's blessing Lamoricière tried to persuade soldiers to work in communal settlements. Men with three years' service in Algeria were offered the chance to go back to France for six months to find a wife, and then return. These families would farm for three years under strict military discipline and without pay. Three villages were started by sixty-three of the eight hundred men who applied. The scheme faltered, it was said, because those soldiers who were prepared to work became disillusioned by those who shirked. Lamoricière set up fourteen communes in western Oran, which, by 1847, contained a hundred ex-soldiers, some with wives and families. He also founded Saint-Denis-du-Sig, near Oran, a civilian settlement. He urged the government to fund poorer families to settle, despite Bugeaud's opposition and warnings that the cost to the government would be very high.<sup>16</sup> Cavaignac tried to persuade the government to parcel out substantial size farms of one hundred to three hundred hectares to give to civilian colonists. He argued "If we give the colonist over to the capitalist, we will be doing in agriculture what in France we do in industry, where the factory worker is a serf," of "founding here a new Ireland, of having here a population reduced to a hard life, only to fatten the *absentees*."<sup>17</sup> His fears were justified. Algeria mainly attracted speculators who never intended to settle there. They picked up land for a song, to sell it on a few months later at a vastly increased price. Indigenous leaders were often persuaded to accept money, but because pastoral nomads used land communally, rather than as individual owners, they did not realize that they were permanently giving up the right to use the land.

Thomas Urbain argued that colonization should not be equated with taking land from local people and with the replacement of Islam by French culture and Roman Catholicism. Urbain was the illegitimate son of a French merchant and a former black slave from Cayenne. During the Saint-Simonian quest to Egypt, he learned Arabic, converted to Islam and adopted Muslim dress. His career was promoted by other Saint-Simonians. The Pereires and Michel Chevalier helped him become the Algerian correspondent for the influential *Journal des Débats* and *Le*

<sup>12</sup> Louis-Napoléon, *L'Extinction du pauperisme* (Paris, 1844).

<sup>13</sup> P. Enfantin, *De la colonisation de l'Algérie* (Paris, 1843), 115-17, 488.

<sup>14</sup> Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Fonds Enfantin, 7613.

<sup>15</sup> Abi-Mershed, *Apostles of Modernity*, 114.

<sup>16</sup> T. R. Bugeaud de la Piconnerie, *Observations de M. le maréchal gouverneur-général sur le projet de colonisation présenté pour la province d'Oran par M. le lieutenant-général de la Moricière* (Paris, 1846).

<sup>17</sup> Eugène to his uncle, 26 March 1847, L. E. Cavaignac and J.M. Cavaignac, *Les deux généraux Cavaignac: souvenirs et correspondance* (Paris, 1899), 247-49.

*Temps*.<sup>18</sup> Chevalier, Gustave d'Eichthal, a leading Saint-Simonian, and especially general Lamoricière, sealed his appointment as Arab interpreter for the army in Algeria in 1837.<sup>19</sup> Subsequently the governor-general, Bugeaud, took him on as his personal interpreter.<sup>20</sup> Urbain wrote most of the contemporary government reports on Algeria.

Urbain was unusual among Saint-Simons for his spirited defense of Muslim culture, but in contrast in 1839 Urbain helped his life-long friend, Gustave d'Eichthal, whose banker father did much to finance the Saint-Simonians, research and write a short book on racial differences.<sup>21</sup> The assumed 'science' of their book was in disturbing contrast with Urbain's liberal attitudes and strategies towards indigenous Algerians. Accepting that black and white races both belonged to the same human family (many European contemporaries would have doubted this), they claimed that the whites possessed intellect, while the blacks were domestic, artistic and good looking. Blacks corresponded to the female, whites to the male. Urbain may not have been entirely comfortable with this analysis because he added a rider that some Arabs and blacks possessed some white civilized characteristics.

In 1840, first in a Muslim ceremony, later in a Catholic one (he retained both faiths) Urbain married an Arab woman from Constantine, Djeymouna, who at fifteen was already divorced from her first husband and at odds with her father. Her family was well-respected in local society, but like many of the local bourgeoisie, ruined by French conquest. Urbain became the interpreter for duc d'Orléans, and after his death for the duc d'Aumale. Both thought highly of him and d'Aumale took him to Paris to meet the royal family, where he was included in a Vernet painting at Versailles. (Urbain was always colored white in paintings.) Despite the warm reception he received from Louis-Philippe and his family, Urbain was treated as a pariah by the bulk of Parisian high society. He left his Arab wife and child in Algeria, worrying unnecessarily that she would be unfaithful to him in his absence. In 1844 he was made *chevalier de la légion d'honneur* and a year later returned to Paris to work on Algeria for the Ministry of War.<sup>22</sup>

Urbain battled with the French determination to impose the Catholic faith in Algeria. In October 1838 he reported in disgust to Enfantin, "The main mosque in the rue de la Marine in Algiers is to be turned into the Catholic cathedral. There are also plans to remove all Muslims from Algiers."<sup>23</sup> Urbain's ideas gradually put him at odds with most of the military and colonists and eventually with Enfantin, whose book on colonization he deplored for its failure to defend indigenous peoples. By 1848 Saint-Simonians had begun to argue fiercely on whether and how Algeria might be colonized.

1848 was a turning point in the relationship between France and Algeria. The new democratic republic, encouraged by French settlers, declared that Algeria was not a colony, but an integral part of France. The white settlers elected four deputies, all former Saint-Simonians, to the new Constituent Assembly. Although the settlers were still a tiny minority, the indigenous population had fallen to about 2.25 million,

<sup>18</sup> "Notices autobiographiques redigés pour moi 1883," Bibliothèque de L'Arsenal, Fonds Eichthal, 13737. An example of his journalism, "Civilisation franco-algérienne," *Le Temps* 21 (June 1837).

<sup>19</sup> Arsenal, Ms 13744.

<sup>20</sup> M. Levallois, "Ismaÿl Urbain: éléments pour une biographie," in *Les Saint-Simoniens*, 61.

<sup>21</sup> G. de Eichthal and I. Urbain, *Lettres sur la race noire et blanche* (Paris, 1839).

<sup>22</sup> "Notice sur Urbain," MS 13744; M. Levallois, *Ismaÿl Urbain (1812-1884): Une autre conquête de l'Algérie* (Paris, 2001), 53-82.

<sup>23</sup> C.A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine* (Paris, 1964), 90.

decimated by European diseases and constant fighting. The French army pushed them further away from the towns and the coastal area, so they were less visible. The French began to convince themselves that Muslims, like aborigines in Australia and Indians in North America, would eventually, if not entirely, die out, and would therefore become an insignificant minority. Algeria would be European. The Muslim population continued to fall. In 1867, 300,000 Muslims starved to death when repeated plagues of locusts and very cold winters caused harvests to fail.

1848 witnessed the first attempt at large-scale settlement by civilians wholly financed by the government. In June unfulfilled hopes of social reform led to a workers' rebellion against the extremely conservative assembly elected by universal suffrage in April. Cavaignac, senior military commander in Algeria, was called to Paris, first as minister of war, then as commander of troops to fight the workers in the June Days. Made head of state for his efforts, Cavaignac and his minister of War, another senior Algerian general, Lamoricière, fought 100,000 Parisian unemployed. Thousands were arrested. Former Saint-Simonians such as the socialist Leroux and Barrault, the Saint-Simonian deputy for Algiers, among many others, seized on what was now a much-discussed idea of sending the unwanted poor to colonize Algeria. Officials in Algeria quickly put together detailed costing.<sup>24</sup> The government would provide transport, accommodation, tools, seed and food for the first three years. Settlers who did well would then own their land outright. Lamoricière spoke of turning "city workers into landowners."<sup>25</sup> Cavaignac may have remembered *Enfantin's* book (he had reviewed it in 1843), but *Enfantin* refused to be involved. The government set aside money to transport 100,000 people over three years. In the next few months eighteen thousand people were shipped. Many were socialists who expected to live in communal groups. Instead the embryonic settlements were run by soldiers, totally hostile to giving homes and land to former rebels. Existing settlers envied the new families and fruitlessly demanded equivalent support. In reality there was no time for the army to create new villages and settlers crowded into huts with the soldiers or shivered in tents. The problem was exacerbated by cholera and driving rain and cold. This first attempt at mass colonization was a total disaster. Many colonists struggled to get back to France, and thousands died of cholera. After a year only twenty-five percent were left in Constantine, thirty-three percent in Algiers and forty percent in the department of Oran.

Some of the embryonic villages survived and other families tried to occupy the vacant lots. In 1850 the remnants of those arrested in June 1848 were dispatched to Algeria and proved more adaptable. Later colonists always tried to trace their ancestry to these *déportés*, as A. Camus noted in *The First Man*, which he based on one of the few published accounts written by the son of one of the 1848 settlers, Eugène François.<sup>26</sup> Despite the involvement of men who had been Saint-Simonians in planning the 1848 venture, it was no civilian communal experiment.

<sup>24</sup> "De la Propriété en générale et de la nécessité pour la France de colonization de l'Algérie," *Algiers* 4 (April 1848), Loyer de la Metterie, Centre des Archives d'outre-mer (CAOM), Aix-en-Provence, F/80/1167.

<sup>25</sup> *L'Atelier*, May 1850.

<sup>26</sup> M. Rasteil, *A l'aube de l'Algérie française: le calvaire des colons de 1848* (Alger, 1930); L. Genet, "Les colonies agricoles de 1848," *La Révolution de 1848 en Algérie: mélanges d'histoire* (Paris, 1949), 107-21. M. J. Heffernan, "The Parisian Poor and the Colonization of Algeria during the Second Republic," *French History* 3, no. 4 (1989): 377-403; A. Camus, *Le Premier Homme* (Paris, 1994).

Louis-Napoleon injected a new and what he considered Saint-Simonian twist to the debate on the settlement of Algeria. Elected president in December 1848, he shared Urbain's arabophile philosophy, that indigenous communities had a right to their land and to retain their faith and language. As Emperor, in 1863 Napoleon III was the first French ruler to visit Algeria. He shocked French settlers by proclaiming himself "Arab Emperor," and proclaiming:

Our conquest can only be a redemption. Our first duty is to take care of the three million Arabs, who, by military means, have come under our control. Providence demands that we confer on this land the benefits of civilization.... Thus we must raise the Arabs to the dignity of free men, offer them education, while respecting their religion, improve their situation.... This is our mission. We must not fail in it.

He concluded with a promise of continued protection for colonists and a toast to "the prosperity of Africa."<sup>27</sup>

A pamphlet, signed G. Voisin and titled *L'Algérie pour les Algériens*, was written by Urbain shortly afterwards and approved by the Emperor: which for some readers would have uncomfortably recalled the patriotic slogan "Italy for the Italians." In an effort to prevent land seizures, indigenous people were declared owners of the land they farmed. However this legislation actually accelerated European acquisition of land because if indigenous people had a title to land, they could sell it, as many did.

In accord with Napoleon's thinking, in the 1860s the government opened schools for the sons of the local elites and Europeans, with classes in both French and Arabic, run by men with Saint-Simonian sympathies. There was even an attempt to encourage boys to pursue higher education in Paris. A few became officers in the French army, but most families rejected these schemes. The only jobs were as translators, which elite families, whose sons were not accustomed to undertake paid work, despised.<sup>28</sup> An attempt to introduce schools for girls met with even more incomprehension. A vocational school, started by a Frenchwoman, Madame Eugénie Luce, where native girls learned needlework, had some success, but indigenous families rejected western education, arguing that an educated girl was only fit to be a sexual plaything for a European man.<sup>29</sup>

Despite French promises, Islamic schools were shut down. Carette reported that by the 1840s only two of the original thirty nine Arab schools in Bône survived. The duc d'Aumale and Lamoricière were very critical:

Having installed ourselves in Algiers, we turned colleges into shops, garrisons or stables; we have taken over the property of mosques and colleges. We pretended that we were applying the principles of the French Revolution to the Arab people. Sadly, the Muslims saw this merely as a brutal onslaught on their religion and a total lack of faith.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> A. Rey-Goldzeiguer, *Le royaume arabe* (Alger, 1977), 59. C. R. Ageron, "Peut-on parler d'une politique des "royaumes arabes" de Napoleon III?," in *Les Saint-simoniens*, 83-96.

<sup>28</sup> Abi-Mershed, *Apostles of Modernity*, 123-48.

<sup>29</sup> R. Rogers, *A Frenchwoman's Imperial Story: Madame Luce in Nineteenth-Century Algeria* (Stanford, 2013).

<sup>30</sup> Y. Turin, *Affrontements culturels dans l'Algérie coloniale: Écoles, médecines, religion, 1830-1880* (Paris, 1971), 119.

When Algeria was declared part of France in 1848, in theory all adult males should have become French citizens, but only those of French or European origins were included. In 1865 Napoleon III, with the advice of Urbain, issued legislation offering Muslims the right to full French citizenship, but only if they renounced Islamic law in favor of the French Civil Code.<sup>31</sup> As late as 1936, only twenty-five hundred had done so.<sup>32</sup> In 1871 Algerian Jews were offered citizenship without conditions. Although Urbain and Napoleon III had talked of tolerance and the rights of Muslims, their legislation assumed that in time Muslims would accept the superiority of French culture and religion.

Former Saint-Simonians increasingly came into conflict over the role of France in Algeria. Those who exploited land or mineral resources often did well, but had no time for Napoleon III's arabophilia. Dr Warnier led a noisy settler campaign against Urbain in pamphlets, the press and in the Legislative Assembly. After 1865 Napoleon III paid less attention to Algeria and Urbain was increasingly isolated. The escalating take-over of land by French and European companies, which employed Europeans or indigenous people as cheap labor, plus the attempt to undermine and impoverish Islam as a faith, as well as a legal, health care and educational systems, provoked repeated insurrection. After Napoleon's fall in 1870 French rule followed the route preferred by Warnier and existing colonists, although Urbain's ideas on tolerance for Islam were still echoed by the most prestigious French expert on colonization at the end of the nineteenth century, Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, son-in-law of Michel Chevalier. In 1874 he published *De la colonization chez les peuples modernes*, which quickly became an influential guide to colonization, and had run to six editions by 1908<sup>33</sup> 1891. In 1881 he founded the *Société pour la protection des indigenes* to serve as a pressure group for votes for Arabs, but whose aim was never secured.

Men who had been Saint-Simonians had a big influence in Algeria between 1830 and 1871, as soldiers, engineers, doctors and teachers. They invested and some settled. They ran schools. But their contribution was as individuals, not as Saint-Simonians. When they arrived their common Saint-Simonian identity was known, but their original reforming philosophy fragmented and sometimes disappeared, as they argued over whether Algeria should become European, whether and how Muslim and French cultures could relate and what their own roles should be. A few, like Urbain, argued that French and Muslim culture could coexist and that the French should not take land from the natives. However, even Urbain bought Algerian land and he reverted to his French inheritance after 1865 when his Muslim wife died and their daughter, Eichthal's goddaughter, who was meant to be an example of how Muslim and French cultures could work together, turned her back on him. After a brief flirtation with trying to create communal villages, nearly all Saint-Simonian settlers adopted individualistic ideas on colonization indistinguishable from other Frenchmen of similar socio-economic backgrounds. Saint-Simonians who learned Arabic and thought of themselves as arabophiles, including Urbain, assumed with other Frenchmen that eventually Muslims would appreciate the superiority of French culture, which would then prevail. The French take-over of Algeria was based on unrealistic assumptions that Algeria could be made part of France at the expense of the indigenous population. The divisions and conflicts that ensued still haunt Algeria and France itself as the tragic murders at *Charlie-Hebdo* demonstrated.

<sup>31</sup> M. Brett, "Legislating for Inequality in Algeria: The Senatus-Consulte of 14 July 1865," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 51 (1988): 440-61.

<sup>32</sup> Evans and Phillips, *Algeria*. 30.

<sup>33</sup> 1874, 1882, 1891, 1898, 1902 and 1908. Details of editions in Hathi Digital Trust Library.