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Colonialism and Popular Culture in Algeria

One of the traits which make for the uniqueness of the Algerian case in the annals of decolonization is the salient role played by the *pied noir* masses. This sizeable settler community (*ca.* 980,000, or one-tenth of the overall population) was a major disruptive force, providing the crowds, as well as most of the hard-core activists for all the attempts to scuttle *l'abandon de l'Algérie Française*: from the 6 February 1956 demonstration in Algiers against visiting French premier Guy Mollet, through the events of May 1958, the Barricades Week rebellion (January 1960), the Four Generals' Putsch (April 1961), up till the OAS's final no-holds-barred counter-terrorist campaign (1960-62).

While journalistic and fictional descriptions of the fratricidal (and eventually suicidal) *pied noir* psychodrama are legion, no systematic attempt at an in-depth study of their collective mind has been made, apart from Pierre Nora's essay, *Le Français d'Algérie* (1961), based primarily upon observations during his 1958-1960 stay as a high-school teacher in Oran.

Source material is not lacking, however, for the study of the popular culture of this overwhelmingly urban community, made up of manual workers, white-collar employés and small artisans and shopkeepers. The most important among these sources are the cheap mass-circulation novels (*romans à deux sous*) of the *Cagayous* series. Spanning almost three decades of publication (1891-1920) in weekly instalments (usually 16-page fascicules), they were written in the plebeian dialect of the urban *pied noirs*, nicknamed *pataouète*; a French *patois* upon which were grafted vocabulary and syntax forms from Spanish, Italian, Maltese and Arabic.[1] The prolific author, Auguste Robinet (1862-1930), writing under the pen-name Musette, was an Algiers lawyer, journalist and public official who drew upon his intimate knowledge of the Euro-

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pean lower classes (especially as social assistance inspector for children at the Algiers Prefecture) to create the literary hero of the series, Cagayous. 'A mixture of Panurge, Guignol, Gavroche. . . and Marius',[2] this picaresque hero, born in the Bab el-Oued quarter of Algiers of a French father and a Spanish mother, populist in temperament, floating in his occupations, became immensely popular with the small folk of the French Algerian cities. The weekly instalments describing his adventures were immediately snatched from the newspaper stalls, according to contemporary eyewitnesses, and were later also sold by mail by the printers-editors. They seem to have retained this popularity among the lower classes (the upper classes frowned upon their plebeian vernacular) all through the eighteen-nineties and the first two decades of this century. Demand was so strong that many series were republished in book form (actually collections of brochures).[3] Some of these books were to be published again in the twenties and in the late forties and early fifties, while the anthology *Cagayous: ses meilleures histoires* (edited by Albert Camus's friend and mentor, G. Audisio, and published in 1931 by Gallimard, the well-known Paris publishing house) went through five printings.[4] If Cagayous came to be a household name, standing in a sense for the city-dweller, lower-class *pied noir*, his popularity is further attested by the numerous imitations of Musette's style and heroes in the Algerian popular press, by the use of a Cagayous trademark for Algiers-made cigarettes, furniture and *redingote* (modelled after the one worn by the hero in the cover illustration), by Cagayous-style commercial publicity, and by Cagayous numbers in the popular theatre.[5] Popular songs in Algiers would celebrate him (with refrains such as 'nous sommes tous/des Cagayous'), and during the first world war, *pied noir* prisoners-of-war in Germany organized nostalgic *soirées algériennes* where Cagayous stories were told or dramatized.[6] Even before Gallimard consecrated him, the Faculty of Letters of the University of Algiers began to prepare a scientific edition of his *oeuvres* (never published) and a long and erudite chapter was devoted to him in an officially-commissioned study of French colonization in Algeria, published in the series celebrating the centenary of French rule (1930).[7]

Early in 1954, a learned article published in Algiers discussed the question, 'Is Cagayous still alive?' and answered it positively both 'with regard to the basic psychology and to its mode of expression'.[8] Nor were the *oeuvres* published in Algiers on the eve

of the 1954 eruption (see note 4), his swan song. The memory lingers to this day among the million *pied noirs* repatriated to France after 1962. In 1971/72 a commercial publishing house successfully launched a series of books, headed by a Cagayous anthology and dedicated to Cagayous-style works and nostalgic recollections about French Algeria, while *pataouète* plays by imitators of Musette continue to be staged.[9]

In short, if Cagayous 'was not a spontaneous emanation of the imagination of the masses... but a literary creation', he became 'a literary type', a sort of 're-told legend surviving its author' (according to Audisio), 'well-rooted in the memory and conversation of the Algero-Europeans... quite alive in the manner of Polichinelle and Gavroche' (E. F. Gautier).[10] Whether this popular identification with him stems from the way the 'type' reflects its audience or whether he in turn fashions it, is an intricate question which needs to be explored.

The *Cagayous* dime-novels do not however, exhaust the source material for the *mentalité pied-noir*, but rather serve to point out where additional material can be discovered. On the one hand, other popular, mainly humorous, weeklies are to be found — many of them modelled on *Cagayous* — the most successful among which was *Papa-Louette*.[11] On the other hand, studies of the *pied noir* dialect, based on observations of the real-life vernacular (and not on its somewhat edulcorated literary rendering) provide fascinating insights into the Algero-European collective psyche, much as regional dialects helped Eugen Weber reconstruct the peasant *mentalité* of the turn of the century.[12]

There should also be thrown in a *pot pourri* of books by other Algero-European humorists writing in *pataouète*,[13] by the more realistic brand of novelists as well as by memorialists describing the *moeurs* of Bab el-Oued and similar quarters,[14] and also travelogues, especially by Anglo-Saxons, less brainwashed than Frenchmen by the ideology of *la mission civilisatrice*.[15] Last but not least, from a comparative angle, new insights into the Algerian phenomenon may be gained from studies of interracial relations in ante-bellum (as well as contemporary) US, the West Indies, West Africa, Madagascar, South Africa and present-day France.[16]

The bulk of our Algerian sources pertain to the period between the 1890s and the second world war and most particularly to the years 1890-1920, which is just as well for a preliminary study like this one. For these years were the heyday of French rule in Algeria:

they followed the crushing of the last traditional rebellion (Mokrani's in 1871) and the bolstering of the colonists' economic and political hegemony (1870-90), contemporaneous with their attainment of a great measure of autonomy (1898-1902) and before the rise of the political challenge of Algerian nationalism (the *Jeunes Algériens* of Emir Khaled, 1919; the Association of the 'Ulama', 1925; and *l'Étoile Nord Africaine*, 1926). They precede by far the abortive, yet modern-style, revolt of May 1945, which gave the *pied noir* community an intimation of its imminent death. In a wider perspective, those were the years of a supposedly impregnable French imperialism, self-righteous and unashamed of its domination, whose apotheosis was marked by the Algerian centenary (1930) and the Colonial Exposition in Paris (1931). And finally, to come back to Algeria once again, the turn of the century saw there the fusion of the numerous immigrant European ethnicities into one *pied noir* community. It is, thus, a privileged moment in which to seize — in pure state, so to speak — the *pied noir* popular culture.

Cagayous, relating how he tries to seek his way out of the Palais de Justice in Algiers, stumbles into a room where he sees 'a bench, huddled up with men, women and Arabs'.[17] Everything is there in this innocent phrase, dropped (as the context indicates) matter-of-factly, without any intention to elicit a laugh. The Arab is a stranger and belongs to a different human category. The term '*arabes*', it should be stressed, refers to all the Algerian-Muslim natives, even though at least one-third of them were Berber-speaking, the proportion being even higher in the city of Algiers where Cagayous lived, because of the growing exodus from nearby Kabylia. The lumping together of Kabyls and Arabs[18] denotes the influence exercised upon popular perceptions by the new colonial doctrine which evolved in Algeria, among *colon* politicians, journalists and novelists, during the quarter-century following the Mokrani revolt and which flatly denied *'le mythe berbère/kabyle'*, created by colonial administrators and French academics. This had alleged that Arabs and Berbers are two completely different races, the former a late-coming conqueror and culturally inferior, the latter the real native and by far superior because of its supposedly Celtic origins.

A whole *divide et impera* policy had been built upon this myth

(which of course implied the Frenchification of the Berbers) and was now rejected by Algero-European elites, who considered all the *Ismaélites* as 'rigorously unassimilable'; Algeria thus being the terrain of 'two societies (European and native) of diametrically opposed *moeurs*, ideals and religions'.[19]

Yet lumping together all natives under one generic noun effaces not only ethnic-cultural distinctions but also individual ones. In *pied noir* dime-novels and the colloquial press, a native as a rule does not have a name, a physiognomy or special characteristics; he is just *l'arabe* or *l'indigène*,[20] addressed indistinctly (as many a memoir confirms) by an irreverent 'Ho, Ahmed!'[21]

Here is a scene from the divorce trial of Cagayous at the Palais de Justice:

> *L'arabe chaousse* (usher) became quite angry [at Cagayous' insolent mother-in-law]. Fortunately the judge arrived... and the *chaousse* announced that I and my wife should enter the courtroom. My mother-in-law rose up to enter as well, but *l'arabe* blocked her way. 'Why can't I accompany my daughter? By what right do you close the door in my face, *moutchou* (Monsieur) Ahmed!', yelled she. 'Don't enter,' said the *chaousse* who was not called Ahmed [but whose name Cagayous does not bother to note].[22]

Arab women were likewise interchangeably called *fatmas* (and addressed by 'Ho, Fatma!') or *mauresques* (and less frequently, *mouquères*).[23]

Anthropologists argue that 'labels of primary potency lose some of their force when they are changed from nouns into adjectives' and that prejudice and stereotypes tend to abate when 'we designate ethnic and religious membership... with adjectives rather than nouns', thereby adding attributes depicting the subject more truly as an individual.[24] It is precisely this infrequency in the use of the word 'arabe' as an adjective (for people) which strikes the reader of *pied noir* sources.[25] It is used, however, to qualify objects, and there usually in a factual ('objective') manner, especially with regard to nouns related to material culture (dress, cooking, furniture, household and marketplace, utensils, etc.). In many cases, however, the attribute 'Arab' has an undeniably derogatory connotation: *Téléphone arabe* (mouth-to-ear communication), *histoire arabe* (complicated story), *travail arabe* (badly accomplished work), *malle arabe* (enormous, in a jocular sense);[26] and anything *fait à la mode arabe* or *à la mauresque* (diving into the sea, hairdressing, manner of wiping one's nose or washing one's

linen) acquires thereby the meaning 'inferior, savage, unaesthetic'. For the native is not merely the Other, a member of a different and strange society, but also of a backward and dominated society. 'Remained Arab' [*resté arabe*] was indeed one of the most damaging notes introduced in the report cards of the Muslim students at the Ecole Normale of Bouzaréah.[27]

The pejorative undertone is even more conspicuous in the colloquial synonyms of 'Arabs' — which were of so common a usage (even in the presence of the natives) that they appear matter-of-factly in the press and in popular literature, as well as in glossaries and erudite linguistic treatises.[28] At the beginning of this century the most common among them was *bic*(s) or *bicot*(s),[29] together with *arabicots* and *tronc*(s) or *tronc*(s) *de figuier*.[30] In the inter-war years, and especially after the second world war, they were replaced by *ratons*, *melons*, *bâtards*, *nègres*, *bougnouls*.[31]

The implied attitude towards the Other is brought into a sharper focus in another phenomenon, described, somewhat bashfully, in a note appended by A. Lanly, in his *thèse d'état* on 'North African French' (1962), to the chapter dealing with the 'Encounter between Arabic and spoken French':

> Another trait of North African French should, however, be pointed out: the *tutoiement*. It can be attributed, in part, to the Arabic-speakers themselves, since one does not *vouvoie* in Arabic. Those Arabic-speakers who began to use French used *tu* when addressing the Europeans and the latter responded accordingly. It may be said that, prior to the second world war, *tutoiement* of the natives was the prevailing usage, except in cultured milieux, and perhaps also in government, with regard to important personalities.
>
> The natives, who knew that the French language uses *vous* in polite discourse, came to resent the *tutoiement*, symbolizing the colonizers' superiority...and demanded its abolition in the Administration as well as in social life in general. Indeed circulars were issued to all government and public officials prescribing *vouvoiement* of Muslims. In June 1960 the Délégué Général du Gouvernement in Algeria still had to re-invoke these instructions. The colonial *tu* (used in other French colonies or ex-colonies) has thus not disappeared in Algeria.[32]

Written in the very days when the death-knell was ringing for French rule in Algeria, after the anti-*tutoiement* campaigns of Soustelle (1955) and Massu (1957)[33], this note belies the optimism of J. Chevalier, the former Liberal mayor of Algiers, who claimed in 1958 that the 'systematic use of *tu* with regard to the natives tends to vanish. Mutual prejudice is fading away.' Yet even he had to admit that 'a great effort has still to be made in order to introduce courtesy into public manners. There can still be heard on

the part of people whose culture leaves much to be desired, impertinent, nay even coarse, words or gestures vis-à-vis the Muslims.'[34]

The tutoiement, as well as the derogatory epithets and soubriquets, are indeed but the tip of the iceberg. They help us catch a glimpse of a racially hierarchized social structure, where one society (in most cases a minority one) was superimposed upon the other. The 'Ho, Ahmed — Bicot — tutoiement' syndrome denotes, in fact, one of the two mechanisms whereby, according to sociological theory, social distance is maintained in such a situation, namely social segregation; the other mechanism being spatial segregation.[35]

Forms of etiquette or ceremonial expression of social roles are a powerful tool geared to the achievement of this aim, confirming our (in this case the *pied noir*'s) feeling of superiority and instilling in the Other (the Muslim) the notion of his inferiority. No wonder that during the heyday of French rule the Algerian Muslim would address the European, either from deference or flattery, as *chef*.[36]

Ridicule is no less effective a method for keeping one's distance from the lower ranks of the social hierarchy. In effect, in Algero-European popular culture the Arab is the eternal laughing-stock. 'What is a native for a European?' wrote novelist Mouloud Ferraoun in his diary, 'A common labourer, a maidservant, a bizarre creature with ludicrous manners, peculiar customs, an impossible language.'[37] And, much as in nineteenth-century France the *patois* of the peasants 'was part of their strangeness and ridiculousness' (E. Weber), so in French-ruled Algeria the pidgin French (*sabir*) spoken by the illiterate majority of the natives in their dealings with the Europeans (who did not deign to learn Arabic) was the favourite butt of *pied noir* humorists and chansonniers. The latter used imitations of *sabir* as a standard comic gimmick, particularly in stories poking fun at natives who get into trouble through linguistic misunderstandings.[38]

Following the *feuilles à un sou*, European high-school children used to employ *sabir* to ridicule each other as well as native passers-by.[39] A small but popular literary industry flourished in Algiers and Bône which specialized in translating French classics (*Le Cid*, La Fontaine's fables, etc.) into *sabir*, eliciting laughter and entering in due course into the 'Pléiade' of *pied noir* popular culture.[40] Special categories of natives, usually the lowest of the low, would be nicknamed in *sabir: moutchou* (Monsieur) for Mozabite

shopkeepers, *porti Madame* (*Porter? Madame*) for errand boys and *ciri* (*cirer*?) for shoe-blacks.[41] The natives (especially the most disinherited) were the frequent target of practical jokes perpetrated by the European urchins and *lycéens*: pranks were played on prostitutes of the Casbah, street-children were teased or sent on imaginary errands, Kabyl oil-vendors had their leather containers pricked, water-drawers saw their pitchers upset, stones or tomatoes were thrown at *moutchous* and street vendors, crippled beggars were the butt of mischief.[42] A carnivalesque role-reversal, as when Europeans put on Muslim dress ('wrapped up in the *burnous*, or hooded cloak, we looked like real Arabs', 'dressed in red like an employee of the *bain maure*'), was considered a comic situation.[43] When the idea of Muslim parliamentary representation was being debated, A. Robinet made Cagayous express his incredulity at such a ludicrous proposition by asking: 'Is it true, then, that a man dressed like a *bicot* will be sent as a Deputy to Paris?' And he answered by what he deemed a clinching *trajectio ad absurdum*: 'If all it takes to become a grand *mecieu* (monsieur) is to dress up *en arabe*, I'm going to put on a Kabyl or Mozabite costume, go to Paris and become a street-vendor or *moutchou*.'[44]

The second mechanism for maintaining distance between the superior status community and the inferior one, *spatial* (residential) *segregation*, is even more evident in our sources. Practical jokes, it can be noted, took place for the most part in the European marketplace; and it is there in fact that the Muslims (who constituted a minority in all the coastal towns before the second world war)[45] engaged in interaction with Europeans.

The Muslim is, as a rule, met there in subservient roles. The checklist is long: *ouled-plaça* (children of the Place du Gouvernement, a combination shoeshine and errand boy), vendors of *beignets* (fritters) *arabes* (*spondji*), oil-vendors (*Kebaîlis*), beggars (*mesquins*), *moutchous*,[46] all of them dubbed in *pataouète* by names borrowed from Arabic. In addition, there were coal-men, porters (with the *charrette arabe*), pedlars, shoemakers, water-drawers, fruit and vegetable vendors, etc.[47] As for interaction at the workplace, the dime-novels and popular press record less frequent contact, once again limited to the European area of the towns and at the lower range of the occupational ladder: the *chaouch* or *chaousse* (usher) — a job which, as the name indicates, was in fact, reserved in public administration, for the natives, wet-nurse (for the European lower classes), maidservant (*fatma*).[48]

Indeed, only on the eve of the first world war (i.e., towards the end of the period covered by these sources) is it known that Muslims penetrated, at least in Algiers, into the ranks of tramway and railway workers as well as of the *garçons de café*.[49] Muslim vendors and workers thus had to go to the European parts of the coastal towns for their modest trade and low-echelon jobs. Movement in the reverse direction was rare. Europeans, especially of the lower classes, would go to the Muslim sections merely in search of fun: to prostitutes, *médecins arabes* (herbalists, healers and witch-doctors), Kabyl fortune-tellers, or to a *café maure* or Arab restaurant. All these kinds of entertainment — except for the prostitutes — were available even in European areas such as downtown Algiers. Hence the relatively small numbers of those who ventured into the Casbah (usually by night), and the aura of depravity and fascination, that of a *quartier réservé*, which surrounded it in the European imagination.[50] The very name, Casbah — absorbed by the *pataouète* (and later by literary French as well) — is but one of a series of *pataouète* words of Arabic origin designating native sections of cities or parts thereof: *médina* and *souk* in the old sections; *derb* or *douar* (as well as the derogatory *village nègre*) for the new shanty towns founded from the inter-war years onwards.[51]

The upshot of this all is, of course, that social interaction was very limited, with residential segregation reinforcing social segregation. Glimpses are caught of Cagayous, Pépète, Papa-Louette and other folk heroes 'playing cards Spanish-style with the Arabs', sipping coffee at the *café maure*, eating *couscous*, *méchoui* and *loubia* side by side with *bicots* and *arbis*, diving into the sea, in a mixed resort and *à la mauresque*, fishing on the sea rocks near 'an Arab that I know a bit'.[52] Yet this last sentence is indicative: contact is casual and occasional. No real friendship is created. In a typical episode reported in *La Lanterne* (29 June 1901), ten people are assembled as witnesses to a duel following an exchange of insults between two Europeans: nine of them are *pied noirs* and only one is Arab, whose name is recorded, typically enough, as 'Ahmed'.[53] Too close a contact was deemed dangerous. When Pépète, the hero of Louis Bertrand's novel about Bab el-Oued, becomes virtually addicted to playing cards in the Casbah with Kabyl porters, his friends warn him only half-jocosely: '*Cristo*, Pépète, you are soon going to become a real *bicot*.'[54] No wonder that ignorance on Arab and Islamic matters was prevalent, and it was, of course, easier to feel superior to something little known.

Having the marketplace and the workplace as the sole place of encounter between two residentially segregated communities,[55] had yet another result: meeting the Muslim in subaltern roles confirmed, so to speak, the notion of his inferiority, making it a part of the 'natural' order of things. Even when after the first world war many Muslims moved up the occupational (and, consequently, the socio-economic) ladder, at most they attained the rank of foreman (i.e., supervisory level) and only rarely managerial level.[56] Linguistic evidence is quite telling on this point: the Muslim foreman was called *caporal* (or *cabo*) in *pataouète* as compared to the (*sergent-*)*chef* for the European manager or boss.[57] As for Maghribi Arab dialects, while they assimilated many words (140 out of 1,665) from the European workplace, almost all of them relate to agriculture, mining and domestic service, where opportunities for skilled labour were scarce (and where indeed the bulk of the Muslim proletariat was employed).[58] Even more indicative are the *pied noir* colloquial imperatives, borrowed from Arabic and used to address natives: *Sir*! (get away!, to beggars, street-vendors, shoe-blacks, etc.); *chouma* (what a shame!, to servants), *fissa*! (quick!), *jib*! (give me! to vendors).[59]

The 'naturally' subaltern role of the Muslims in European eyes is perhaps best perceived in off-the-cuff remarks. Thus, when Cagayous and his fellow-draftees are sent to clean latrines, one of them exclaims: 'Why don't they take Arabs to wash these places?' And when going with comrades to attack Jewish shops during the 1898 riots, they are joined by another friend wielding a gigantic bludgeon. 'Where did you find it?' asked Cagayous. 'If I were you, I would have paid two Arabs to carry it.'[60] In another anecdote, Cagayous, separated from his wife, goes to visit their son who is with an Arab wet-nurse, and finds out that the latter calls the infant 'Youcef' (Arabic for Joseph). 'Beware,' says a friend who accompanies him, 'lest they baptize him *à la mode arabe*. Once arabized, he may prefer to become a shoe-black.'[61]

If Algeria is taken as a whole, not only the coastal towns so far analysed, an even wider range of segregation (spatial and, as a result, social) is found: over nine-tenths of the Muslims lived in the countryside which stretched beyond the narrow coastal strip where the Europeans were concentrated. Hence the dominant perception among the latter of the countryside as *le pays arabe* (a term which dates back to the early days of French colonization).[62] Once again language here reflects reality and at the same time, by coining it in-

to a linguistic formation, fashions (or bolsters, as the case may be) the mental construction, or vision of this reality. Indeed, a plethora of *pataouète* terms of Arabic origin attest to a vision of the hinterland as native: beginning with *bled* for the whole area (the *colon* is dubbed *blédard* by the European urban-dweller) and *tirs* and *hamri* for the soil itself. Elements of the terrain were designated by Arabic terms, such as *djebel* (mountain), *ras* (promontory), *oued* (valley); as were man-made constructions there: *bordj* (fort), *khaïma* (tent), *gourbi* (thatched house), *mechta* (simple stone house), *douar* (hamlet), *foundouk* (inn), etc. As could be expected, a virtually inevitable derogatory meaning came at times to be associated with terms originally borrowed from Arabic in order to denote objective realities: *mentalité de souk* (Muslim-style haggling), *gourbi* for any poor dwelling (compare the racist undertone in *village nègre*, where Black means Arab). When Cagayous, for example, is overwhelmed by the great number of Arabs in the Palais de Justice, he yells: 'But this is not a *foundouk*!'[63] The identification between countryside and natives necessarily invokes the whole set of essentially negative images associated with the peasantry in French nineteenth century urban-dominated perception (savagery, backwardness, etc.); images which at a deeper level may also correspond to what Michelet called the 'dichotomy history-geography'. A recent structuralist-inspired study of Francophone Muslim novelists in Algeria also found this very dichotomy 'entre deux espaces...conflictuels: la Terre et la Cité' as the salient characteristic of this French-language literature.[64] The man-made (and primarily European) city is seen as a creature of history, while the Muslim countryside is still an integral part of nature. Whatever the associations involved, such a dichotomy could only reinforce the cleavage between 'hommes et femmes' on the one hand and 'Arabes' on the other, to use Cagayous's terms.

The 'Arabs' or bicots, we have noted, are all lumped together; that is to say, they are stereotyped. The stereotype, as an exaggerated (usually negative) belief associated with a category or a human grouping, thus acts as a major justificatory device for prejudice, i.e., 'an aversive or hostile attitude toward a person who belongs to that [category or group] simply because he belongs to [it], and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group'.[65]

The composite portrait of the *bicot* in *pied noir* lore is made of five major stereotypes: he is savage, poor, dirty, dishonest and lascivious. *Savage*, in the sense of backward, is a stereotype already encountered above, in speaking about *la mode arabe* of doing things: this had nothing exotic or pictureseque about it in *pied noir* eyes; it simply derived from an inferior civilization. 'Stupid', 'brute', 'harking back to the Sahara', 'some Bedouin', 'fanatics of the forest', 'primitive',[66] are some of the terms in common usage in the popular press. Truly enough, primitivity had its positive traits, especially naïveté; the sympathetic (though still laughable) native innocent is a standard figure in feuilletons.[67] But he is eclipsed by the backward, uncouth, stubborn (*kif-kif bourricot*)[68] and strange *ratons* (rats, i.e., an almost subhuman creature).

The foremost single element in this stereotype of backwardness was language, much as it had been in the nineteenth-century French image of the peasant. Indeed, the term '*charabia*', originally designating the patois of Auvergne, was used as a synonym for the pidgin French of *les arabes* (with the pun *charabia/arabe* reinforcing the similitude).[69]

In a typical anecdote, Cagayous and his friends meet a group of Black sailors visiting Algiers and remark to their stupefaction that the latter speak English to each other. One of the friends cries indignantly: 'Stop all this make-believe! Look at these niggers who came to play Englishmen for us. You had rather *speak Arabic* [emphasis added]. Nobody will believe that fellows blacker than *moutchou* mutton-sellers are English tourists!'[70]

If the *sabir* is at least treated with a mixture of disgust and humour, Arabic is held in utter contempt: 'a useless language, difficult, harsh, barbarian'.[71] Rare are the characters in *pied noir* folk literature — apart from the Maltese, whose dialect contains a substantial dose of Arabic — portrayed as able to speak this language. No-one betrays the least uneasiness about this fact: Cagayous, Pépète, Embrouillon and their friends (a good many of whom are of recent Spanish or Italian origin) are so proud of being able to speak French, the language of the masters.[72]

Poor: mesquin (miserable, beggar) is not the only linguistic evidence for the identification of the native with that creature 'more or less dirty, more or less tattered, more or less antipathetic', described by Ferraoun as the prevailing stereotype.[73] Other Arab terms adopted by the *pataouète* might be added: *mesloute* (poor,

beggar) and *laouère* (one-eyed, blind beggar) as well as *travailler chômeur* (to be out of work; a literal translation from colloquial Arabic).[74] To 'eat the [dry]*pain de dattes* like the Arabs'[75] is a figure of speech denoting the worst stage of destitution. Musette's descriptions of the Algerian scene are full of native invalids and beggars, some of whom are quite sordid (like the 'one who creeps on all fours with his arse upwards'), children demanding *bakchiche*, unemployed adults and famine-stricken children.[76]

Dirty: sale arabe (later *saligaud*) was one of the most common terms of abuse addressed to Muslims, for indeed dirtiness and poverty (as Ferraoun remarked) go together as stereotypes. Hence also the frequent usage in *pataouète* of Arabic words like *gargaria* (excrement) and *bagali* (filth, rubbish).[77] Here is how a popular satirist and poet depicts 'Algiers — Summer Resort':[78]

> Sordid and stinking Arabs,
> in their native squalor...
> infect the streets of Algiers.
> Lice freely rove around,
> in the tram, on benches and elsewhere.
> Some find this picturesque...
> for others, it's at least grotesque,
> While I find that disgusting.
> Indeed the town is dirty
> full of rubbish, excrement...
> and offensive smells...

Nothing much can be added to this piece of 'poetry', only that while Arabs are blamed for squalor all around, the Casbah is most particularly identified with it and even mosques are associated with stench.[79] Small wonder that 'in the Arab [or Bedouin] manner' sometimes denotes a penchant for squalour.[80] When individual Arabs are depicted, it is their 'dirty burnous' that is highlighted, and the 'funny-and-disgusting' jokes of *Pape-Louette* take as a rule the native (especially the *moutchou*) for hero.[81] *Sale* obviously signifies impurity in the physical sense but has a normal undertone to it, denoting depravity of character which will be discussed under the last two headings: dishonesty and lasciviousness.

Dishonest: In its 19 January 1908 issue, *Papa-Louette* prints the following anecdote about a conversation in the Place du Gouvernement (Algiers) between a 'well-dressed gentleman' and a 'native porter':

The gentleman: Look here! Find me two Arabs who are no thieves to whom I can entrust two bundles of laundry to bring to my house.
The native: Such Arabs are not to be found, sir!

A crude joke, perhaps, yet quite illustrative of *pied noir* humour, peopled by Arab and Kabyl pickpockets, small and big-time thieves, robbers and the omnipresent *ouled-plaça*, suspected of gaining part of their living out of pilfering.[82] The curse, '*grand voleur*!', is reported to have been commonly hurled by European housewives at all kinds of Muslim vendors, particularly the *moutchou*, notorious for his greed.[83] Even during the 1898 riots, when it was the Europeans who were sacking Jewish shops, Cagayous's friends would retort to his reproaches: 'We don't steal. An Arab tried to carry away a roll of cloth and some blouses and we stopped him.'[84] The burden of the proof is thus on the native, that eternal *sarraquer* (thief; a *pataouète* word from the Arab root *saraqa*, to steal; hence also *sarraquage* — theft).[85] As one observer rightly noted about Cagayous: 'Life is too easy for him to bother to steal; and he is all the more reluctant to do so, as this would mean "to resemble the Arabs", that despised race.'[86]

The portrait of Arab dishonesty does not stop at that, its most salient trait: the native is also a 'born liar', a cheat, sly and hypocritical; the main butt of these accusations being those considered by *pied noir* and Arabs alike as the lowest of the low (*asfal al-safilin*) — Mozabite shopkeepers and the errand boys of the Place du Gouvernement.[87]

Lascivious: 'It is difficult to find a *mauresque* who is pure and undefiled, at least not in the Casbah.' This popular dictum — which could be juxtaposed with the *colon* argument about the 'Muslim, this sensualist...the slave of his primary instincts', whose 'sole preoccupation is sex'[88] — sums up this last and probably most tension-laden stereotype. To begin with, the Casbah of Algiers (and Muslim sections in other coastal towns) was indeed the *quartier réservé*, the useful function of which could be truly appreciated only in a period when it was out of bounds (especially for soldiers) because of typhus epidemics, and the European press complained that the *filles de joie* went into the European neighbourhoods, bothered respectable citizens and probably spread 'other contagious diseases'.[89] As the overwhelming majority of these girls were Muslim,[90] *fatmas*, *mauresques* and *mouquères* became more or less synonymous with 'prostitutes' (thereby imply-

ing a propensity among all Muslim women towards this sinful profession).[91] Hence also the euphemisms: *faire la noce avec les mauresques*, *prendre le café avec les mauresques*.[92] Prostitutes were more specifically designated by the Arab words *houris* and *chouarries*, the former a mock-usage of a Koranic term for female creatures of Paradise, the latter, more literal, becoming a common figure of obscene speech among Europeans.[93] *Maison mauresque* likewise became a synonym of *maison de tolérance* and the Arab word, *kif*, which designated pleasure in general, came to stand for this illicit pleasure in particular (as in *faire le kif*).[94] Arab women and old Muslim neighbourhoods like the Casbah were thus surrounded by an aura of a somewhat depraved temptation; an attraction all the greater because of the strict code of modesty governing the behaviour of the traditionally-minded Spanish and Italian immigrants (at least within their community).[95] A popular weekly printed a *roman feuilleton* — in true Eugene Sue style — entitled 'Les Mystères de la Casbah';[96] pornographic postcards featuring all kinds of native women were openly sold and popular songs and lewd jokes celebrated *chouarries* and *fatmas*.[97] Nor were these the only attractions. An 'enjoyable evening' of European males is depicted as beginning with a message by a dark-skinned native at the *bain maure*, continuing with a visit to the 'museum of little women of the Casbah' and ending with a belly-dancers' show.[98] Reminiscences of European adolescence passed in Algiers usually come back to fantasies about 'Casbah women'. 'What fascinated us when coming to stroll there,' writes Paul Achard, 'was that atmosphere where innocence and debauchery intermingled... We enjoyed being enveloped by the coarse glamour of the shameful streets... by the appealing tunes of the guitars... by the alluring dresses and make-up of the girls.' Any Arab woman passing in the very centre of Algiers conjured up in their minds flights of fancy about 'oriental love', which remind one of those entertained by American whites with regard to black female slaves.[99]

The Arab male enjoyed a reputation for complete domination of the female (what Franz Fanon called 'the myth of the native woman as a slave'). The information available about Islamic laws and customs (easy divorce, low age of marriage, the role of money — *le mariage vente*, polygamy), tended to support this concept and supplied a basis for many a bawdy (and admiring?) story.[100] Moreover, in conformity with his image as savage, the Arab male was presented as hypersexed (physiologically and mentally) 'ne

pensant qu'à ça', constantly copulating in and out of marriage (and as we shall see elsewhere, out of his community as well), and possessing a powerful sex appeal (not only in the eyes of Muslim women). The super-virile, grossly obsessed, fornicating Arab male is likewise the object of a number of *chansonnettes arabes* in *pataouète*. As with the image of 'White [American] over Black', the more swarthy his complexion, the more sexually-driven he was supposed to be.[101] Finally, and rather predictably, Arab terms for sexual organs were most commonly used in curses and oaths.[102]

Heterosexuality did not exhaust the stereotype of the libidinous Arab male. He was reputed to have strong homosexual inclinations and, as such, to be dangerous for young children (especially European). Once again, it was the dark-skinned Mozabite who was the favourite object of more than insinuating jokes, especially about the *batta*, Mozabite children who served at the *moutchou* shops.[103] To round off this picture of depravity, where desire and aversion intertwine, the Arab was associated with commerce in 'white slavery' and with hashish smoking.[104]

Broadly speaking, this composite portrait corresponds to the image of the native which has been found to prevail in Saharan Africa, South Africa or the West Indies (as well as to that of the Black in the USA). The same stereotypes recur: immature, exuberant, impulsive, uninhibited, lazy, fun-loving, or aggressive, oversexed, dirty.[105] The difference from most other colonial situations lies in the size of the colonist group which nourished them.

These stereotypes are obviously based, to some extent, on colonial realities (especially under the headings of poverty and squalor and even 'backwardness' if construed in terms of a lower level of literacy, for example). Yet not only were the grains of truth grossly overblown, but a crucial twist was given to them at the interpretative stage. Thus the wretched situation of the native, which was above all due to the colonization and *cantonnement* policy, was presented as innately characteristic of the backward Muslim: lazy, fatalistic, improvident, impure, etc. An analogous pattern can be detected with regard to sexual mores. Some of the evidence was precise (on divorce, dowry and low-age marriage), some was slightly exaggerated (polygamy was legal but infrequent), some was decidedly exaggeraged (on male sexuality and 'white slavery'). But the most salient element, prostitution, while anchored in reality,

was curiously distorted. The Casbah was made into a *quartier réservé* for the commercial and hygienic convenience of the Europeans, was managed (in part) by European entrepreneurs and served a hypocritical European clientele. And, last but not least, nowhere was it mentioned that the 'depraved' religion of Islam forbade prostitution and that girls were driven into this profession not because of innate perversion but by the impoverishment resulting from *l'oeuvre colonisatrice*.

According to this view, the stock characteristics of the inferior group being innate, and hence immutable, its present status is not the result of colonization and it cannot and should not conceivably change in the future. Thus, Arab poverty and destitution are ascribed to backwardness and improvidence; social segregation is supposedly due to discrepancy between 'civilized' and 'savage' mores; spatial segregation is imperative because the Muslim is dirty, smelly, infectious and morally depraved; domination (political and otherwise) is necessary because of the native's propensity to revolt or to have recourse to dishonest means, etc.[106] In brief, the colonial *status quo* is almost a 'natural order', whereas the Algero-European, according to Governor-General Viollette, 'does not concede that the Muslim is a human being equal in essence to himself'.[107]

Perhaps the most far-reaching implication of such a state of mind is that it engenders callous insensitivity to suffering and brutalizes human relations. For at the root of the modern colonial dilemma (unlike sixteenth to eighteenth century colonialism) lies the fact that it was the offshoot of European societies whose (post-1789) ideals and norms stood in stark contradiction to those of the colonial enterprise. It was thus more imperative than ever to 'prove' that the native was a sort of *Untermensch* in order to justify his wretched situation; a situation devoid of liberty and equality and not necessitating any spirit of fraternity on the part of the colonizer.[108] *Colon* children were thus taught that the Arabs, 'who are not people like us', do not really suffer from the poverty they live in and from the epidemics which so often attack them; their needs in housing and dress are less, and on the whole, comparable to those of domestic animals.[109]

Examples of urban *pied noir* insensitivity are legion: thus the *Papa Louette* satirical weekly proposed in 1909 to re-open the Arab theatre in Algiers in order to divert from their misery the 'famished *bicots*' who were flocking to the town from the drought-stricken

countryside and roamed there scratching in the dustbins. The same paper advocated the tearing down of two mosques, those 'malodorous' *bâtisses à prier des bicots*, in order to make room for a new boulevard.[110] Paul Achard describes, bemusedly, the tricks played by European children and urchins at the expense of blind beggars, miserable porters and the like, while Musette's weekly *La Lanterne* has 'comic' street invalids as stock characters in its *tchalifettes* (amusing anecdotes).[111] This callous and self-assured attitude also permeates urban catch-phrases of *colon* vintage, such as *faire suer le burnous* (or in its more blatant version, *niquer le burnous*), meaning to exploit the natives, or to dispossess (someone) completely.[112]

Colonial domination and its major tool — segregation (both social and spatial) — are thus reinforced by the notion of an 'unbridgeable' and 'inherent' gap between the superior, fully human group and the inferior, less than fully human one. Ignorance and other barriers to communication between the two groups helped to bolster this superiority complex.[113] The role of ignorance is particularly evident with regard to Islamic culture. *Pied noir* notions about Islam were confined to externals (main feasts, prohibitions on wine and pork, and above all, customs and laws related to sex).[114] This very ignorance was not fortuitous, proceeding as it did from the view that nothing much of interest could be learnt about the way of thought among that inferior social category, the natives. This basic lack of curiosity may be noted in Cagayous's bemused remarks about tourists, '*ces mecieux* who are so keen on visiting and photographing all kinds of native sites; they insist on viewing the Casbah, each and every ancient gate, each and every old house, nay even each and every donkey'.[115] *Pied noir* lack of curiosity and blissful ignorance about native spiritual culture are set off by their quite detailed — though instrumentally-motivated — knowledge of native material culture to the extent they interacted with it: food, dress, marketplace and workplace objects.

The cavalier disregard for the moral foundation of native society accounts for the lack of *pied noir* effort to learn the native tongue. They even declined, out of sheer contempt and apathy, to pick up the smattering of Arabic they could have profitably used. There existed, of course, a feedback relationship here. Disregard breeds ignorance, which in its turn creates further barriers to communication in an already segregated society and so generates further disregard and disdain. Small wonder that *ulémas*, *muézzins* and

marabouts were pejorative terms in *pataouète*, reflecting, inter alia, *colon* prejudice against the traditional elites (which dated back to the days of the Abd el-Kader rebellion); mosques were termed lice-ridden; the 'Feast of the Immolation' is referred to as 'that Feast, if you can call it feast' and disparaging remarks are made about the pilgrims to Mecca.[116] As the Arab proverb has it: 'He who does not know you has contempt for you.'[117]

Functional analysis runs the risk of presenting a picture which is too static, too stable — in other words, too complacent. The system in question works, it is organically constructed, tensions and contradictions — so far as they exist at all — are absorbed into the system, their edge blunted by compromises and counter-mechanisms. This danger is all the greater in regard to the 1890-1920 period concentrated on here, since that was the 'false apogee' (to borrow J. Berque's term) of French rule in Algeria. Never was the Algerian countryside calmer and more secure. The traditional Muslim élites (*caîds*, *marabouts*, etc.) ceased to be the carriers of the banner of *Jihad* and became subservient collaborators of the Gouvernement-Général. Modern Algerian nationalism was not even in an embryonic phase. Nevertheless, deep-running cross-currents of fear and anxiety can be detected in *pied noir* popular culture. We have noted in passing a few such examples: fear of job competition, of homosexual assaults, of contagious diseases, but it may be rewarding to probe this phenomenon a little further.

The sexual domain — the domain of ultimate intimacy — is the one where such anxieties can be most readily discovered (as the last two examples indicate). The subsuming notion is the native danger to the preservation of colonial hierarchy. As students of interracial relations have found out in other case-studies, such a hierarchized social structure is not really called into question by contact with prostitutes because of the mercenary character of the relationship, and the fact that the natives involved are women (and of a lowly nature and status at that). Such a contact can even be construed as a case in which male and European domination is re-affirmed. On the other hand marriage — even between a European man and a Muslim woman (hypergamy) — creates a danger of loss of status, due in particular to the narrow socio-economic gap between poor Whites and Muslims; and the danger is multiplied considerably

when it is a relationship between a native man and a European woman. The mere existence of an 'ethnic (or colour) line' creates, however, not only aversion but also attraction and temptation, rendered all the more troublesome by the inaccessibility of the veiled, house-bound Arab woman and the relative 'availability' of the more liberated — yet presumably defenceless — European woman.[118] This explains the strand of anxiety running through many *pied noir tchalèfes* (funny or lewd anecdotes). In one such story, a bantering Spanish maidservant is trying to pull Cagayous's leg: 'Your *novia* [fiancée] has run away with an Arab waterdrawer!'; another anecdote appeared in *La Lanterne* in the form of an advertisement: 'Attention please! Ramonette, alias Tonto, diver at the port of [Algiers]. . . wishes to announce to all and sundry and to the banks in particular, that he is no longer responsible for the debts that his wife is liable to contract, since she has fled her *domicile conjugal* with an indigenous coalman'.[119] The combination of low status (native) male of a lowly profession is of course particularly explosive, subverting a social order based on hierarchy and domination (as it was, for instance, in the ante-bellum American South vis-à-vis the slaves).[120] Sexual aggression on the part of Muslim men is the subject of many tales (e.g., Cagayous's meeting with his future wife for the first time when he rescues her from the attack of 'a *bicot* armed with a club),[121] humorous *chansons* in *sabir* (such as one about an Arab who prides himself on his virility as proved by his conquest of 'a girl called Annette')[122] or anecdotes (for example, an Arab trying to touch European women 'inadvertently' during the hurly-burly of a May Day demonstration).[123] 'Fruits of Passion' (in Jordan's words) between an Arab male and a *pied noir* woman are quite often the topic of jokes or insults: The 'social register' in *La Lanterne* features an advertisement in which a certain Madame Louis, a widow, denies the rumour that she has given birth to twins, one black and one white; and Aunt Tonia of Bab el-Oued is looked down on by her neighbours for giving birth to a child 'whose father is an Arab'.[124]

These not-so-funny jokes betray a lot of uneasiness. Without venturing into the slippery ground of psycho-historical analysis, it is evident that it is European domination and superior status which are the issue here. As long as the colonial subject 'knows his place', however, such fears — which reveal a vague notion of the frailty of the colonizer's position — can remain latent and be worked out through safety-valves such as the *tchalèfes*. But what if more open

and direct challenges to domination begin to materialize? As O. Mannoni has put it in his study of Madagascar:

> What is bad about the [colonial subject] is not his physical traits, his 'stupidity', not even his 'depraved' instincts. One is proud to possess big monkeys or dangerous beasts. What is unbearable is that the [native] presents himself as a fully-fledged human being and proves to have a will of his own.[125]

In the quarter of a century preceding the first world war, several pointers in that direction did appear, challenging, however indirectly, *pied noir* conceit. The most unsettling phenomenon was the mass exodus of landless Muslims from the *bled* into the heavily-European coastal towns (Algiers, Oran, Bône, Philippeville, etc.). Algiers could still be dubbed 'a great European city' and the 'fourth town of France',[126] but the proportion of natives, primarily Kabyls, was rising, approaching a quarter of the population, concentrated in the already overpopulated Casbah. The overall European urban population was beginning to be overtaken by Muslim town-dwellers: at the end of the first world war, the respective numbers were 600,000 to 500,000; exact parity (708,000 each) was achieved by 1936.[127] The idea of 'Ici, la France' was further challenged by the alarming statistics propagated by publicists concerning the all-Algerian 'demographic problem': European immigration was coming to a standstill by the turn of the century, the birthrate of the progressively-Frenchified Spanish and Italian immigrants was falling, while the growth rate of the natives (a combination of the high traditional birthrate and the progress of hygiene) was beginning to gallop. In the whole country, the proportion was 600,000 Europeans compared to 4,000,000 Muslims (a ratio of 1:6) at the turn of the century; a little more than 700,000 Europeans as compared to 5,000,000 Muslims (a ratio of 1:7) by the end of the first world war.[128] Numerical ratios, it is well-known, have a virtually magic ring in multi-ethnic societies, closely linked to perceptions of the security of (or challenge to) the dominating race.[129]

Qualitative indicators generated analogous feelings of malaise. The early twentieth century saw the rise of the first generation of Muslim *évolués*, a new and modernized elite, the product of French high schools, Ecoles Normales, and (to a lesser extent) universities; completely assimilated, vying for mid-echelon (and soon upper-echelon) posts and thus tilting the 'ethnic [or racial] line' in a

dangerous manner.[130]

Socio-economic status and ethnic origin were becoming much less congruous than in the past. Moreover, the assimilated *évolués* raised a whole new series of demands, seeking to achieve the *fusion des races* and *droit de cité* that nineteenth century colonialist ideology had promised; an ideology now fallen into disuse in Algeria, and to some extent in metropolitan France as well. The major demands were the extension of French education to Muslims, voting powers (municipal, departmental and ultimately parliamentary), equality in military service. Disquieting shadows began to gather over the complacent horizon of the *pied noirs*.

The alarm and virulence of their reaction are readily perceived, particularly in the recurring sexual symbolism in which it was embodied (even when the matter in hand could hardly relate to that domain of the most sensitive taboos). Thus the hordes of 'frightening and starving natives', Kabyl beggars, ruffians and *yaouleds* (street-children) flowing into the towns, quite plausibly account for the growing preoccupation with the poverty of the natives;[131] yet it is only by a leap of the *pied noir* imagination that the swarming Kabyl peddlers could be considered potential sexual aggressors and jokes told about European housewives who supposedly succumbed to their 'charms'.[132]

The 'fusion of races' with the growing Muslim population became an unsettling propsect. Hence, fusion was presented, in a mock-lecture 'delivered' by a pompous *évolué* to a naive *yaouled*, as the fusion of libidinous Muslim men and coveted European women; universal franchise for the Muslims without renunciation of 'Koranic' personal status (based on the *Shari'a*) was termed a legitimation of polygamy; and granting French education to Muslim girls 'was bound to lead them to prostitution'.[133] If the native was so depraved, it followed that equality superseding domination would inevitably corrupt the *pied noir* society, morally and above all, sexually. A chansonnette about the *fusion des races* describes with a wealth of disgusting details 'proud [Spanish] hidalgos, bantering Neapolitans, squinting Arabs and stinking Mozabites' licking ice-cream from the same cup, indulging in all kinds of promiscuity, with the result that, 'once the Arabs intermingle with the Europeans, all the inhabitants of Algeria will contract syphilis'.[134]

Blatant incongruity of status — or the perceived danger thereof — was bound to breed strong status anxiety. Anxiety was violently

expressed, as in the rage of Cagayous's mother-in-law against the *chaouch* who gives her orders, or in the hero's exasperation ('this is not a *foundouk*!') at finding the Palais de Justice, symbol of French rule, teeming with Muslim litigants and clerks and his evident relief when a 'French judge' passes by and 'rescues' him. Perhaps Cagayous is not all that sure of his inherent superiority; after all he ruefully observes time and time again: '*les bicots sont plus louettes* [clever] *que nous autres*'. Small wonder that he uses this argument *inter alia* in order to explain why one 'should not proceed with the assimilation of the natives'.[135]

The most sensitive topic (i.e. *pied noir* privilege) relating to assimilation was, of course, the franchise. In the story quoted above, *The Muslim Deputy*, Cagayous expresses his disbelief in the mere possibility of such an incongruity of status: a man 'dressed like a *bicot*' coming to sit at the Holy of Holies, the French Parliament, repository of sovereignty and domination. The alleged 'absurdity' of that haunting spectre pushes him to a flight of fantasy, with the inevitable erotic undertones: our hero declares that he too will dress 'like a *bicot*, go to Paris, become a Kabyl pedlar and so amass a fortune playing dirty tricks on those poor slobs, the 'Parisians', who are so easy to manipulate that 'a squalid water-drawer, that we here would never touch with a thirty-foot pole, is the coveted attraction for the rich women [of Paris], those silly geese, who vie with each other in bringing him to their homes...'[136]

The educational and professional implications of assimilation were likewise beginning to be perceived in the persons of the *évolués*, those 'loquacious natives' with their much ridiculed 'doctoral tone'. Their manner of speech was all the more infuriating as their impeccable French had nothing to do with the *sabir* and shamed the *pataouète*, the supposed symbol of superior *pied noir* culture.[137] If, at the working-class level, competition for mid-echelon jobs was barely appearing (among dockers, tramway drivers, railwaymen, etc.), those professions where Muslims had already made their entry at that level witnessed sharp altercations. The attitude of European medical orderlies and judges' clerks has already been noted, and added to it was the blatant antagonism between future European schoolteachers and their fellow Muslim comrades at the (segregated) Ecole Normale of Bourzaréah: racist insults and practical jokes, refusal of contact in sport and at parties, etc.;[138] all these were sure-fire mechanisms to work out status anxieties. For it was not their jobs that those Muslims, designed for

a separate educational system, were liable to take from them but their superiority of culture and status as propagators of the *mission civilisatrice*. In blue-collar work inter-ethnic relations were bound to be worse, inasmuch as jobs were more mixed. The railwaymen, for example, despite their left-wing tendencies, wrote in their newspaper:

> The native belongs to an inferior race...and cannot raise himself through his own efforts to the level of the European...The native is a cheat, dirty, thieving, sly, ungrateful. To do him good is like giving jam to pigs. To injure him is to teach him to become submissive and civilized.[139]

The Army presented yet another threat to the hierarchy: the despised Muslim was granted arms, a measure of status and power over European civilians (in some situations), or, as an NCO, over European soldiers. As early as 1898, the anti-Jewish rioters expressed their stupefaction at having their demonstrations dispersed — pinnacle of humiliation — by the *turcos*, the Muslim fusiliers; forced to obey the latter, they took revenge by ridiculing their *sabir*.[140] If the Muslims are given arms, it was argued, they might revolt or, alternatively but not very logically, they might become French citizens and voters.[141] Once again, the almost ineluctable note of sexual jealousy crept in: during the first world war, *pied noir* soldiers in military hospitals would protest at the 'excessive solicitude' shown by the 'naive' French nurses towards wounded Muslim fellow-soldiers.[142]

The ultimate nightmare, native insurrection, is barely evoked in the popular culture bred by the secure urban setting of pre-second world war Algeria. Cagayous even mocked the isolated *colons* of the countryside with their ever-present musket and deep sense of physical insecurity.[143] City-dwellers like Albert Crémieux, a former trade union activist who conjured up this spectre, were rare indeed. In his novel, *Le Grand Soir*, he depicts a Muslim uprising in Algiers in which 'all the hatred accumulated for over a century explodes in terrible savagery and vandalism'. Fanatic Arab mobs run amok, setting the town on fire, massacring the Europeans and pillaging their houses, before being crushed and massacred in their turn by French troops.[144]

This was in 1929, a year before the centenary celebration, the apotheosis of French colonialism. Colonial conceit and complacency were still, on the whole, maintained. It was only with the Muslim

jacquerie of May 1945 that the simmering anxieties and nightmares erupted in full violence.

NOTES

1. The first feuilletons, later to be assembled in *Pochades Algériennes* (Algiers 1895), appeared in the weekly *Le Turco* in 1891-92 (according to the author's letter to *Papa-Louette*, 4 April 1909). The last publication is *Cagayous Poilu* (Algiers 1920).

2. G. Audisio, Introduction to *Cagayous: ses Meilleures Histoires* (Paris 1931), 8. (This includes a very useful section on the language of Cagayous.) On Musette and his work, ibid., 8; P. Mille, 'Quand Panurge Resuscita' in *Cahiers de la Quinzaine* IX/16 (30 June 1908), 146-56; idem, 'L'Illustre Cagayous' in *Nouvelles Littéraires*, 19 April 1930, 68-72; and A. Dupuy, 'Les Enfances de Cagayous' in *Journal des Instituteurs de l'Afrique de Nord* (1947), No. 5, 66-67, 79.

3. In addition to the collections mentioned in notes 1 and 2, the major Cagayous books (all published in Algiers) are: *Les Amours de Cagayous* (1896); *Cagayous Antijuif* (1898); *La Sortie de Barberousse* (1898); *Cagayous à la Caserne* (1899); *Cagayous à l'Exposition*; *La Lanterne de Cagayous* (newspaper, June-September 1901); *Cagayous Partout* (1905); *Cagayous au Miracle* (1905); *Cagayous à la Fête* (1905); *Cagayous à la Course* (1905); *Cagayous Philosophe* (1906); *Le Mariage de Cagayous* (1906); *Le Divorce de Cagayous* (1906); *Coups de Tête* (1907); *Cagayous Aviateur* (1909); *Cagayous Chauffeur* (1909): to which should be added occasional feuilletons in *La Dépêche Algérienne, Les Nouvelles, L'Illustration Algérienne*.

For data on distribution and sales, see the P. Mille articles as well as indications interspersed in the numerous collections of brochures (esp. *Les Amours de Cagayous*) and in *Papa-Louette*, 3 July 1909. According to Audisio (Introduction, 15), one such brochure sold 12,000 copies on one day.

4. *Le Mariage de Cagayous* (2nd edn., 1924, 3rd edn., 1949); *Les Amours de Cagayous* (2nd edn., 1949); *Cagayous à la Caserne* (2nd edn., 1950); *Cagayous à la Mer* (anthology of earlier pieces) (1952); The 1949-1952 editions were part of *Les Oeuvres de Cagayous* published by Baconnier, Algiers (in the *Méditerranée Vivante* series). On the Audisio anthology, see note 2.

5. Introduction (signed: Fly) to *Les Amours de Cagayous*, 16-17; *Le Mariage de Cagayous* (1906), fasc. 1, 4.

6. P. Achard, *Salaouetches* (2nd edn., Paris 1972), 239. Audisio, Introduction to op. cit., 8 (note 1).

7. E.-F. Gautier, *Un Siècle de Colonisation* (Paris 1930), 113-22. Audisio, op. cit., 14.

8. J. Pomier, 'Situation de Cagayous Type Populaire Algérois' in *Afrique* (January 1954), 7-15. For the same conclusion, on a purely linguistic basis, see the Dupuy article (1948) quoted infra note 18.

9. The series *Et Alors? Et Oilà*, published by Ed. Balland, is directed by the well-known journalist R. Bacri of *Le Canard Enchaîné* fame, himself the author of a book of childhood memoirs bearing the name of the series and a *pataouète* tongue-in-cheek dictionary, *Le Roro de Bab el-Oued* (Paris 1969). Other books published are the Audisio anthology and works by E. Brua and P. Achard. For plays,

cf., e.g., A.-P. Lentin, 'Le Cid, Pataouète et Rapatrié', *Jeune Afrique*, 23 March 1964.

10. Audisio, Introduction, op. cit., 8; Gautier, op. cit., 121.

11. This weekly appeared for eight consecutive years (1906-14) and had a circulation of *ca.* 12,000. Other weeklies perused were: *Le Cochon, La Cravache, Le Diable à Quatre, Le Cocu Algérien* (all from the years 1898-1912).

12. The most comprehensive study is A. Lanly, *Le Français de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris 1962). See also idem, 'Notes sur le Français de l'Afrique du Nord' in *Le Français Moderne,* July 1955, 197-211; P. Pérégo, 'Quelques remarques à propos du français parlé en Algérie' in *Le Pensée* (1955), 90-95; G. Audisio, 'Essai sur le Langage de Cagayous' in op. cit., 17-40; Audisio, 'Lexique' in ibid., 251-65; A. Dupuy, 'Le Français d'Afrique du Nord' in *Vie et Langage*, 94 (1960), 2-11; *Révolution Africaine* No. 110, 6 March 1965 (article signed A.M.); ibid., No. 111, 13 March 1965 (signed M. Bourboune). On a comparative basis see for the Algerian Muslims: L. Brunot, 'Sabirs' in *Journal des Instituteurs d'Afrique du Nord* (April 1948); M. Hadj Sadok 'Dialects Arabes et Francisation Linguistique, en Algérie', in *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales* (Algiers 1955), 61-97, Cf., E. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen* (Stanford 1976), Chapter 6.

13. E. Brua, *Fables Bônoises* (Algiers 1938); idem, *La Parodie du Cid* (Algiers 1941); idem, *Les Fables de Kaddour* (Paris 1972); A. Dupuy, *Fables en Sabir* (Algiers 1947); R. Bacri, *Le Roro; Les Sabirs de Kaddour ben Nitram* (Tunis 1952).

14. L. Bertrand, *Pépète le Bien Aimé* (Paris 1904, 2nd edn. renamed *Pépète et Balthazar*, Paris 1920); J. Pelegri, *Les Oliviers de la Justice* (Paris 1958); H. Kréa, *Djamal* (Paris 1961); L. Lecoq, *Pascalouète l'Algérien* (Paris 1934); F. Duchêne, *Mouna, Cachir et Couscous* (Paris 1930); L. Favre, *Bab el-Oued* (Paris 1946); idem, *Dans le Casbah* (Paris 1937); A. Memmi, ed., *Anthologie des Écrivains Français du Maghreb* (Paris 1964). Works by R. Randau and J. Pomier are not cited here because they were too vehemently addicted to 'Algerianist-Latinist' propaganda. For memoirs, see H. Klein, *Feuillets d'El-Djézaîr* (Algiers 1921); Achard, op. cit.; R. Bacri, *Et Alors? Et Oilà!* (1968); cf. M. Baroli, *La Vie Quotidienne des Français de l'Algérie (1830-1914)* (Paris 1967).

15. E. Ayer, *Motor Flight Through Algeria* (New York 1913); M. D. Stott, *The real Algeria* (London 1914).

16. Particularly useful were W. D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro (1550-1812)* (Chapel Hill 1968); G. S. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Boston 1954); O. Mannoni, *Psychologie de la Colonisation* (Paris 1950); P. H. Maucorps and others, *Les Français et le Racisme* (Paris 1965); P. Van den Berghe, *Racism and Ethnicity* (New York 1970); M. Banton, *Race Relations* (New York 1967). Many insights can also be gained from T. Zeldin, *France (1848-1945)*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1973, 1977).

17. *Le Divorce de Cagayous*, 34; cf. J. Roy in *L'Express*, 29 September 1960 (memories of childhood).

18. Kabyls are sometimes mentioned as a sub-category of '*les arabes*' or '*les indigènes*': *Papa-Louette*, 21 May 1911, 1 August 1914; Achard, op. cit., 75; *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 1, 16; ibid., No. 11, 9; No. 13, 7; *Le Mariage de Cagayous*, 147; *Cagayous: ses Meuilleures Histoires*, 95.

19. Quoted by Ch.-R. Ageron, *Les Algériens Musulmans et la France* (Paris 1968), 52, cf. 47ff., 576-77; 874ff, 990-97.

20. E.g., *Le Mariage de Cagayous*, 15; *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 3, 12, 15;

No. 6, 12; No. 11, 9; *Le Divorce,* 8, 174. Achard, op. cit., 82, 91; *Cagayous Antijuif*, 134; *Cagayous à la Caserne* (2nd edn.), 20, 89, 106. Achard, op. cit. (2nd edn.), 244. *Papa-Louette*, 4 and 11 August 1907; 15 November 1908; 13 December 1908; 30 October 1910.

21. *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 2, 9; Achard, op. cit. (2nd edn.), 9, 39, 78, 87, 246, 280; Lanly, op. cit., 51. P. Nora, op. cit., 128; Brua, *Fables*, 45.

22. *Cagayous: le Divorce,* 31, 'Moutchou' is pidgin Arabic used in a pejorative sense (v. Audisio, 'Lexique', 260).

23. *Cagayous: ses Meilleures Histoires*, 52; *Cagayous Antijuif*, 157, 159. *Papa-Louette*, 4 and 18 August 1907; 24 November 1907; 14 March 1909; 1 and 24 October 1909; 19 March 1911. Achard, op. cit., 86; Bacri, *Et Alors? Et Oilà!*, 45; Bacri, *Roro*, 13, 78, 84; Lanly, op. cit., 42 (note 5).

24. Allport, op. cit., 1955, 181.

25. But note '*l'arabe chaousse*' mentioned above, 'le médecin arabe' (*La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 10, 8; No. 13, 15).

26. Lanly, op. cit., 52-53. Bacri, op. cit., 127; Lentin, op. cit., 39. See in *colon* press: *Dépêche Algérienne*, 9 May 1924 (letter from Algiers' voters). For similar use of the adjective 'African' in Sub-Saharan Africa, see Banton, op. cit., 253; *Le Divorce de Cagayous*, 197; *Cagayous: ses Meilleures Histoires*, 68 (note 5); *Cagayous à la Caserne* (2nd edn.), 20, 89, 125; *Les Amours de Cagayous*, 29, 71.

27. See the study of these report cards (dating from the turn of the century and preserved in the school's archives) in F. Colonna, *Instituteurs Algériens (1883-1939)*, 163, 165, 172.

28. See the glossaries appended to *Cagayous: ses Meilleures Histoires*, and Brua, *Fables*; cf. Lanly, op. cit., 51, 52.

29. For the origins of this term — a diminutive of *arab(icots)* — Lanly, 51 (note 5); cf. *Cagayous Antijuif*, 143; *Le Divorce de Cagayous*, 175. *Cagayous à la Caserne* (2nd edn.), 150; *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 3, 12; No. 6, 5, 8; *Papa-Louette*, 25 October 1908; 15 November 1908; Brua, *Fables*, 39-40; Bertrand, *Pépète et Balthazar*, 155, 282; Achard, op. cit., 38. For use by *colon* press see *Dépêche Algérienne*, 5 November 1907. For use by Muslim notables (protesting against their inferior status) v. Ageron, op. cit., 1,089.

30. *Papa-Louette*, 24 November 1907; 5 August 1910, 2 October 1910, 1 November 1910, 21 December 1912, 9 August 1913; Brua, op. cit., 40, 57; J. Roy in *L'Express*, 29 September 1960 (on usage by *colons* in the countryside); Achard, op. cit., 63, 83.

31. Brua, op. cit., 40, 44; Colonna, op. cit., 177; J. Roy, *La Guerre d'Algérie* (Paris 1960), passim; Lanly, op. cit., 177. The term *bougnoul* (fritter), which is of military origin, was used in a derogatory sense to designate the natives in Indo-China and West Africa.

32. Ibid., 217 (note 1).

33. J. Soustelle, *Aimée et Souffrante Algérie* (Paris 1956); J. Massu, *La Vraie Bataille d'Alger* (Paris 1917).

34. *Nous, Algériens* (Paris 1958), 54. For his own campaign against 'abusive terminologies' see the Manifesto of the Intergroupe des Libéraux, which he founded (May 1951), reproduced ibid., 109.

35. Cf. Van den Berghe, 42-46.

36. Lanly, op. cit., 192. Cf. the South African 'baas'.

37. *Journal (1955-1962)* (Paris 1962), 45.

38. Weber, op. cit., 87; *Le Diable à Quatre*, passim; *Papa-Louette* 27 January 1907; 18 September 1907; 1 September 1907; 22 March 1908; 13 December 1908; 11 July 1909; 16 and 23 October 1910; 13 May 1913; 11 October 1913; 1 and 8 November 1913; 1 August 1914; *Cagayous Antijuif*, 71; Achard, op. cit., 228. On the *sabir*, see article by Brunot (note 12).

39. Achard, op. cit., 16, 27, 33, 71, 90, 163, 240, 248. On pidgin in other colonial situations, v. A. Burgess in *The Times Literary Supplement* 25 November 1977.

40. See Brua, whose *La Parodie du Cid* and *Les Fables de Kaddour* (supra note 9) were republished by Balland as a *pied noir* classic. Cf. *Fables en Sabir* (Algiers n.d. but before 1954); *Les Sabirs de Kaddour ben Nitram* (Tunis 1952).

41. Audisio, 'Lexique', 260; Achard. op. cit., 248; *Papa-Louette*, 11 July 1909. The *moutchou* is a recurrent comic figure in *pied noir* lore; see, e.g., *Le Mariage de Cagayous*, 180; Achard, 131, *Papa-Louette*, 1 September 1970. *Le Divorce de Cagayous*, 18, 134.

42. *Cagayous Antijuif*, 157-61; *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 6, 4-5; No. 14, 11; *Cagayous: ses Meilleures Histoires*, 79, 81, 95; Achard, op. cit., 9; idem, *L'homme de la mer* (Paris 1931), 107; *Cagayous au Miracle*, 3; *Cagayous à la Caserne*, 92.

43. *Le Divorce de Cagayous*, 59, 66, 72; *Le Mariage de Cagayous*, 171. *Les Amours de Cagayous* (2nd edn.), 129; Dupuy 'Les Enfances de Cagayous', 67. Cf. N. Zemon-Davies, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford 1975) on sexual role-reversal.

44. *Cagayous Antijuif*, 143-44. The *pataouète* term *mecieu* usually designated metropolitan Frenchmen.

45. A. Nouschi, 'Le sens de quelques chiffres: Croissance urbaine et vie politique en Algérie (1926-1936)', in *Etudes Maghrébines, Mélanges Ch.-A. Julien* (Paris 1964), 199ff.

46. Duchêne, *Mouna, Cachir et Coucous*, 202-09; Achard, *Salaouètches* (2nd edn.), 26, 248; Hadj-Sadok, art. cit., 91 (on the term *Wlad el-Blasa*, reborrowed by North African French from the *pataouète*); *Papa-Louette*, 11 July 1909; *Le Mariage de Cagayous*, 118; *Cagayous Antijuif*, 145; *Cagayous à la Fete*, 15; Lanly, op. cit., 72-73.

47. *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 2, 15, No. 3, 15, No. 6, 12, No. 11, 8-9, No. 13, 5; *Le Mariage de Cagayous*, 118; *Le Divorce de Cagayous*, 134, 171; Lucas and Vatin, op. cit., Audisio, 'Lexique', 260; *Papa-Louette*, 25 October 1908; *Papa-Louette*, 21 May 1911.

48. *Le Divorce de Cagayous*, 169, 177; Lanly, op. cit., 72-73, 192 (in the countryside, *Chaouch* signifies foreman); Baroli, op. cit., 182. The upper classes and part of the upwardly mobile bourgeoisie continued to employ European girls (of Spanish origin), cf. *Les Amours de Cagayous*, 108-09; *Cagayous à la Caserne*, 44, 110, 143; *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 13, 11.

49. Ageron, op. cit., 849 (and notes 4, 5); Hadj-Sadok, art. cit., 76 (*garçon* in North African Arabic denotes the servant of a *European*).

50. See *Papa-Louette*, 20 November 1911; *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 10, 8; No. 11, 14, No. 13, 15, No. 14, 9. *Les Amours de Cagayous* (2nd edn.), 11; *Le Mariage de Cagayous*, 69; *Cagayous au Miracle*, 7, 14; *Cagayous à la Caserne*, 43, 125; Bacri, op. cit., 23-24. On the Casbah, see infra.

51. Lanly, op. cit., 66-68.

52. *Cagayous: ses Meilleures Histoires*, 60, 68, 83; *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No.

10, 5; *Cagayous Antijuif*, 10; *Le Mariage de Cagayous*, 213. *Papa-Louette*, 30 April 1911; *Cagayous à la Caserne*, 132; *Pépéte et Balthazar*, 128, 208, 267, 353.

53. *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 2, 9.

54. *Pépète et Balthazar*, 155.

55. Residential segregation was best described by urban geographers such as: R. Lespès, *Alger, Ètude de Géographie et d'Histoire Urbaine* (Paris 1930); E. F. Gautier, op. cit.; J. Pelletier, *Alger 1955: Essai d'une Géographie Sociale* (Paris 1959).

56. On the socio-economic structure of the Muslim and European communities see A. Nouschi, *Naissance du Nationalisme Algérien* (Paris 1962), 34-35; S. Amin, *L'Économie du Maghreb* (Paris 1966), 145-53; R. Barbé, 'Classes Sociales en Algérie', in *Économie et Politique*, 62-63, September-October 1959, cf. Ferraoun, quoted supra.

57. Lanly, op. cit., 192; Baroli, op. cit., 123.

58. Hadj-Sadok, art. cit., 74. Only six words came from industrial work, cf. ibid., 65.

59. Lanly, op. cit., 90-92. They could be used — but only jocularly — among Europeans.

60. *Cagayous à la Caserne*, 67; *Cagayous Antijuif*, 20.

61. *Le Divorce de Cagayous*, 168-79.

62. Cf., e.g., Ageron, op. cit., 132.

63. Ibid., 814; Lanly, op. cit., 49, 59, 64-70, 71; *Le Divorce de Cagayous*, 34; Duchêne, op. cit., 127. *Douar* was also later employed for 'shantytown'.

64. Weber, op. cit.; Ch. Bonn, *La Littérature Algérienne de Langue Française* (Ottawa 1974), Part I; Pelegri, op. cit., passim.

65. Allport, op. cit., 191, 7.

66. E.g., *Papa-Louette*, 4 August 1907; 18 August 1907; 8 November 1908; *Cagayous à la Caserne*, 27, 89; *Le Divorce de Cagayous*, 31; Brua, *Fables*, 57; *Demain* (Socialist), 18 September 1920. *Pied noir* counter-terrorism in the 1950s resorted to the same cliché: a menacing postcard sent to an FLN agent calls him 'ancien sauvage du bled arabe' (J. Coersten, *The Red Hand* [London 1962]. Cf. R.-J. Clot, *Empreintes dans le sel* (Paris 1950), 21-25.

67. *Papa-Louette*, 13 December 1908; 21 December 1912; 13 October 1913; 1 November 1913; 8 November 1913.

68. E.g., ibid., 27 January 1907, cf. Weber, op. cit., ch. 6.

69. Lanly, op. cit., 56; *Cagayous Antijuif*, 144.

70. Musette, 'Cagayous Indigné', in *Les Nouvelles* quoted in *Papa-Louette*, 29 September 1907.

71. Hadj-Sadok, art. cit., 65, 67.

72. *Papa-Louette*, 9 May 1914; *Cagayous Antijuif*, 159; *Cagayous à la Course*, 12, 16; *Cagayous: ses Meilleures Histoires*, 118, 125; *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 13, 4; *Le Divorce de Cagayous*, 34, 87.

73. Loc. cit.

74. Lanly, op. cit., 76, 103, 105, 259; *Papa-Louette*, 20 June 1909; *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 3, 12, 13.

75. Ibid., No. 1, 2.

76. Ibid, No. 1, 15; No. 4, 12; No. 14, 11; *Cagayous au Miracle*, 3; *Cagayous à la Caserne*, 106.

77. Achard, op. cit., 82; *Papa-Louette*, 27 January 1907; 24 January 1909; 22

May 1910; *Cagayous: ses Meilleures Histoires*, 52-53, 95; Audisio, 'Lexique', 257, 262. Lanly, op. cit., 107; *Cagayous Antijuif*, 158; P.-H. Maucorps, op. cit., 156 (and note 1).

78. *Papa-Louette*, 29 August 1909.

79. Ibid., 3 June 1909; 30 October 1910; *Cagayous: ses Meilleures Histoires*, 52; *Cagayous Antijuif*, 158-60; cf. Bertrand, *Pépète*, 259.

80. *Cagayous à la Caserne*, 27, 67, 89; *Les Amours de Cagayous*, 71; *Cagayous Antijuif*, 37. On the association of filth with savagery, cf. Weber, op. cit., ch. 1.

81. *Papa-Louette*, 3 November 1907; 24 January 1909; 28 March 1909; 10 May 1913.

82. Cf. ibid., 4 August 1907; 11 July 1909; Brua, *Fables*, 44; *Cagayous à la Caserne*, 150; *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 11, 9.

83. Achard, op. cit., 79, 83, 131, 246; Brua, op. cit., 43.

84. *Cagayous Antijuif*, 40.

85. Achard, op. cit., 78; *Papa-Louette*, 4 August 1907; 23 May 1909; Lanly, op. cit., 105, 119.

86. Audisio, 'Introduction', 10.

87. *Papa-Louette*, 2 February 1908; Colonna, op. cit., 246; Achard, op. cit., 27; *Le Mariage de Cagayous*, 118, cf. P. H. Maucorps, op. cit., 156; Ageron, op. cit., 560 (note 4). The *moutchous* were aptly defined as 'the Jews of the Arabs' (Achard, *L'Homme de la mer*, 107). Cf. N.A. Stillman, 'Muslims and Jews in Morocco', in *The Jerusalem Quarterly 5* (1977), 78.

88. *Papa-Louette*, 14 March 1909; *Le Radical*, 16 February 1896; M. Vivarez, *Transmutations Algériennes* (Algiers 1891), 20.

89. *Papa-Louette*, 23 July 1909; 10 October 1909; Saadia and Lakhdar, *L'aliénation et la résistance de la famille algérienne* (Lausanne 1961), 121, 125; Achard, op. cit., 48, 60; 'A la Casbah', in *Cagayous Antijuif*, 157ff; Achard, op. cit., 241; Bacri, op. cit., 53-54.

90. Baroli, op. cit., 182; Saadia and Lakhdar, op. cit., 124-25; Achard, op. cit., 59; *Papa-Louette*, 10 October 1909.

91. *Papa-Louette*, 4 August 1907; 7 March 1909; 10 January 1909; 29 August 1909; 24 October 1909; 19 March 1911; 1 August 1914; *Cagayous Antijuif*, 159; *Cagayous à la Caserne*, 136; Achard, op. cit., 232.

92. *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 2, 9; *Cagayous à la Caserne*, 41, 136; *Cagayous à la Fête*, 6; *Cagayous Antijuif*, 51.

93. *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 2, 8, No. 11, 4; *Cagayous Antijuif*, 53; *Le Divorce de Cagayous*, 17; *Cagayous à la Caserne*, 14, 144; *Le Mariage de Cagayous*, 42, 48, 150, 170; *Papa-Louette*, 18 August 1907; 10 October 1909; Lanly, op. cit., 102, 103; Achard, op. cit., 241.

94. Audisio, 'Lexique', 258, 264; *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 6, 16, No. 7, 13; *Les Amours de Cagayous*, 143, 146; *Cagayous à la Caserne*, 21. It should be noted that Maghribi dialects absorbed French words like *putana* (*putain*), *bordîl* (*bordel*) and *fîzît* (*visite*, medical inspection of prostitutes); cf. Hadj-Sadok, art. cit., 89, 92; *Papa-Louette*, 11 July 1909.

95. Cf., e.g., *Les Amours de Cagayous*, 29, 100, 110, 125; *Le Mariage de Cagayous*, 112; *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 2, 9.

96. *Papa-Louette*, 19 September 1909 to 14 November 1909. Cf. the series of stories, à la Maupassant, about Arab women, ibid., 26 January 1908; 2 and 9 February 1909; and cf. ibid., 18 September 1907.

97. Saadia and Lakhdar, op. cit., 125; *Le Divorce de Cagayous*, 125; *Cagayous Antijuif,* 77; Achard, op. cit., 230-31, 241. *Papa-Louette,* 18 August 1907, 10 January 1909, 9 February 1908, 12 August 1912.

98. Ibid., 25 October 1913. On belly-dancers, cf. also ibid., 23 April 1911. *Cagayous à la Caserne*, 92; Achard, op. cit., 229.

99. Ibid., 48, 60 (Algiers *ca.* 1900); and v. Bacri, op. cit., 23-24 (Algiers *ca.* 1942); cf. Bertrand, *Pépète*, 157-59 (describing Algiers *ca.* 1900); W. D. Jordan, op. cit., 138, 144ff.

100. Van den Berghe, op. cit., 24, 30f.; O. Mannoni, op. cit., 109, 115; Jordan, op. cit., esp. part I; Banton, op. cit., 155, 185.

101. *Papa-Louette*, 4 August 1907, 23 May 1909, 24 October 1909, 5 December 1909; Achard, op. cit., 45-48. Cf. Ageron, op. cit., 45 (note 5); A. Bertrand, *L'Algérie* (Paris 1929), 88; F. Fanon, *An V de la Révolution Algérienne* (Paris 1959), 53; and the 1871 text of Pomel quoted by Lucas and Vatin, *L'Algérie des Anthropologues* (Paris 1975), 130.

102. *Papa-Louette*, 1 August 1914; 'Aventure arabe', 4 August 1907 and 7 March 1909; 'Noce Arabe', 23 July 1909; 'chansonnette arabe', in ibid., 19 March 1911; ibid., 15 August 1910. On the relationship 'Dark = (sexually) Evil' see Jordan, op. cit., 32ff, 143, and cf. the fascination with *Oulad Naïl* (*Naïlia*), the dark-skinned Muslim women from the Sahara (*Cagayous à la Caserne*, 92; *Cagayous Antijuif*, 160; Saadia and Lakhdar, op. cit., 121; *Papa-Louette*, 9 February 1908, 12 December 1909).

103. Audisio, 'Essai', 27; idem., 'Lexique', 258, 263; Lanly, op. cit., 95, 101; Bacri, *Roro*, 42; *Papa-Louette*, October 25, 1908; 1 August 1914.

104. Achard, op. cit., 52, 57; Audisio, op. cit., 258.

105. *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 3, 6-7; Achard, op. cit., 26; Saadia and Lakhdar, op. cit., 121. Cf. E. Morin, *Rumour in Orleans* (New York 1971).

106. Maucorps, op. cit., 78-102; Banton, op. cit., 270, 315-16, 324; Mannoni, op. cit., 118; Van den Berghe, op. cit., 46; Cf. the examples of *colon* lore in Ageron, op. cit., 47, 556, 576, 760, 968, 972, 1,084.

107. *Journal Officiel, Débats, Sénat* (1935), 347; cf. Hugonnet, *Souvenirs d'un Chef de Bureau Arabe* (Paris 1858), 70.

108. Cf. Van den Berghe, 25, 28. Consciousness of this contradiction was sometimes clearly formulated at the elites' level (e.g., by the Algiers prefect Lutaud, quoted by Ageron, op. cit., 1,000, 1,107).

109. J. Roy's childhood recollections in *L'Express*, 29 September 1962. Cf. Ageron, op. cit., 53, 999.

110. 20 June 1909; 30 October 1910.

111. Achard, op. cit., 11-12; *Cagayous au Miracle*, 3; *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 3, 12, No. 13, 5, No. 14, 11.

112. Lanly, op. cit., 102; Ageron, op. cit., 639; Bacri, *Roro*, 33. *Niquer*, of course, introduces a sexual undertone into the notion of domination.

113. Cf. Allport, op. cit., 226; Mannoni, op. cit., 311.

114. E.g., Achard, op. cit., 84; *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 5, 7; *Le Mariage de Cagayous*, 19; *Cagayous à La Caserne*, 67; *Papa-Louette*, 13 October 1907.

115. *Cagayous à la Fête*, 6, 15.

116. E.g., *Papa-Louette*, 13 October 1907; 15 August 1909; 30 October 1910. *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 3, 12; *Cagayous Antijuif*, 144. Note the derogatory use of *houris*. For *colon* attitudes of M. Kaddache, *La vie politique à Alger (1919-1939)*

(Algiers 1970), 92; Ageron, op. cit., ch. 11.

117. Stillman, art. cit., 83.

118. Cf. Mannoni, op. cit., 109 (note 1), 113; Banton, op. cit., 107, 150; cf. Nora, op. cit., 174ff; A.-P. Lentin, *Le dernier Quart d'Heure* (Paris 1963), 38-39; on Muslim reaction cf. H. Kréa, *Djamal*, 68, 80-81, 88, 111, 115-16.

119. *Les Amours de Cagayous*, 108; *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 2, 15.

120. Jordan, op. cit., 139, 158.

121. *Le Mariage de Cagayous,* 10, 15.

122. *Papa-Louette*, 4 August 1907.

123. *Le Divorce de Cagayous*, 174-75.

124. *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 4, 9; *Le Mariage de Cagayous*, 50, Cf. on Mulattoes, Jordan, op. cit., 154ff., 167ff.

125. Mannoni, op. cit., 115; cf. Van den Berghe, op. cit., 24.

126. Gautier, *Un Siècle de Colonisation*, 245; *Bulletin mensuel de l'Afrique Française* (1930), 299.

127. Gautier, *Un Siècle*, 243-54; Nouschi, 'Le sens de qqs. chiffres', 200ff.; idem, *Naissance*, 34; Kaddache, op. cit., 127. The preponderance of Kabyls in Algiers explains why no distinction was made in their favour by *pied noir* urban-dwellers.

128. Nouschi, *Naissance*, ch. 2; V. Demontès, *Le Peuple Algérien: Essais de Démographie Algérienne* (Algiers, 1906); Gautier, op. cit., 91-92; R. Lespès, *Pour comprendre l'Algérie* (Algiers, 1937), 31.

129. Jordan, op. cit., 141-43; Allport, op. cit., 227-28.

130. B. Saadallah, 'The Rise of the Algerian Elite 1900-1914', in *Journal of Modern African Studies I* (1967), 1-11; J.-C. Vatin, *L'Algérie Politique: Histoire et Société* (Paris 1974), 126-36, 144-54.

131. *La Lanterne Algérienne*, 21 July 1898; *Papa-Louette*, 3 June 1909; 20 June 1909; Ageron, op. cit., 576, 808, 849, 885; Kaddache, op. cit., 127.

132. *Papa-Louette*, 1 March 1913; cf. 21 May 1911.

133. Ibid., 13 December 1908; A. Bernard, *L'Algérie* (Paris 1929), 88; Ageron, op. cit., 535; V. Confer, *France and Algeria* (Syracuse 1966), 14.

134. *Papa-Louette*, 18 August 1901.

135. *La Lanterne de Cagayous*, No. 3, 7; cf. No. 7, 3.

136. 'Le Député musulman' in *Cagayous Antijuif*, 145.

137. Ageron, op. cit., 1,049; *Papa-Louette*, 13 December 1908.

138. See interviews with former students conducted by Colonna, op. cit., 136-39, 144, 177, 190.

139. *Le Cheminot Algerien,* 1 April 1928.

140. *Cagayous/Antijuif,* 69-71, 233-34.

141. *Papa-Louette,* 1 November 1908.

142. Soldiers' letters quoted by Ageron, op. cit., 1,187-88. The same fears were generated by the mobilization of Muslim workers for the military industry in France during these years (ibid., 1,158, note 1).

143. *La Lanterne de Cagayous,* No. 1, 6.

144. A. Crémieux, *Le Grand Soir* (Paris 1929), 212ff.

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