

The College of Wooster

*L'Echo d'Alger* and a New Anti-Semitism:

French Settler Opinions of Interwar Anti-Semitism and the Constantine Riots of 1934

by

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Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements of Junior Independent Study

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Fall 2016

## ABSTRACT

In 1934, Constantine, Algeria was the setting for anti-Semitic riots that resulted in twenty-eight deaths. Most anti-Semitism in Algeria prior to 1934 was French settler anti-Semitism, but the 1934 riots were unique because the perpetrators were Muslims. This new anti-Semitism was caused by tensions that had been developing between Jews and Muslims since French conquest of Algeria in 1830. Scholarly literature on the riots is thorough, but has overlooked the role of French settlers in helping to cause the riots, as well as how French settlers viewed their role in the turmoil. Through articles in *L'Echo d'Alger*, a French settler newspaper, this study examines French settler opinions about the tensions that created the riots, including citizenship for Jews and Muslims. It also studies French settler anti-Semitism before 1934 and Muslim anti-Semitism in the 1934 riots. French settlers considered their influence on Algeria to be positive—they brought new technology and ideas to benefit native Algerians. They ignored any responsibility for creating the tensions that caused the riots. French settlers treated Muslims as savage and their anti-Semitism as deplorable, but considered French settler anti-Semitism to be more acceptable.

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## INTRODUCTION

In 1934 Constantine, Algeria, a minor confrontation led to a deadly crisis between a Jew and several Muslims. Jewish soldier Elie Khalifa insulted a group of Muslims, which led to a conflict between the city's native Jews and Muslims that spanned several days and resulted in chaos in Constantine and included looting and arson.<sup>1</sup> The dispute resulted in countless injuries and twenty-eight deaths.<sup>2</sup> The city was left with hostility between its majority group, Muslims, and a small, judicially privileged part of the native population, Jews. According to Joshua Cole, it was “the worst episode of anti-Semitic violence to occur on French territory during peacetime in the modern period.”<sup>3</sup> The event begs the question: how could a short confrontation lead to such a bloody conflict?

The riots of 1934 were a culmination of tensions that had developed since the beginning of French colonization in Algeria in 1830. Much of the animosity between groups of native Algerians resulted directly from France's social and judicial policies in the colony, but the role of French settlers in the conflict is often ignored. While French settlers were not directly involved in the riots, their influence led to agitation between Jews and Muslims. When implicating French settlers in the riots, two more questions can be posed: What was their role in causing the riots?

After the riots, how did French settlers react?

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<sup>1</sup> I use the term “native” to refer to any person who lived in or had ancestors who lived in the area before 1830. While this term historically has a connotation of savagery, I use it to differentiate from settlers. I say “native Algerians” to refer to any person native to the area that France had colonized as Algeria, including different ethnic and religious groups, and I use “native Jews” and “native Muslims” to be more specific when necessary. I use the term “French settlers” to refer to French people who settled in Algeria, as well as those who may have been born in Algeria, but are recent descendants of French settlers.

<sup>2</sup> Joshua Cole, “Anti-Semitism and the Colonial Situation in Interwar Algeria: the Anti-Jewish Riots in Constantine, August 1934,” *The French Colonial Mind* (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2012): 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 77.

This paper takes up the reactions of French settlers to interwar tensions between native Jews and Muslims, including the riots of 1934. I look at the French settler media as a representation of the small population of *colons* in Constantine, focusing on the French Algerian-run daily *L'Echo d'Alger*. Chiefly, I ask: how did *L'Echo d'Alger* treat Muslims, Jews, and anti-Semitism in Algeria leading up to and including the Constantine riots of 1934?

Historians have explored the history of Algeria broadly and through different lenses. Benjamin Stora explores the comprehensive history of Algeria since 1830 with an emphasis on the War of Independence until 2000.<sup>4</sup> Patricia Lorcin discusses identity formation in the first several decades of French interference in Algeria.<sup>5</sup> Joshua Schreier focuses on the early colonial experience of native Jews, who he described as “Arabs of the Jewish faith.”<sup>6</sup> I rely on these three works to provide background for colonization in general as well as how native Jews experienced it. Stora, Lorcin, and Schreier offer important conclusions about the development of colonial Algeria essential to understanding complex conflicts affected the colony later.

Recent scholarship has focused on the interwar period and the riots of 1934. A 2011 conference at UCLA analyzed the riots and its contexts, resulting in a series of articles published mostly in the December 2012 edition of the *Journal of North African Studies*. This includes works by Cole, who explores Constantine before the riots and the immediate causes of the riots.<sup>7</sup> Sophie B. Roberts discusses the role of municipal politics in interwar Constantine and the

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<sup>4</sup> Benjamin Stora, *Algeria, 1830-2000: A Short History*, translated by Jane Marie Todd (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

<sup>5</sup> Patricia M.E. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1995).

<sup>6</sup> Joshua Schreier, *Arabs of the Jewish Faith: The Civilizing Mission in Colonial Algeria* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010).

<sup>7</sup> Cole, “Anti-Semitism,” 77-111; Joshua Cole, “Constantine before the Riots of August 1934: Civil Status, Anti-Semitism, and the Politics of Assimilation in Interwar French Algeria,” *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012): 839-861.

tensions resulting from this struggle for power.<sup>8</sup> Ethan Katz focuses on Jewish remembrance in Algeria in 1930, 1934, and 1970 and the tensions highlighted in these years.<sup>9</sup> Sarah Abrevaya Stein concentrates on divides between the Jewish population created by French colonial policies.<sup>10</sup> These works scrutinize interwar Algeria and create context for the riots in the immediate-term.

Until the publication of these works in 2012, most scholarship about Jews In Algeria failed to question the notion that Jews were destined to be favored by the French colonists.<sup>11</sup> Additionally, most scholarship published before 2012 consults only French-language sources from the metropole. After 2012, scholarship has examined French-language sources, though now from Algeria, however, scholarship lacks consideration of Arabic-language sources. Recently employed French-language sources from Algeria include government documents, police reports, newsletters, journals, meeting minutes, etc.<sup>12</sup> No scholarship has focused solely on media coverage of these events, let alone coverage of the events in media for French settlers.

My research focuses on French settler opinions of Muslims and Jews in interwar Algeria through a popular French settler newspaper. *L'Echo d'Alger* was a daily newspaper that ran from 1912-1961 and was published in Algiers. I read twenty-six articles from this newspaper, spanning 1920-1934. This newspaper represented public opinion of French settlers around Algeria in this time period. In particular, I look at *L'Echo*'s coverage of various issues, including anti-Semitism and citizenship for Muslims. Together, these articles reveal factors that underlay

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<sup>8</sup> Sophie B. Roberts, "Anti-Semitism and Municipal Government in Interwar French Colonial Algeria," *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012): 821-837.

<sup>9</sup> Ethan Katz, "Between emancipation and persecution: Algerian Jewish memory in the longue durée (1930-1970)," *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012): 793-820.

<sup>10</sup> Sarah Abrevaya Stein, "Dividing South from North: French Colonialism, Jews, and the Algerian Sahara," *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012): 773-792.

<sup>11</sup> Susan Slyomovics and Sarah Abrevaya Stein, "Jews and French colonialism in Algeria: an introduction," *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012): 751.

<sup>12</sup> Katz, "Emancipation," 794.

the tensions of the riots and they expose attitudes of French settlers toward this agitation and the riots.

This study focuses on 1919-1934 in Algeria because this period features a particular climax of tensions between Jews and Muslims that had been building since the French began their policy of colonization: the Constantine riots of 1934. According to Cole, “what made the 1934 riot unusual was not the expression of a vicious anti-Semitism, but rather the fact that so many Muslim Algerians—that is, so many of Algeria’s excluded colonial subjects—participated in the violence.”<sup>13</sup> I looked at coverage of the riots, and in order to understand French settler opinions about the tensions underlying the riots, I also concentrated on articles about Muslim naturalization, settler anti-Semitism, and Muslim Francophobia, all published 1920-1933.

To demonstrate both the long- and immediate-term causes of the riots and other interwar tensions, I look at important contexts in colonial Algeria. I discuss long-term causes like anti-Semitism, as well as policies of exclusion in assimilation and citizenship from 1830 until WWI in order to demonstrate the two groups who were treated differently only because of their religion: Jews and Muslims. This new division, which resulted in a judicially superior group of Jews, was a major long-term cause of the riots. In the immediate-term, interwar policies of inclusion for native Muslims led to increased competition between Jews and Muslims, also contributing to strife between the two groups.

The primary sources from *L’Echo d’Alger* demonstrate French settler attitudes about the riots, their causes, and anti-Semitism. *L’Echo* reveals the social hierarchy created by French settlers in their colony. Settlers viewed themselves as superior to all native Algerians, evident through the savior attitude in many of the articles. They viewed Jews, most of whom were

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<sup>13</sup> Cole, “Anti-Semitism,” 82.

citizens by 1870, as second-class citizens, who were victims of Islamic oppression but were not “French” enough. The majority native group, Muslims, were incompatible with French culture. They could achieve eventual assimilation into French culture and eventually obtain limited civil rights, but continued to be portrayed as savages throughout the interwar period. Understanding this hierarchy is important for understanding French attitudes in *L’Echo* about different anti-Semitism and their different motivations. In *L’Echo*, French settler anti-Semitism, usually a part of a desire for power or to establish superiority and which occurred consistently during colonization Algeria, was normal, acceptable, and French. The more rare type of anti-Semitism, Muslim anti-Semitism, a result of competition with Jews, was considered deplorable, unacceptable, and savage. This Muslim anti-Semitism was a result of French policies and influence, but French settlers did not take responsibility for their indirect or direct part in anti-Semitic conflicts.

In Chapter 1, I discuss the beginning of French influence in Algeria in 1830 until WWI. This chapter focuses on contexts for understanding interwar tensions, including assimilation, citizenship, and anti-Semitism. Chapter 2 examines citizenship for Muslims after WWI and discusses articles from *L’Echo d’Alger* that represent opinions of French settlers about the status of Muslims. Chapter 3 explores coverage of French settler anti-Semitism in 1921. Chapter 4 reviews the newspaper’s opinion of violence by Muslims and against naturalized Muslims in Tunisia. Chapter 5 concentrates on the newspaper’s coverage of Muslim anti-Semitism in the 1934 Constantine riots and the Muslim anti-Semitism encountered by Jews.



CHAPTER ONE  
JEWS IN FRENCH ALGERIA:  
ASSIMILATION, CITIZENSHIP, AND ANTI-SEMITISM

**Background to French Influence in Algeria**

Algeria was the first conquest of France's second colonial empire. French soldiers arrived at Algiers on June 14, 1830 and on July 5, the city surrendered.<sup>1</sup> At first, the purpose for conquest in Algeria was "brilliant victory abroad" and the reestablishment of the absolute monarchy.<sup>2</sup> From 1830-1840, French goals for colonization vacillated between a limited or total occupation.<sup>3</sup> In 1841, the French government set up General Bugeaud in Algeria, who implemented "brutal tactics" and "unprecedented violence" in the effort.<sup>4</sup> Bugeaud's methods overpowered the strong Algerian resistance.<sup>5</sup> At the end of 1848, Bugeaud was sent back to France, but his legacy would last: Algeria was officially a part of France.<sup>6</sup> The conquest was completed when Kabylia fell in 1857.<sup>7</sup>

Algeria is the largest country in Africa and has a strategic location on its northern coast, uniting Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia.<sup>8</sup> The French conquest of 1830 was not the first one; the country had previously faced six major invasions.<sup>9</sup> In 1830, the total population was around three million inhabitants, with the Muslim population numbering about three million, the

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<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Stora, *Algeria, 1830-2000: A Short History*, translated by Jane Marie Todd (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Patricia M.E. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1995), 6; Stora, *Algeria*, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Lorcin, *Imperial*, 6; Stora, *Algeria*, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Stora, *Algeria*, 4.

<sup>6</sup> Lorcin, *Imperial*, 7.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Lorcin, *Imperial*, 2; Stora, *Algeria*, 4.

<sup>9</sup> Stora, *Algeria*, 2.

Jewish population at about 25,000, and around 20,000 Europeans.<sup>10</sup> The economy was largely rural with an indigenous aristocracy controlling most of the land.<sup>11</sup>

When French soldiers arrived in Algeria, the Jewish population was a minority. Most of this population had ancestors who had lived in Algeria for hundreds of years, emigrating through maritime commerce, escaping the Spanish inquisition, or fleeing the Egyptians or Titus.<sup>12</sup> Many Jews were involved in commercial activities, and were therefore interwoven in intricate trading relationships with Muslims.<sup>13</sup> While French accounts of Jewish life at the time of the conquest presented Jews as isolated and lacking dignity, Joshua Schreier argues that these were strategic descriptions with the purpose of creating an image of Jews as victims and of Islam as the oppressive force in Algeria.<sup>14</sup> While it is likely that Jews faced some difficulties living in a country with an Islamic majority, precise difficulties from these tensions, as well as their extent, are unclear.<sup>15</sup> Contrary to what French reports stated, Jewish commercial activity was not isolated from the world and neither was their religious life.<sup>16</sup> By 1830, though those of the Jewish faith were a minority in North Africa, most were somewhat economically stable but not well-off, and were intimately connected to the greater economy and culture of the area.

France's violence and oppressive policies in Algeria resulted from a wish for power. Starting in 1830 and continuing into the twentieth century, the French used sociological and religious disparities to divide the population groups that they treated differently.<sup>17</sup> In many

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<sup>10</sup> Information about Algeria's population in 1830 is based on estimates by historians. See Lorcín, *Imperial*, 2; Stora, *Algeria* 9, 11; John Ruedy, *Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 20-21.

<sup>11</sup> Stora, *Algeria*, 11.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 10.

<sup>13</sup> Joshua Schreier, *Arabs of the Jewish Faith: The Civilizing Mission in Colonial Algeria* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 4.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, 12.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, 11.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, 16.

<sup>17</sup> Lorcín, *Imperial*, 2.

places, these categories were *israélite* (referring to Jews), *européenne* (referring to French and non-French European settlers), and *indigène* (a term with a derogatory connotation, referring to Arabs, Ottomans, Berbers, Muslims, some Jews, etc.).<sup>18</sup> French views that Algeria was inferior to France and that portions of Algeria's population were inferior to other parts supported the violent colonial policies put in place to achieve the French government's developing goals of colonization, which became oppressive. According to Benjamin Stora, French authorities set out "to ensure the absolute and complete subjugation of the population to the needs and interests of colonization."<sup>19</sup> This effort was undertaken through the second half of the nineteenth century and until World War I. Many Algerians experienced colonization as land appropriations, new social hierarchies, the breaking up of major tribes, impoverishment, massacres, sexual abuse, and fewer educational opportunities.<sup>20</sup>

In the development of French Algeria, the French government's policies make can be divided into two periods: the first is of assimilation and the second is of citizenship. Assimilation, which lasted from 1830 through the 1860s, included social and cultural adaptation of native Algerians into French society. During this period, French colonial officials attempted to assimilate all native Algerians, but mostly focused on efforts to assimilate Jewish communities, which were considered more European and therefore easier to assimilate.<sup>21</sup> Within the first decades of colonization in Algeria, the French government adopted a policy of assimilation as a result of economic challenges posed by Algerian Jews as well as a desire to further Enlightenment ideals in the colony.<sup>22</sup> The period of citizenship was from 1865 onward, during which some native Algerians gained citizenship, but the majority were excluded. This period

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<sup>18</sup> Joshua Cole, "Anti-Semitism and the Colonial Situation in Interwar Algeria: the Anti-Jewish Riots in Constantine, August 1934," *The French Colonial Mind* (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2012): 80.

<sup>19</sup> Stora, *Algeria*, 6.

<sup>20</sup> Schreier, *Arabs*, 7; Stora, *Algeria*, 6-7.

<sup>21</sup> Schreier, *Arabs*, 7; Lorcin, *Imperial*, 3.

<sup>22</sup> Schreier, *Arabs*, 1-2, 54; Stora, *Algeria*, 10.

included laws that gave Algerians the same rights as *colons* had, but these favored Jews over Muslims.<sup>23</sup> Jews were favored in assimilation and citizenship policies, but also faced anti-Semitic policies and violence throughout the colonial period.

### **The Beginning of Assimilation**

From the beginning of French conquest, Jews posed economic issues to the French military leaders in charge. This challenge ultimately led to the policy of assimilation as a way of controlling this population and the threat they posed to greedy generals. According to Schreier, officials needed a supportive population in Algeria, but Jews did not provide support.<sup>24</sup> They were more integrated into Islamic society than the European population, so they were considered too diverse to be reliable supporters.<sup>25</sup> The Jewish monopoly on commerce meant that Jews were “intimately interwoven” into the commercial life of the region.<sup>26</sup> Because of this monopoly, many colonial officials sought to expel Jews from Algeria.<sup>27</sup> Colonial officials had difficulty penetrating Jewish commercial networks, and became concerned with the control of Jews over commerce.<sup>28</sup> French colonial leadership thought that by assimilating Jews they would be able to gain control over Jews and therefore over commercial activity in coastal cities.

The policy of assimilation also resulted from an attempt to further Enlightenment ideals, such as emancipation. The French considered Jews victims of Islamic oppression and wanted to free them.<sup>29</sup> King Louis-Phillippe of France felt that the Jewish population was a suitable for assimilation due to their neutrality in the conquest of Algeria.<sup>30</sup> He also saw Jews as candidates for assimilation because during the French Revolution, the French government assimilated

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<sup>23</sup> Schreier, *Arabs*, 10.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, 36-37.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, 24.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, 2, 24-27.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, 31.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, 2-4, 15; Stora, *Algeria*, 10.

<sup>30</sup> Stora, *Algeria*, 10.

French Jews with great success.<sup>31</sup> Emancipation would include assimilation into French society and a regeneration of who the French considered corrupt and oppressed Jews.<sup>32</sup>

Assimilation affected for Jews and Muslims differently. The strategy of assimilating Jews was to help the French better control the people and economics of their new colony. One method for assimilation was consistories, which were communal organizations organized by the state and had the responsibility of assimilating wealthy Jews who would then represent, supervise, and regenerate Jewish communities.<sup>33</sup> The official purpose of consistories was to help Jews learn French and to encourage their loyalty to France; their motto was *civilization et patrie*.<sup>34</sup> Jews shaped policies of assimilation by sending their children to local schools, marrying outside of the French government, and self-governing the consistories.<sup>35</sup>

Muslim communities experienced assimilation differently from Jews. Besides consistories, which were only implemented in Jewish communities, the French applied similar methods to modernize and civilize both Jews and Muslims, but had different results.<sup>36</sup> One method of assimilation was the imposition of a French tax upon all residents of Algeria. This effort harmed Muslims more than other groups, because Muslims faced then two taxes: a French tax and a Koranic tax.<sup>37</sup> Assimilation of Muslim communities in Algeria would continue through the nineteenth century with the ultimate goal of creating French citizens. Religiously, the boundary between French culture and Islamic culture in Algeria seemed too great; some French officials thought that efforts at assimilation were worthwhile, but the majority saw Islam as

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 23.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 24.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 7-8.

<sup>37</sup> Stora, *Algeria*, 8.

corrupt and oppressive by nature and therefore apart of a system that ultimately needed to be overthrown.<sup>38</sup>

## **Citizenship**

The tension between French culture and Islamic culture would be apparent in future attempts at assimilation, notably in efforts at giving citizenship to Algerians, which the French government began in the 1860s. These efforts benefitted Jews but not Muslims. In 1865, the Sénatus-consulte introduced guidelines of naturalization for native Algerians.<sup>39</sup> In order to become a citizen, Algerians would have to place themselves under French law, renouncing their personal statute.<sup>40</sup> While this was not a large problem for Jews, for Muslims a renunciation of the personal statute under Islamic law would be apostasy, and thus was not an option.<sup>41</sup> This decree increased the divide between Algerian Jews and Muslims because now one group was judicially superior to the other<sup>42</sup>

Naturalization efforts became explicit favoritism of Jews in 1870 with the passage of the Crémieux decree. Adolphe Crémieux's decree naturalized most Algerian Jews, allowing them to vote and serve in the military, but it ignored Muslims.<sup>43</sup> Among the French, reactions to the decree were mixed. Some thought providing Jews with the responsibilities of citizenship was dangerous, and others thought it provoked violence in Muslim communities.<sup>44</sup> Crémieux's

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<sup>38</sup> Schreier, *Arabs*, 4.

<sup>39</sup> Lorcin, *Imperial*, 8.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Cole, "Anti-Semitism," 80.

<sup>43</sup> Stora, *Algeria*, 10; Lorcin, *Imperial*, 8; for elaboration on how the Crémieux decree affected Jews in Kabylia differently than in northern Algeria, see Sarah Abrevaya Stein, "Dividing South from North: French Colonialism, Jews, and the Algerian Sahara," *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012): 773-792.

<sup>44</sup> Schreier, *Arabs*, 8.

justification for his decree was that Jews had already experienced too many centuries of “degradation and persecution.”<sup>45</sup>

The Crémieux decree highlighted the growing tensions between Muslims and Jews, as well as policies of the French government that created divisions between these two groups when they clearly favored one over the other. Schreier argues that the passage of the decree was ironic because from the beginning of the French arrival at Algiers, Jews actively resisted French civilization and assimilation.<sup>46</sup> However, Joshua Cole asserted that once given citizenship, many Jews viewed their new judicial status as an opportunity and that they embraced “the republican doctrine of assimilation.”<sup>47</sup> The effect of the decree on Jews was that their connection to North Africa diminished and their connection to France increased. Integration from assimilation and naturalization obscured Jews’ connection to North Africa.<sup>48</sup> Jews’ association with France increased as a result of both assimilation and naturalization, as they became more educated and learned French language and culture.<sup>49</sup> Still, they were able to retain ties to their North African Jewish customs and values, and in reality, European settlers never really accepted Jews as one of their own, only as legal citizens.<sup>50</sup>

The French government passed the *Code de l’indigénat* in 1881, which further exacerbated the tensions between Jews and Muslims that were rife between the two native groups. This made all non-citizens, mostly native Muslims, even more judicially inferior than the new citizens of France, Jews.<sup>51</sup> Still without the ability to vote, all non-citizens were then subject to oppressive rules, including a ban on meeting in groups or traveling without permission, for

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<sup>45</sup> Ethan Katz, “Between emancipation and persecution: Algerian Jewish memory in the *longue durée* (1930-1970),” *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012): 801.

<sup>46</sup> Schreier, *Arabs*, 8-9.

<sup>47</sup> Cole, “Anti-Semitism,” 80.

<sup>48</sup> Schreier, *Arabs*, 11.

<sup>49</sup> Katz, “Emancipation,” 794-795.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Cole, “Anti-Semitism,” 80.

example.<sup>52</sup> Cole argued that the effect of the *Code* and exclusionary policies of citizenship was that all Algerians were technically considered “French,” but the majority of them did not have a voice in their representation and were judicially inferior subjects.<sup>53</sup> Both Muslims and Jews experienced discrimination in France after 1870, but there was a large gap in economic and political opportunities.<sup>54</sup> This gap only widened in the twentieth century.<sup>55</sup>

### **Anti-Semitism**

In 1865 and 1870, French statutes favored a minority group in Algerian society over the majority, simply because the former was more similar to European society and therefore more able to be assimilated. Of course, this at times provided for policies that favored Jews, but did not necessarily benefit them.<sup>56</sup> In other words, on its face, French colonial policy seemed to give more rights and opportunities to Jews, but in practice, this did not always improve Jewish life. While colonial policies judicially favored Jews, anti-Semitism penetrated France and its colony.

France has a long history of anti-Semitism that was increasing in the second half of the nineteenth century. Emerging racialist theories in this era helped justify popular anti-Semitism.<sup>57</sup> To cite one of many examples, Edouard Drumont’s *La France Juive* demonized the Jewish “race” and deemed inferior to the Aryan “race.” In the 1890s, anti-Semitism in France reached its peak with the Dreyfus Affair. In 1894, French and Jewish officer Alfred Dreyfus was arrested on charges of treason.<sup>58</sup> Though the charges lacked any evidence, he was convicted of treason and sent away to Devil’s Island. Controversy surrounding his arrest reached its apex in 1898. In January of that year, French novelist Émile Zola published “J’accuse” in *L’Aurore*, condemning

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 81.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Schreier, *Arabs*, 10.

<sup>57</sup> Charles Sowerwine, *France Since 1870: Culture, Society, and the Making of the Republic*, 2nd ed., (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 55-57.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 66-69.



the French President and government for allowing this injustice. Those in favor of Dreyfus's conviction, anti-Dreyfusards, viewed themselves as waging a war against Jews and Dreyfusards.<sup>59</sup>

The anti-Semitic wave of the 1890s in France also infiltrated Algeria. In 1897 and 1898, Algiers and Oran (both cities with larger-than-average Jewish populations) had deadly anti-Jewish riots, both with the aim of repealing the Crémieux decree.<sup>60</sup> Most anti-Semitic rioters were delusional in their prejudice toward Jews—at the riots in Algiers, rioters called Jews “capitalists,” though the majority of Jews were poor.<sup>61</sup> Most rioters in these anti-Semitic demonstrations in the 1890s in Algeria were French settlers.

Municipal politics contributed to anti-Semitism toward the end of the long nineteenth-century. French citizens—that is, both French and non-French European settlers, as well as Jews—were the only groups able to vote in municipal elections. Municipal elections were a setting for contention because they determined which groups would have local dominance in Algeria and would benefit from this power.<sup>62</sup> Jews became a source of contention in elections for their important role. For example, in Constantine Jews comprised about fifteen percent of the electorate.<sup>63</sup> This number was not enough to be a force in all elections, but it was sometimes enough to pick the winner in close elections.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, the role of Jews in municipal elections encouraged tensions that arose after the Crémieux decree gave most Jews the ability to vote. Many French settlers continued to believe that Jews from Algeria were not really French,

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<sup>59</sup> Pierre Birnbaum, *The Anti-Semitic Moment: A Tour of France in 1898*, translated by Jane Marie Todd (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), 8.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Stora, *Algeria*, 10.

<sup>62</sup> Cole, “Anti-Semitism,” 81.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 97.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

so they did not deserve citizenship.<sup>65</sup> Sophie B. Roberts argues that the controversy over Jewish citizenship was eventually the catalyst for the explosion of anti-Semitism in the 1890s and the interwar period.<sup>66</sup> Contention over elections sometimes resulted in deaths from anti-Semitic violence in the 1890s.<sup>67</sup> Settlers viewed Jews as a non-French competition, therefore sparking bouts of settler anti-Semitism, lasting from the 1870s through the interwar period.

Anti-Semitism also tainted municipal elections in Algeria in the volatile 1890s. Max Régis, running on an anti-Semitic platform, was a leading figure in Algeria in 1897-1902.<sup>68</sup> In order to encourage anti-Semitism, Régis published *L'Antijuif*, an anti-Semitic newspaper in Algeria.<sup>69</sup> He played on popular stereotypes of Jews to justify the violence of the January riots in the country.<sup>70</sup> His reign didn't last long; his policies began to include actions too radical for most anti-Semites, so they distanced themselves from Régis.<sup>71</sup> His tenure as mayor of Algiers showed that anti-Semites found unprecedented power in office to rebel against a minority percentage of the electorate, but his removal from office demonstrated the "limits on municipal autonomy," according to Roberts.<sup>72</sup> While Régis's reign was short-lived, it demonstrated the settler anti-Semitism that would penetrate municipal politics after WWI.

The French government's pro-Jewish policies created tensions between Jews and settlers as well as between Jews and Muslims. Algeria was not immune to French settler anti-Semitism, but the country had a unique dynamic contributing to the tensions: citizenship. It is ironic that a

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<sup>65</sup> Sophie B. Roberts, "Anti-Semitism and Municipal Government in Interwar French Colonial Algeria," *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012): 824.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 825.

<sup>67</sup> Cole, "Anti-Semitism," 81.

<sup>68</sup> Roberts, "Municipal," 825.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 826.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 826-827.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 827.

country with policies favoring Jews still faced anti-Semitism. Understanding the dynamics of assimilation, citizenship, and anti-Semitism are important to understanding tensions between groups in Algeria in the interwar period. These tensions reached a new dimension after WWI as the relationship between Jews, Muslims, and the French state changed.

CHAPTER TWO  
FRENCH CITIZENSHIP IN ALGERIA AFTER WWI:  
THE MUSLIM QUESTION

**Introduction**

When France went to war in 1914, the government enlisted the help of Algeria and its inhabitants. Both native Jews, who were citizens, and native subjects fought for France. Around 173,000 indigenous people fought for France in the conflict, and of this number, 25,000 Muslims died.<sup>1</sup> Immediately after the war, the government treated veterans differently based on their religious affiliation and ethnicity. The interwar period highlights the cultural and social inequalities between settlers, Jews, and Muslims. French attempts to increase rights of Muslims were generally unsuccessful and their intentions to do this lacked a concrete plan for implementation.

*L'Echo d'Alger* reflected the French government's policies by arguing that rights for Muslims should be limited and conditioned on how "French" they had become through efforts of assimilation. Because Jewish Algerians had been the target of assimilation and had been more similar to European society, Jews deserved citizenship as early as 1870, but Muslims were less "French," so they were less deserving of citizenship. Thus, once Muslims had fought for France in WWI, French settlers acknowledged that a limited form of citizenship could be provided to some Muslims. *L'Echo* uses an interview with an Algerian leader to justify their position—it would hurt all Muslims if everyone were given the vote. *L'Echo* said that only educated Muslims deserved this privilege, as this would best benefit the entire population.

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<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Stora, *Algeria, 1830-2000: A Short History*, translated by Jane Marie Todd (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 12-14.

Both Algerian Jews and Algerian Muslims fought for France in WWI, but each group experienced the war's aftermath in different ways. After WWI, Jews who fought for France in the war balanced their devotion to France with their traditional Jewish identity.<sup>2</sup> Jews saw their service as an affirmation of their loyalty to France.<sup>3</sup> Contrastingly, Muslims viewed their service in the war as an investment in France, which had not yet returned the favor.<sup>4</sup> Their dilemma was different than that of Jews: how to become citizens of a nation for which they served and sacrificed and still maintain their personal status to live under Islamic law.<sup>5</sup> The French government didn't view Muslims' sacrifice as automatically meriting citizenship; rather, they viewed it as a step towards eventual universal naturalization.

After the war, the French government implemented reforms with aimed at increased civil rights for Muslims, but these were not immediate.<sup>6</sup> And even these attempts to reward Muslims for their service affirmed their inferior legal status. On February 4, 1919, the government passed the Jonnart Law, which granted limited citizenship to a small number of Algerian subjects (thirty-four percent of the adult male population) and allowed them to vote in a separate electoral college.<sup>7</sup> Under this law, Muslim leaders could only hold one-third of the total seats in government, so they could never have a majority.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, this law maintained legal distinctions between French citizens and colonial subjects.<sup>9</sup> Joshua Cole argues that the Jonnart Law is significant because even though it finally provided some Muslims with limited

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<sup>2</sup> Joshua Cole, "Constantine before the Riots of August 1934: Civil Status, Anti-Semitism, and the Politics of Assimilation in Interwar French Algeria." *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012): 842.

<sup>3</sup> Ethan Katz, "Between emancipation and persecution: Algerian Jewish memory in the *longue durée* (1930-1970)," *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012): 800.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 800.

<sup>5</sup> Cole, "Constantine", 842.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 841-842.

<sup>7</sup> Joshua Cole, "Anti-Semitism and the Colonial Situation in Interwar Algeria: the Anti-Jewish Riots in Constantine, August 1934," *The French Colonial Mind* (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2012): 83.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

citizenship rights, they were given these rights “as Muslims.”<sup>10</sup> French efforts at aiding native Algerians who had fought in WWI came to a halt with the reestablishment of the *Code de l’indigénat* in July of 1920, which was in part a concession to French settlers.<sup>11</sup> The *Code* meant the restoration of harsh restrictions on Muslim life, as described in discussing the 1881 *Code* in Chapter 1.<sup>12</sup> The French government’s policies were a mix between finally but slowly rewarding native Algerians and appeasing French settlers. French settlers only supported rights for Muslims when these Muslims had been at least partially assimilated and when these proposed rights were limited.

### ***L’Echo d’Alger* and Citizenship for Muslims**

In its postwar reporting, *L’Echo d’Alger* reflected the view that limited citizenship should be given to the more assimilated Muslims. On August 21, 1920, *L’Echo* published an article by Pierre Edmond, interviewing M. Aït Salem, a native Algerian leader in Kabylia.<sup>13</sup> In his interview, M. Aït Salem recognized the positive French contribution to Algerian society in education, hygiene, and infrastructure. “Il connaît l’esprit de la France et nous a longuement parlé des avantages moraux que nous avons procurés à nos sujets en développant l’instruction, en leur apprenant l’hygiène, en créant des routes et des voies ferrées,” author Pierre Edmond wrote about M. Aït Salem. M. Aït Salem also recognized that Muslims suffered from the lack of ability to vote but also would suffer if ill-prepared Muslims were able to vote. According to M. Aït Salem, “nous souffrons tous d’une grave erreur, celle qui a consisté à accorder des bulletins de vote à des indigènes incapables de s’en servir.” He believed that the right to vote belonged to

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 84.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 85; Cole, “Constantine,” 843.

<sup>12</sup> Cole, “Anti-Semitism,” 80.

<sup>13</sup> Pierre Edmond, “Les réformes nouvelles jugées par un Indigène,” *L’Echo d’Alger*, August 21, 1920.

those educated, because educated voters could then vote for educated and competent representatives.

The interview with M. Aït Salem signaled a change in thought about the role of Muslims in government. Previously, the French government attempted to control all aspects of Muslim lives. Almost one hundred years after the beginning of the conquest, and consequently the beginning of assimilation and education, there was a belief that some native Muslims should control representation for the entire group. M. Aït Salem was, in a way, criticizing the Jonnart Law for given rights to Muslims who were unfit to represent the population. *L'Echo* agrees with M. Aït Salem, using his interview to represent and justify supporting laws that often oppressed a lot of Muslims. The article also displays the savior complex of French settlers who only considered Muslims fit to govern themselves (and only on a limited basis) once they had been assimilated into French culture.

The issue of Muslim citizenship faced continued debate throughout the 1920s. *L'Echo* published an article on November 5, 1925, expressing the view that Muslims deserved French citizenship because of their service in WWI.<sup>14</sup> This article underlines the change in attitude present after WWI—Muslims were deserving of certain political rights. Reforms to provide native Algerians with limited citizenship also reinforced French settlers' view of themselves as the saviors of Muslims. According to *L'Echo*, reforms aimed at providing citizenship to a limited group of Muslims followed French goals of fraternity and national agreement: “[La Ligue Française en faveur des indigènes d’Algérie] a également chargé M. Mélias de rédiger un manifeste aux colons d’Algérie en [y]ue de réaliser des réformes indigènes dans le but de la

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<sup>14</sup> “En faveur des Indigènes d’Algérie,” *L'Echo d’Alger*, November 5, 1925.

fraternité et de la concorde nationale.”<sup>15</sup> *L’Echo* failed to mention how fraternity justified a 100-year wait for limited citizenship of a small amount of native Algerians, leaving out the rest of the population indefinitely.

## **Conclusion**

The effort at assimilation had been ongoing since the first few decades of conquest in Algeria, and accelerated during WWI as many native Muslims fought for France, making them more “French” than previously possible. French settlers, as seen through *L’Echo*, viewed themselves as the savior of Muslims, providing a small group of them with limited citizenship after WWI. The French began to view Muslims as more deserving of political rights once they became more assimilated into French culture, but only on a limited basis. The media used examples of supportive Algerian Muslims, like M. Aït Salem, to justify their exclusion. The views from *L’Echo* reflect the changing attitude of settlers towards Algerian Muslims and their eligibility for citizenship.

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<sup>15</sup> The use of *indigène* to refer to native Muslims of Algeria is notable because it has a connotation of savagery. Native Jews were always instead referred to as *israélites*, showing religious, not national, affiliation. The consequence of this is that Muslims were portrayed as aggressors and Jews were portrayed as victims. For further elaboration on the use of this term, see Katz, “Emancipation,” 804.



## CHAPTER THREE

### *L'ECHO D'ALGER* AND FRENCH SETTLER ANTI-SEMITISM IN 1921

#### **Introduction**

In February, 1921, the anti-Semitic newspaper *La Tribune* began provoking attacks against Jews in Constantine.<sup>1</sup> In June, anti-Semitic settlers attacked several Jews in a gymnastics club.<sup>2</sup> Attacks against Jews from settlers encouraged retributive violence at the club and against the newspaper. On June 1921, Jewish veterans hurled the moveable type of newspaper *La Tribune* into the streets of Constantine, which were already filled with glass from broken windows.<sup>3</sup> The incidents were not isolated; throughout the 1920s, Jews faced periods of anti-Semitic violence, mostly encouraged and executed by settlers.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the apparent favoritism of Jews over Muslims in Algeria, Jews still faced sporadic anti-Semitism. The perpetrators of this anti-Semitism were usually settlers—Muslims rarely participated. For example, in 1921, *La Tribune*, a local anti-Semitic newspaper, incited violence against Jews in Constantine, a large city in northeast Algeria. Constantine was home to 101,000 people, including an older but still spirited Jewish quarter, a Muslim population with commitments to traditional values, and a settler population that was smaller than average (encouraging this smaller group to defend their superior status fervently).<sup>5</sup> There was no sort of unified organization spurring anti-Semitic violence. Rather, it was incited by different sources for a myriad of reasons and therefore had no goal. Anti-Semitism and the incitement of anti-

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<sup>1</sup> Joshua Cole, "Constantine before the Riots of August 1934: Civil Status, Anti-Semitism, and the Politics of Assimilation in Interwar French Algeria," *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012): 843.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Joshua Cole, "Anti-Semitism and the Colonial Situation in Interwar Algeria: the Anti-Jewish Riots in Constantine, August 1934," *The French Colonial Mind* (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2012): 79

Semitic violence from *La Tribune* was an act of settler anti-Semitism, and was also a failed attempt to encourage Muslims to join.<sup>6</sup> Coverage of this violence in *L'Echo d'Alger* exposed the newspaper's implicit anti-Semitism through its evident bias and lack of details. It also revealed the view of *L'Echo d'Alger*, and by extension, the view of French settlers, that anti-Semitism and anti-Semitic violence was acceptable if the perpetrators were settlers.

### ***L'Echo d'Alger* and Discord in Constantine, 1921**

On June 7, 1921, *L'Echo d'Alger* published a brief article on the unrest in Constantine.<sup>7</sup> The article framed the incidents of 1921 differently than Cole and other historians. While it mentioned *La Tribune* in the beginning, it failed to note that *La Tribune* had been inciting violence for months. Its first mention of any violence is that of Israelite groups insulting random passersby.<sup>8</sup> “C’est le samedi soir que des groupes de manifestants israélites ont commencé à se répandre par la ville, insultant les passants et s’en prenant surtout aux soldats isolés et sans armes qui rejoignaient leurs divers casernements.” The article then mentions that rioters set fire to printers belonging to the editor of *La Tribune*, Amalfitano, but it fails to mention that he was leading the anti-Semites.<sup>9</sup> The only mentions of violence in this article are those being performed by Jews, while the article conveniently ignores the fact that anti-Semitic French settlers were the first to incite violence.

### **Conclusion**

The article shows that *L'Echo* supported anti-Semitism implicitly. By not mentioning the reason for the Jews' violence, the newspaper characterized Jews as violent and did not categorize *La Tribune* as a bigoted newspaper. Additionally, the article, by portraying *La Tribune* and its

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<sup>6</sup> Cole, “Constantine,” 841.

<sup>7</sup> “Les Incidents de Constantine,” *L'Echo d'Alger*, June 7, 1921.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

printer as a victim, displays that when French settlers exhibited anti-Semitism, it was normal instead of deplorable. *L'Echo d'Alger*'s reporting of anti-Semitic violence reaffirmed the inferior position of Jews in French Algerian society, though they were judicially equal.

CHAPTER FOUR  
THE NATURALIZATION CRISIS:  
FRENCH SETTLER ATTITUDES TOWARDS MUSLIM RESISTANCE TO FRENCH  
CITIZENSHIP

**Introduction**

The debate over Muslim citizenship reached a new dynamic in Tunisia, a French colony bordering Algeria to the east. In the early 1930s, Tunisia's Muslim population faced a dilemma over the burial rites of naturalized Muslims.<sup>1</sup> While Algeria did not experience the same “naturalization crisis,” French settlers paid attention to this conflict and *L’Echo d’Alger* reported on it in the summer of 1933. Through a series of eight articles written by François Breuscher and entitled “De Damas à Rabat,” the series discusses anti-French xenophobia executed by Muslims from Damascus to Rabat.<sup>2</sup> In these articles, *Echo* demonstrates three themes present in Algerian settler thought about the Muslim Question: the French savior complex, settler resistance to allowing Muslims complete French citizenship, and settler attitudes that Muslims should be allowed citizenship. French settler ideals—namely, that their presence has completely benefitted Muslims and that Muslims should not be given complete citizenship—prevailed over ideals of Muslims as finally worthy of citizenship.

**The Tunisian Naturalization Crisis**

In Tunisia, many native and non-naturalized Muslims thought of naturalized Muslims as apostates and traitors to their religion, and therefore no longer possessed burial rites in Muslim

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<sup>1</sup> Background of Tunisian crisis relies on Mary Dewhurst Lewis, *Divided Rule: Sovereignty and Empire in French Tunisia, 1881-1938* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

<sup>2</sup> François Breuscher, “De Damas à Rabat (I-VIII),” *L’Echo d’Alger*, published between May 21, 1933 and July 23, 1933.

cemeteries. This controversy increased as naturalization became more accessible to Muslims after WWI. The “naturalization crisis” in Tunisia began on December 31, 1932 with the attempt to block the burial in a Muslim cemetery of a Muslim who had become a French citizen. Many of these perpetrators were those with nationalist intentions in Tunisia. Throughout 1933-1934, Muslims native to Tunisia protested burials of naturalized Muslims, sometimes digging up graves. The French government conceded to pressure and established a separate part of cemeteries for naturalized Muslims, officially acknowledging naturalized Muslims as different from Muslims who were not considered citizens. The controversy over burial rites was noteworthy not only because it demonstrated Muslim attitudes toward naturalization in French colonies, but also because it displayed a universal conflict of colonization: a debate over land control.

### ***L’Echo d’Alger’s Coverage of the Crisis***

French opinion that their presence in Algeria was completely beneficial was prevalent throughout the series, focusing on the superiority of French technology and ideals, but also the prestige of French morality. Breuscher condemned nationalist movements in Algeria and abroad and glorified French technology, stating that nationalists would lose when fighting against the more experienced and seasoned troops and workforces in France.<sup>3</sup> “Nous sommes le nombre, la force, l’organisation et que, dans l’hypothèse d’un conflit généralisé, nos contingents disciplinés, aguerris, supérieurement outillés, dépasseraient de plusieurs millions d’hommes leurs effectifs simplement fanatisés.” He further lionized these technologies and their use in colonization, stating that French planes and cannons have been used in the service of Islam and now benefit Arabs, who were once oppressed by the system, but have been saved by enlightened French policies. Breuscher continued to recognize the superior power of France by mentioning France as

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<sup>3</sup> François Breuscher, “De Damas à Rabat (II),” *L’Echo d’Alger*, May 26, 1933.

one of the greatest countries in the world, a fact that Muslims also recognize.<sup>4</sup> He mentioned that many native Algerians ignored the sacrifices made by French settlers in order to help the population.<sup>5</sup> “Les Indigènes ignorent, eux, mais alors totalement, nos sentiments à leur égard et la somme de sacrifices que nous nous imposons à leur profit.” He interviewed M. Taïeb el Okbi, who recognized that while some Muslims viewed France as the oppressor, others viewed France as the country of the rights of man, liberalism, and justice.<sup>6</sup> M. Taïeb el Okbi listed the positive aspects of metropolis: “...la France des principes de 89, la France de la déclaration des droits de l’homme et du citoyen, la France dont le nom est, dans l’histoire des peuples, synonyme de libéralisme et de justice.” These brief passages demonstrate that throughout the series of articles, French settlers ignored any responsibility for their role in the conflict. They simply discussed how they should be idolized for the benefits given to native Algerians in their colonies, neglecting any mention that their actions and influence may have caused deadly conflicts.

Breuscher’s articles also conveyed settlers and their negative feelings toward Muslims and their potential citizenship. Settlers feared that riots surrounding the naturalization crisis were apart of a larger effort to restore the Arab Empire.<sup>7</sup> “Les incidents du Maroc et de Tunisie [sont]...des exercices préparatoires à la manœuvre d’ensemble projetée qui vise à la restauration de l’empire arabe.” They viewed Muslim opposition to their colonial policies as Francophobia.<sup>8</sup> “Ce mouvement est...gallophobe au Maroc, en Algérie, en Tunisie.” Breuscher vilified the Muslim population for their opposition to colonization, and attempted to show that the entire population did not deserve rights as Frenchmen and women.

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<sup>4</sup> François Breuscher, “De Damas à Rabat (III),” *L’Echo d’Alger*, May 28, 1933.

<sup>5</sup> François Breuscher, “De Damas à Rabat (II),” *L’Echo d’Alger*, May 26, 1933.

<sup>6</sup> François Breuscher, “De Damas à Rabat (III),” *L’Echo d’Alger*, May 28, 1933.

<sup>7</sup> François Breuscher, “De Damas à Rabat (II),” *L’Echo d’Alger*, May 26, 1933.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

However, the articles contained the idea that some Muslims still deserved citizenship, albeit in a limited form. These articles included this sentiment, but did not mention any sort of concrete plan of action for helping Muslims gain citizenship. In Breuscher's interview with M. Taïeb el Okbi, he characterizes himself and other Muslims as loyal to France, mentioning "notre loyalisme."<sup>9</sup> Breuscher contended that it was time for the metropolitan government to consider giving citizenship to native Algerians, no matter their religion.<sup>10</sup> "Il est temps, oui, grand temps, et nous suggérerons à l'administration métropolitaine...quelques-uns des remèdes propres à faire respecter le titre de citoyen français, quelle que soit la religion de celui qui le porte." Breuscher insinuated that French settlers are not anti-Muslim, but they oppose citizenship for the Muslim who is Francophobic.<sup>11</sup> While Breuscher mentioned that native Algerians deserved citizenship after having been subjects for around one hundred years, he did not incite a call to action nor did he suggest any sort of concrete plan for achieving this.

## **Conclusion**

The articles demonstrate that French Algerian settler attitudes toward Muslims and citizenship, as well as their role in the tension, were similar in 1933 to what they had been in the early 1920s. In general, French settlers still believed that citizenship for native Muslims should be limited to a smaller group and did not need to be immediate. This series also demonstrates the idea that France had benefited and saved Muslims from their self-imposed oppression. Even when Breuscher asserted that native Muslims deserve citizenship, he did not mention any sort of intention for immediate action to accomplish this, nor did he acknowledge the need to do so. Continued oppression of Muslims in French society led to prolonged tensions between native,

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<sup>9</sup> François Breuscher, "De Damas à Rabat (III)," *L'Echo d'Alger*, May 28, 1933.

<sup>10</sup> François Breuscher, "De Damas à Rabat (IV)," *L'Echo d'Alger*, May 31, 1933.

<sup>11</sup> François Breuscher, "De Damas à Rabat (V)," *L'Echo d'Alger*, June 2, 1933.

non-naturalized Muslims and native, naturalized Jews. In 1934, these tensions resulted in a deadly conflict in Constantine.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### *L'ECHO D'ALGER* AND THE COVERAGE OF THE 1934 CONSTANTINE RIOTS

#### **Introduction**

On the night of August 3, 1934, Elie Khalifa, a drunken Jewish tailor and soldier, insulted several Muslims who were naked inside of a building.<sup>1</sup> Despite actions by Muslims leaders to avoid any confrontation between Khalifa and offended Muslims, a crowd of Muslims gathered in front of Khalifa's apartment building. Khalifa's wife yelled at the crowd and other tenants of the apartment began to throw things at the crowd, while the crowd threw stones at the building. Muslims leaders continued to attempt to calm angry Muslims. Later that night, a more violent crowd attempted to go into the Jewish quarter of Constantine, but police stopped this effort. There was fighting between Jews and Muslims, and eventually a man in the crowd was shot in the stomach.<sup>2</sup> The next day, meetings between city officials and Muslim leaders took place. Respected Muslim leaders Dr. Mohamed-Salah Bendjelloul and Ben Badis announced a public meeting for the morning of August 5, which was later prohibited by the prefect who feared a large crowd of Muslims. The announcement of the prohibition came too late, and thousands of followers gathered to hear their leaders on the outskirts of town. It was announced that no one would be speaking and as followers walked back to town, two individuals began shouting that Bendjelloul had been assassinated. Bendjelloul appeared on the streets to dispel the rumor, but this was unsuccessful. Eventually, the police lost control of the city, and Muslims began to loot

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<sup>1</sup> Background information for riots relies on Joshua Cole, "Anti-Semitism and the Colonial Situation in Interwar Algeria: the Anti-Jewish Riots in Constantine, August 1934," *The French Colonial Mind* (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2012): 91-95.

<sup>2</sup> This man was identified by police reports as an *indigène*.

Jewish-owned businesses, set fire to buildings, and invade homes of Jews. In the end, twenty-five Jews and three Muslims died.

Khalifa's insult of Muslims was the short-term cause of the riots, but the twenty-eight dead and countless injured people owed their lives to more complex immediate- and long-term issues. In the long-term, policies of exclusion caused the riots; issues over naturalization and unequal treatment of native Algerians developed into tensions between Jews and Muslims that had been growing for decades. In the immediate-term, policies of inclusion caused the riots, with Muslims now having more political representation meant they were in conflict against Jews.<sup>3</sup> With Muslims finally given the chance for political representation and with the development of the FEMC (Fédération des élus musulmans de Constantine), which organized and educated Muslims, Muslims and Jews faced increased conflict with each other as they were then pitted against each other.

The riots were the culmination of these tensions that had been developing since the beginning of French colonization in Algeria and had increased in the interwar period. French colonization had created these conflicts, but ignored any responsibility in the riots. *L'Echo d'Alger's* coverage of the riots spanned throughout August. In general, it sympathetically mentioned the Jewish victims, but did so sparingly. The newspaper ignored the Muslims who died in the conflict. Two themes were constant throughout the reporting of the riots: the concept of the savage and wild Algerians, and the concept of the French as the savior of the victims.

### **Context for the Riots**

Long-term conflicts of assimilation and citizenship, which excluded native Muslims from rights offered to native Jews, helped cause the riots, but the riots happened in 1934 as a result of

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<sup>3</sup> Joshua Cole, "Constantine before the Riots of August 1934: Civil Status, Anti-Semitism, and the Politics of Assimilation in Interwar French Algeria," *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012): 846.

tensions that developed in the interwar period and in the early 1930s.<sup>4</sup> In 1930, Algeria was not immune to the Great Depression. This period of economic hardship increased the stakes for political representation in government, as those who were in office controlled the resources that became scarce.<sup>5</sup> As competition for positions in municipal government increased, anti-Semitism increased. Many settlers began to resent native Jews for their ability to participate in government and therefore control where resources went, though they weren't as "French" as settlers considered themselves to be.<sup>6</sup> Settlers with political motivations began to run for office on the platform of anti-Semitism, which often led to municipal posts.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, Jews were especially vulnerable in the interwar years.<sup>8</sup> Municipal politics were a setting for anti-Semitism and competition surrounding political representation and control of resources, which increased with the passage of the Jonnart Law in 1919 and even further once the Great Depression hit.

In addition to controversies evident in municipal politics, the formation of different political groups led to more tensions in interwar Constantine. In 1919, the majority population of Algeria now had a voice in government, and the FEMC, *Fédération élus musulmans de Constantine*, led by Bendjouloul, tried to organize and educate this group. There was also a corresponding rise of Communism in Algeria especially once the Great Depression struck the colony, which also led to an increase in anti-Semitism.<sup>9</sup> The increasing opportunities for Muslims to have a voice in government, coupled with potential for anti-Semitism in municipal government, meant that Muslims and Jews, were pitted against each other.<sup>10</sup>

### ***L'Echo d'Alger* and its Coverage of the Riots**

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<sup>4</sup> For overview of long-term conflicts and exclusion, see Chapter 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cole, "Constantine," 846; Sophie B. Roberts, "Anti-Semitism and Municipal Government in Interwar French Colonial Algeria," *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012): 829.

<sup>6</sup> Roberts, "Municipal," 822.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Cole, "Constantine," 846.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Cole, "Anti-Semitism," 88-90.

A lot of coverage immediately after the riots centered on the idea that the perpetrators of the event were violent savages and a disgrace to the French nation. In its first mention of the riots on August 5, the newspaper said that after the actions of Khalifa, Algerian Muslims had an outburst that couldn't be put down.<sup>11</sup> “Une vive effervescence se manifesta parmi la population indigène et, avant que l'incident ne put être réduit à ses véritables proportions, on assista à une véritable échauffourée.” A description from August 6 demonstrated the violent and random killing of a Jewish bus driver by a group of native Algerians.<sup>12</sup> As the author described, “un autobus venant de Sétif fut arrêté par une bande d'énergumènes qui brisèrent les glaces et s'étant emparés d'un voyageur israélite, le lapidèrent et le laissèrent mort sur la chaussée.” Another article mentioned that the riots were not organized, just the product of ignorant native Algerians, who were brutal and unjust in their actions.<sup>13</sup> “Et, maintenant, y eut-il un mouvement délibérément antijuif ? Non. Il y eut un réflexe instantané soulevant des gens qui sont antijuifs à l'état endémique,” author François Breuscher wrote. An article from August 11 cautioned readers that the riots are a reminder that hatred based on race is alive in the colony.<sup>14</sup> A French member of the International League Against Anti-Semitism stated that the riots were inconceivable on French land and were barbaric.<sup>15</sup> Coverage of the riots explicitly condemned the actions of native Algerians. This is ironic, as this riots was unique to Muslims but more common to French settlers, who were more often anti-Semitic than Muslims, both implicitly and explicitly.

In addition to not condemning the role that France and French settlers had in created the tensions that led to this riots, coverage of the riots in *L'Echo d'Alger* characterized settlers and

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<sup>11</sup> “Des barrages éclatent à Constantine après l'arrestation d'un soldat,” *L'Echo d'Alger*, August 5, 1934.

<sup>12</sup> “De graves désordres ont éclaté à Constantine,” *L'Echo d'Alger*, August 6, 1934.

<sup>13</sup> François Breuscher, “Après des troubles sanglants de Constantine,” *L'Echo d'Alger*, August 10, 1934.

<sup>14</sup> “Le retour de M. Jules Carde à Paris,” *L'Echo d'Alger*, August 11, 1934.

<sup>15</sup> “La ligue internationale contre l'antisémitisme proteste contre les émeutes de Constantine,” *L'Echo d'Alger*, August 23, 1934.

their government as the savior. Directly after the first episode, the newspaper commended M. Landel, Secretary General of the Prefecture, for his energetic measures in quelling the conflict.<sup>16</sup> For several days after the riots, there were mentions of the great efforts of French colonial officials in their efforts to help the people of Constantine.<sup>17</sup> Author A.L. Breugnot lionized the police in stopping the riots, “Grâce à la rapide intervention de la police sous la direction du commissaire de la police mobile, M. Barbillat...” Breuscher claimed that among the population of Algeria there were misunderstandings and there were also misunderstandings regarding French intention in Algeria.<sup>18</sup> Breuscher believed that French intentions in Algeria were to merely aid native Algerians, whom they considered less civilized. The newspaper viewed the settler’s role in the riots as the authority figure helping out its subjects, but failed to recognize any responsibility it may have for policies that led to the events.

## **Conclusion**

*L’Echo d’Alger* demonstrates the idea that native Algerians and their violent anti-Semitism was deplorable, as native Algerians were wild, xenophobic, and misunderstood French settler intentions. The only role of the French settler in this conflict was that of the helpful governing party, ignoring any potential responsibility for this event. French settler anti-Semitism, which had for decades been more widespread than any sort of Muslim anti-Semitism, which barely existed, but was considered more French and more fraternal. French anti-Semitism had more of an impact on Algerian society than this riots did. These riots took many lives, but this episode of Muslim anti-Semitism was unique. French anti-Semitism in Algeria (and all of its

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<sup>16</sup> “Des barrages,” *L’Echo d’Alger*, August 5, 1934.

<sup>17</sup> François Breuscher, “Des troubles à Constantine,” *L’Echo d’Alger*, August 7, 1934; “La ville reprend peu à peu sa physionomie habituelle,” *L’Echo d’Alger*, August 8, 1934; A.L. Breugnot, “Après des troubles sanglants de Constantine,” *L’Echo d’Alger*, August 10, 1934.

<sup>18</sup> Breuscher, “Des troubles,” *L’Echo d’Alger*, August 7, 1934.

exclusionary policies toward Jews, Muslims, and other native Algerians) spanned decades and took the form of policies, newspaper coverage, political platforms, and everyday opinions.

## CONCLUSION

Through my analysis of the French settler daily *L'Echo d'Alger*, scholarship into the ethno-religious tensions of interwar Algeria has a new dimension: insight into popular opinion of French settlers, who were responsible, at least in part, for tensions between Jews and Muslims. My research is an expansion on recent research into this strife that takes into account French-language sources from Algeria itself and adds the perspective of French settler newspapers.

Additionally, looking into newspapers offers a new perspective: how colonizers view their role in conflicts that they have helped create. In Algeria, French policies created conflicts between two groups, but newspapers and popular opinion appeared shocked when native Algerians resented the French for the divides they created. Throughout the entire period of colonization, the French viewed themselves as the savior of the native Algerians, saving Jews from their Islamic oppressors and saving Muslims from their oppressive religious system. The French viewed the colony as a hierarchical system: French settlers were civilized French citizens, Jews were second-class citizens who owed their new, better way of life to France, and Muslims were wild and savage people who eventually would deserve limited rights in their home. Through *L'Echo*, French settlers ignored responsibility for issues created by their policies that adhered to a hierarchical system based on religion.

When considering the dissonance created by French policies that led to the riots, *L'Echo* was not remorseful. In discussion of citizenship for Muslims in the early 1920s, right after many fought for France in WWI, the newspaper still projected the view that even after almost one hundred years of colonization, only a small group of Muslims deserved limited citizenship rights. These articles reflected the perspective that French policies were not at fault for any problems

and only deserved to be thanked for their enlightenment and aid to Algeria. The articles from 1933 further represent the ideas of French settlers that French interference in Algeria and other colonies has only helped those who are native to those countries. Native Algerians who resisted change (and what *L'Echo* considered the positive influence of the French settlers) were considered ungrateful and savage.

This attitude of superiority made its way into French thought about anti-Semitism and religious violence. When French settlers acted with malice toward Jews, it was not considered deplorable nor was it denounced by *L'Echo*. When *L'Echo* covered the settler anti-Semitism of *La Tribune* in 1921, it criticized Jews, who were merely reacting to violence against them. By contrast, when the newspaper covered Muslim anti-Semitism in the 1934 riots, it viewed the Muslims and their anti-Semitism as intolerable. French settler anti-Semitism was more acceptable than Muslim anti-Semitism, because it was more fraternal, more French. Exploring the nature and reception of different anti-Semitisms, and their respective motivations, displays the feeling of superiority of the French that was a part of colonization from its beginning and penetrated the policies and media of the colony until French settlers were expelled in 1962.

After the riots, conditions in Algeria did not improve for Jews, especially with the spread of Communism in Europe and the rise of Nazi Germany. By 1938, efforts at repealing the Crémieux decree began and leaders started removing Jews from voting rolls.<sup>1</sup> In 1940, the Vichy government officially repealed the Crémieux decree and implemented policies of exclusion

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<sup>1</sup> Sophie B. Roberts, "Anti-Semitism and Municipal Government in Interwar French Colonial Algeria," *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012): 834.



against Jews.<sup>2</sup> Algerian Muslims didn't find equality after 1934 either. In WWII, many fought for a nation that still hadn't granted them citizenship.<sup>3</sup> WWII created a divide between Muslim Algerians and the European minority that helped lead to the Algerian War of Independence nine years later.<sup>4</sup> After WWII, Europeans increased this divide and continued to take land away from native Algerians.<sup>5</sup> To justify this divide, they "deployed a violent racism," which included acts to display superiority, like referring to all native Algerians as "tu," the familiar form of "you" in French, but expecting to be referred to as "vous," the formal form.<sup>6</sup>

The Algerian War of Independence lasted for eight years, with France recognizing independence of Algeria on July 3, 1962.<sup>7</sup> After having faced many FLN (Front de Libération Nationale) terrorist attacks and scared of their future in a newly independent Algeria, a large amount of Europeans (around 750,000) fled to France.<sup>8</sup> This population of *pieds noirs* found little refuge in France; they were impoverished and living in a nation that few of them knew. For Algerian Muslims who fought for France in the War of Independence, called the *harkis*, many were murdered viciously, and those who were able to escape to France were subject to racism and were legally not allowed to be there.<sup>9</sup> In the later half of the twentieth century, North Africans continued to move to France, experiencing racism that only increased as a result of colonialism and the Algerian War of Independence.<sup>10</sup> The War ended in independence for millions of Algerians in their country, but also led to an exodus of many settlers and some native

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<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Stora, *Algeria, 1830-2000: A Short History*, translated by Jane Marie Todd (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 20; For information about policies of exclusion in Vichy France, see Charles Sowerwine, *France Since 1870: Culture, Society, and the Making of the Republic*, 2nd ed., (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 196-199.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 22.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Sowerwine, *France Since 1870: Culture, Society, and the Making of the Republic.*, 2nd ed, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 271.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 300.

<sup>8</sup> Stora, *Algeria*, 101-106, 125-127; Sowerwine, *France*, 301.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 367.

Algerians, who were now left in a country, France, that was not their home, and did little to help them.

Though tensions in the interwar period between Jews and Muslims changed quickly after 1934 as a result of WWII conflicts, understanding the strains in their relationship are important for understanding Algeria in WWII and the Algerian independence movement. According to Sophie B. Roberts, “the agitations of anti-Semites in the interwar period and their efforts at removing Jews as status and political competitors created the groundwork for Vichy government’s later efforts in Algeria.”<sup>11</sup> Joshua Cole claims the tensions present in the interwar period go beyond even the Vichy government and into the movement for independence. He argues,

The story of Algerian citizens and Muslim colonial subjects in Constantine in the interwar period is, thus, not only a chapter about the failure of a flawed vision of ‘assimilation’ in a larger story about that inevitability of national independence in the colony, but also a pertinent example of the ways that the story of enfranchisement in European liberal empires cannot be separated from the long history of persistent exclusions that penetrated to the heart of both metropole and colony.<sup>12</sup>

The contentions of Roberts and Cole demonstrate the importance of study of the interwar period and the tensions evident in this era. These tensions, created by French settlers and their government, led to divides that the Vichy government would use to their advantage, as well as tensions that Muslim Algerians used to fuel their independence movement.

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<sup>11</sup> Roberts, “Anti-Semitism,” 834.

<sup>12</sup> Joshua Cole, “Constantine before the Riots of August 1934: Civil Status, Anti-Semitism, and the Politics of Assimilation in Interwar French Algeria,” *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012): 855.

Eventually, Muslim Algerians would use their anger toward the exclusionary policies to defeat their colonizers and create fear that would drive most European Algerians and many native Algerians out of Algeria. Tensions from the interwar period are notable because they helped increase competition between Muslim Algerians and all others living in Algeria. Muslim Algerians were not offered full citizenship and faced discriminatory policies for the entire period of colonization. The divide between Muslim Algerians and Jewish Algerians increased throughout this period and culminated in the terror of the War of Independence that drove many Jews out of their home country and into France, a foreign place to Algerians, not equipped to help an influx of immigrants from Algeria. Understanding the tensions that created the riots aids to the understanding of why Muslim Algerians wanted French settlers and those who had unfairly benefitted from colonization to leave. *L'Echo d'Alger* provides an additional understanding about French opinions of these tensions and their role in creating them.

## ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

### *Primary Sources*

*L'Echo d'Alger*. Available on Gallica: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb327596899/date#>

This newspaper was published from 1912-1961 (years 1912-1944 are available on Gallica). It was a daily paper, published in Algiers and started in 1912 by Algerian-born Étienne Baïlac. It was written for French settlers in Algeria. It had correspondents in Paris and important cities in the Maghreb. It was a radical left journal and during the Algerian war, it was in favor of French Algeria.

Articles consulted:

- “Les réformes nouvelles jugées par un Indigène” (August 21, 1920) (Pierre Edmond)
- “Les Incidents de Constantine” (June 7, 1921)
- “La question indigène vue de France: Deux opinions” (July 30, 1925) (Edmond Berlureau)
- “En faveur des Indigènes d'Algérie” (November 5, 1925)
- “De Damas à Rabat I” (May 21, 1933)
- “De Damas à Rabat II” (May 26, 1933)
- “De Damas à Rabat III” (May 28, 1933)
- “De Damas à Rabat IV” (May 31, 1933)
- “De Damas à Rabat V” (June 2, 1933)
- “De Damas à Rabat VI” (June 8, 1933)
- “De Damas à Rabat VII” (June 13, 1933)
- “De Damas à Rabat VIII” (July 23, 1933)
- “Des barrages éclatent à Constantine après l'arrestation d'un soldat” (August 5, 1934)
- “De graves désordres ont éclaté à Constantine” (August 6, 1934)
- “Des troubles à Constantine” (August 7, 1934)
- “Le calme est maintenant rétabli à Constantine” (August 7, 1934) (Fr. Beuscher)
- “La ville reprend peu à peu sa physionomie habituelle” (August 8, 1934)
- “Après des troubles sanglants de Constantine” (August 10, 1934) (Fr. Breuschet)
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- “Le retour de M. Jules Carde à Paris” (August 11, 1934)
- “Après les troubles de Constantine” (August 13, 1934) (E. Mornaud)
- “Autour des émeutes de Constantine” (August 14, 1934) (Fr. Beuscher)
- “Les désordres sanglants de Constantine” (August 14, 1934)
- “Comment fu arrête l'un des assassins de la Famille Attali” (August 15, 1934)
- “Après les émeutes de Constantine” (August 17, 1934)
- “La Ligue internationale contre l'antisémitisme proteste contre les émeutes de Constantine” (August 23, 1934)

## *Secondary Sources*

Birnbaum, Pierre. *The Anti-Semitic Moment: A Tour of France in 1898*. Translated by Jane Marie Todd. New York: Hill and Wang, 1998.

Pierre Birnbaum is a professor of politics and philosophy at the University of Paris I (Sorbonne). He is one of the leading scholars on French history and anti-Semitism in France. This work focuses on the anti-Semitic climate in France in 1898 as a result of growing tensions, including the Dreyfus Affair. The Affair gained a lot of publicity in 1898 after the publication of Émile Zola's "J'Accuse." While it focuses mostly on anti-Semitism in the metropolis, it mentions relations between Marseille and Algeria, as well as Max Régis, noted Algerian anti-Semitic publisher and politician. It provides context for French anti-Semitism in Algeria after the 1890s.

Cole, Joshua. "Anti-Semitism and the Colonial Situation in Interwar Algeria: the Anti-Jewish Riots in Constantine, August 1934." *The French Colonial Mind* (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2012): 77-111.

Dr. Joshua Cole is Professor of History at the University of Michigan. His research focuses on the social and cultural history of modern France and the politics of memory in France, Algeria, and Germany. Here, Cole focuses on context for the riots of Constantine in 1934 and the specific details of this event. Instead of focusing on the overarching context, he looks more at the intricacies of the Interwar period leading up to the event that contributed to the unique nature of the riots. He discusses what the riots mean about the differences between Jews and Muslims and he touches on the role of municipal government and Interwar politics in fueling that fire. He argues that the riots are interesting because they show how these two groups, differentiated under French law, came into conflict because of their differences in status.

----- "Constantine before the Riots of August 1934: Civil Status, Anti-Semitism, and the Politics of Assimilation in Interwar French Algeria." *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012): 839-861.

This work provides context for Constantine in the Interwar period, as well as context for tensions between Muslims and Jews and background on violence between the two groups in this period. Cole focuses on the early 1920s and 1928-1933 in order to show how relations between these groups, as well as with the settler population, changed and how these developments led to the riots of 1934. This work barely mentions the riots of 1934.

Katz, Ethan. "Between emancipation and persecution: Algerian Jewish memory in the *longue durée* (1930–1970)." *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012), 793-820.

Dr. Ethan Katz is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Cincinnati. He specializes on modern French history and modern Jewish history. This article focuses on 1930, 1934, and 1970 to display contrasting models of Jewish remembrance in Algeria, the first model being progress and patriotism and the second model being violence and vulnerability. The former was felt in 1930 and 1970, while the latter was felt in 1934. He displays the tensions in the colonial triangle (between the French, Jews, and Muslims) in this era, mostly as a result of tensions over citizenship and service during WWI. He discusses how these tensions evolve after the violence of the riots in 1934, and then how they later transform after WWII and the Algerian War of Independence.

Lewis, Mary Dewhurst. *Divided Rule: Sovereignty and Empire in French Tunisia, 1881-1938*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013.

Dr. Mary Dewhurst Lewis is Professor of French History at Harvard University. Her research interests surround international and imperial history. This work focuses on complications and tensions of French colonial influence in Tunisia. It is applicable to my study because it provides background on the issue of naturalization for Muslims and the 1932-1933 riots surrounding this tension in society.

Lorcin, Patricia M.E. *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria*. London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1995.

Dr. Patricia Lorcin is an historian whose work focuses on modern French history, colonialism, and race ideology in France and its colonies. This work discusses Algeria from 1830-1900 in order to study the formation of ethnic groups in colonies. She discusses the Kabyle Myth, relates slightly to my research. The introduction provides a good overview of the French in Algeria and French opinions of identity. She discusses the policies of assimilation and the shift to policies of association. Her book is a comprehensive history of the Kabyle Myth as well as French colonization in Algeria in general, exploring its development all the way to its demise. This work, however, does not focus on Jews, Jewish-Muslims relations, French settler opinion of identities, or religious violence, which lessens its usefulness in my research.

Roberts, Sophie B. "Anti-Semitism and Municipal Government in Interwar French Colonial Algeria." *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012): 821-837.

Dr. Sophie Roberts is Professor of Jewish History at the University of Kentucky. Her research interests include modern France and North Africa, anti-Semitism, and citizenship. In this article, Roberts argues that municipal government in Algeria and its relationship with anti-Semitism are generally overlooked in historical scholarship. The nature of municipal politics allowed for the rise of anti-Semitism in local politics in Algeria. For context, Roberts mentions the Crémieux decree and delves into anti-Semitic politics of the 1890s and early 1900s, especially focusing on Max Régis. The bulk of the article is a discussion of the role of anti-Semitism in Interwar municipal politics in Algeria. Anti-Semitism before the Interwar Period was mostly short-lived, but in the Interwar Period, anti-Semitism ended with the repeal of the Crémieux decree.

Schreier, Joshua. *Arabs of the Jewish Faith: The Civilizing Mission in Colonial Algeria*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010.

Dr. Joshua Schreier is Professor of History at Vassar College. He focuses on French colonialism in Algeria, mostly before the French Third Republic. His argument is that assimilation developed as a response to challenges of early colonization in Algeria, including governing Jewish communities. His introduction gives a great look into the history of the French in Algeria through the lens of Jewish history, emphasizing assimilation and religion. He also looks at Oran specifically because it was small, very Jewish, and has available archives. His study starts in the 1830s and ends by 1900, so it is limited for my research.

Slyomovics, Susan and Sarah Abrevaya Stein. "Jews and French colonialism in Algeria: an introduction." *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012), 749-755.

Dr. Susan Slyomovics is Professor of Anthropology at UCLA. Her research focuses on gender, human rights, folklore, and the Middle East and North Africa. Dr. Sarah Abrevaya Stein is Professor of History and Sephardic Studies at UCLA. Her concentration is on Jewish studies and North Africa. This work discusses notable contributions to the study of Jews in Algeria during the French colonial period. It also discusses patterns of limits and biases present in these works. It introduces the series of articles from this issue of this journal resulting from a conference at UCLA in 2011.

Sowerwine, Charles. *France Since 1870: Culture, Society, and the Making of the Republic*. 2nd ed. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

This book provides an overview to France and its history from 1870-2002. It is written by Dr. Charles Sowerwine, Professor of History at the University of Melbourne. Sowerwine focuses on modern French history. The work is particularly useful to me for its discussion

of the Dreyfus Affair and anti-Semitism in France, as well as France in Algeria and *pieds noirs* in France.

Stein, Sarah Abrevaya. "Dividing South from North: French Colonialism, Jews, and the Algerian Sahara." *The Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (December 2012), 773-792.

As noted above, Stein is a Professor of History who contributed to the conference at UCLA in 2011. This work focuses on the differing experiences of Algerian Jewry in the north and in the south. Jews in Southern Algeria experienced conquest, assimilation, and the Crémieux decree differently than those living in northern Algeria.

Stora, Benjamin. *Algeria, 1830-2000: A Short History*. Translated by Jane Marie Todd. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Dr. Benjamin Stora is an historian who teaches at the University of Paris 13 and is one of the leading experts on Algerian history. The introduction provides a really comprehensive history of French conquest in Algeria and the development of the colony until after WWII. This work is the history of Algeria, not through any particular lens (like the Jewish experience or identity formation, for example).