

The Political Conflict Between Settlers and Arab Offices and Its Impact on Colonization Policy in Algeria

الصراع السياسي بين المستوطنين والمكاتب العربية وأثره على سياسة الاستعمار في الجزائر

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Abstract

This study aims to examine the dynamics of the intense conflict between the settlers and the officers of the Arab bureaus, and the extent to which the settlers succeeded in realizing the French colonial policy, especially after the adoption of civilian rule as a means of tightening their control over Algeria. The study clarifies the developments of this conflict, its origins, and its impact on the colonial settlement movement in Algeria, addressing it as the main issue.

In conclusion, the study emphasizes that this conflict reflects the severe political crisis at the top of the power hierarchy between the military and civilian systems, which caused it to trickle down from the top to the grassroots level. Ultimately, the political advantage favored the settlers, due to their financial, political, and media support, enabling them to emerge victorious from this conflict and qualify to lead the machinery of governance and administration in Algeria in service of the French colonial agenda, which aimed to dismantle Algeria as a land and a people.

Keywords: conflict; political; settlement; settlers; Arab bureaus.

المخلص: تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى دراسة ديناميكيات الصراع الحاد بين المستوطنين ومسؤولي المكاتب العربية، ومدى نجاح المستوطنين في تحقيق السياسة الاستعمارية الفرنسية، لا سيما بعد اعتماد الحكم المدني كوسيلة لإحكام سيطرتهم على الجزائر. وتوضح الدراسة تطورات هذا الصراع وجذوره وأثره على حركة الاستيطان الاستعماري في الجزائر، متخذة إياه القضية الرئيسية.

وفي الختام، تؤكد الدراسة على أن هذا الصراع يعكس أزمة سياسية حادة في قمة هرم السلطة بين النظامين العسكري والمدني، مما أدى إلى تسريه من القمة إلى القاعدة الشعبية. وفي نهاية المطاف، كان التفوق السياسي لصالح المستوطنين، بفضل دعمهم المالي والسياسي والإعلامي، مما مكّنهم من الخروج منتصرين من هذا الصراع، والتأهل لقيادة جهاز الحكم والإدارة في الجزائر خدمةً للأجندة الاستعمارية الفرنسية، التي هدفت إلى تفكيك الجزائر أرضاً وشعباً. **كلمات مفتاحية:** الصراع؛ السياسي؛ الاستيطان؛ المستوطنون؛ المكاتب العربية.

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1. INTRODUCTION:

The transition from military to civilian rule involved numerous political, economic, and social shifts that influenced French decision-making in managing its colonies. The French administration in Algeria was a direct reflection of these changes, driven by the aim of achieving complete control over Algeria to serve French interests.

Initially, the military approach, which supported the authority of the Arab bureaus, appeared to be the primary method to implement this policy in response to the growing popular resistance of the Algerian nation. The Arab bureaus functioned as foundational institutions designed to control the Algerian population, and due to their importance, most were assigned to elite French commanders, who saw these positions as a bridge to higher ranks within the French army.

Since the Arab bureaus played a key role in linking Algerians to the French administration, their leaders deemed themselves entitled to control Algerian properties. However, the evolution of circumstances and the increasing demands of the local population and settlers led to a conflict in the management of Algeria, both at the governmental and societal levels. This divergence fostered a sharp conflict with the settlers, who pursued a colonial project aimed at further encroaching upon Algerian lands.

In light of these developments, a political crisis began to take shape between the settlers and the officers of the Arab bureaus, illustrating the intense political conflict within the French hierarchy between the civilian and military systems. This struggle significantly impacted the general direction of colonial policy in Algeria.

Based on these observations, the importance of this paper lies in its focus on historical research aimed at delving into the conflict between the settlers and the officers of the Arab bureaus, and assessing the success of the settlers in advancing the French colonial policy, especially after the adoption of civilian rule as a means of strengthening their control over Algeria's land and people. This paper also explores the developments, origins, and effects of this conflict on Algeria's land and society.

This study does not claim novelty in this subject, as it builds upon prior research in the field. Past studies focused on colonial policy either broadly or on specific regions within Algeria. Notably, Adda Bendaha's valuable study on "Settlement and the Struggle for Land Ownership During the French Occupation of Algeria (1830–1962)," as well as Saleh Farkous' research titled "Management of the Arab Bureaus and the French Occupation of Algeria in the Light of Eastern

Algeria (1844–1871)." Additionally, Fatima Habbash's study, "The Arab Bureaus and Their Role in Colonial Expansion in Western Algeria (1844–1870): Tiaret, Saida, Jerville, El Bayadh as Models," and Hamida Amiraoui's research titled "The Effects of Colonial and Settlement Policies on Algerian Society (1830–1954)" contribute significantly to this discourse.

To avoid repetition and enhance academic benefit, this study serves as an initiative to explore the intricacies of the intense conflict between the settlers and the Arab bureaus, aiming to understand the general orientation of the colonial policy and link the base of this discord to its upper echelons. This approach required a scientific methodology focused on gathering historical material from diverse sources, followed by analysis and deduction to highlight the origins, developments, and various effects of the conflict.

Given that the research question is the core and starting point of any study, this work is anchored in several inquiries centered on a fundamental question: what are the nature and implications of the conflict between the settlers and the officers of the Arab bureaus on Algeria's land and people? To what extent did the settlers succeed in implementing the French colonial policy after the adoption of civilian rule in Algeria?

In addressing this issue, this study raises several secondary questions, including: What was the nature of the administrative system in Algeria? How successful were the Arab bureaus and the colonial policy in achieving the objectives of the colonial agenda? What characterized the fierce conflict between the officers of the Arab bureaus and the settlers? How did the settlers react to the power of the Arab bureaus, and what measures and methods did they employ to undermine the authority of these officers? What was the outcome of the political struggle between the two sides, and did it affect the European settlement movement in Algeria?

2. General Features of the French Administrative System (1830–1870)

The French occupation of Algeria is one of the most prominent colonial models aiming to dominate the Algerian society through numerous mechanisms targeting both the land and the people. The colonial policy sought to assimilate Muslim inhabitants into French civilization, as the newcomers from the north intended to settle in Algeria.

To achieve this, the French government established an administrative system that would facilitate control over Algeria and its population, which can be divided into two significant phases:

1.1. Military Administration (1830–1870) :

This phase was based on a royal decree issued by King Louis-Philippe, conveyed through De Bourmont, the campaign leader in Algeria, on July 5, 1830,

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which laid the foundation of French administration in Algeria. This administration was organized into three key committees :

- The Governmental Financial Committee: Managed by Arabs, Jews, and French to oversee city affairs, care for residents, military personnel, and ensure security and stability.
- The Municipal Committee: Led by a Frenchman with the support of prominent Jews and Algerian dignitaries.
- The Religious Committee: Comprised of some members of the Municipal Committee, tasked with overseeing waqf (endowment) properties, with a total of nine members. (Saadalla, 2009, pp. 28-29)

Thus, the framework for managing Algerians emerged along these lines.

- Administrative, Financial, and Civil Officer: Responsible for overseeing Algeria's civil, administrative, and financial affairs, appointed by the Council of Ministers.
- Military Officer: Charged with managing military units, safeguarding French interests, and ensuring security and stability.
- Administrative Officer: Assigned to supervise French occupation units in Algeria. (Khalif, 2005, p. 36)

It is notable that military rule provoked the discontent of French civilian leaders and officials. This discontent led the French government to establish an African Committee on July 7, 1833, under the order of King Louis-Philippe and at the recommendation of Marshal Clauzel. The committee completed its report in the form of a military memorandum, emphasizing the need to retain Algeria as a French colony for all groups, whether foreigners or French, and asserting that settlement was the only solution to make colonialism profitable. As a result, on July 22, 1834, the King issued a decree declaring Algeria a French property in North Africa, designating it as a military colony under the Ministry of War and led by a governor-general who held both military and civil authority. (Julien C.-A. , pp. 108-110)

The July 22, 1834 decrees marked the initial step toward the onset of random settlement, which was opposed by Father Enfantin, a member of the Algerian Scientific Committee, who argued it should be tied to three conditions: security, stability, and fertility. Marshal Clauzel, meanwhile, was the first to endorse the settlement policy (Enfantin, 1843, p. 187). With the issuance of this report, Algeria was officially placed under the administrative control of the French Ministry of War (Ammar Bouhouche, pp. 122-123).

1.2. Civil Administration (Post-1870):

The civil administration era began with the fall of the government of Louis-

Napoléon (1808–1877), Napoleon I's nephew who came to power after the 1848 Revolution and was known as Napoleon III. On December 2, 1870, General Duquesne was appointed as the first civilian governor-general of Algeria and called for the formation of a strong government (Ageron, 1968, p. 50).

As of April 15, 1845, a royal decree established that regions with European communities would be under a civilian governor, supported by a military officer, and led to the creation of three provinces (Algiers, Oran, and Constantine), which were placed under the authority of the civilian governor-general. Meanwhile, other regions were divided into military-governed areas and mixed territories (Bakkar, 2013-2014, p. 16).

Crémieux (1796–1880) justified the shift from military to civilian administration in a message to the people of Algeria, stating that the change aimed to benefit everyone and bring comfort and well-being to both Muslims and settlers. He asserted that these changes aligned with Islamic teachings that promote tolerance, coexistence, and compassion (Bouaziz Y. , *The Struggle of Algeria through Documents*, National Book Foundation, 1986, pp. 337-338).

The provinces were divided into districts, each containing several municipalities, some with full authority and others mixed (Kharchi, 1430 AH / 2009 AD, p. 174).

Notably, Crémieux's decree greatly encouraged the policy of settlement by establishing a civilian system to integrate Algerians, as the governor-general was a civilian under the Ministry of the Interior. The decree of December 24, 1870, expanded the settlers' powers and strengthened their influence, while abolishing the Arab bureaus, a move formalized by the decree of March 29, 1871, which divided Algeria into a civilian northern region and a military southern region, both under a civilian governor-general (Khalif, 2005, p. 42). (Yahia Bouaziz, 1428 AH / 2007 AD, pp. 27-28)

Thus, the period after 1871 marked a crucial phase in the history of the settlement movement in Algeria, as settler numbers grew significantly. The colonial administration supported and intensified their activities, particularly by encouraging land confiscation policies (Gouvernement, 1877, p. 89).

2. The Arab Bureaus as an Initial Strategy of the Colonial Administrative System:

French officer Dumas described the Arab bureaus as "an institution that guarantees continuous peace in tribal areas through organized and rigorous administration to facilitate European settlement in Algeria (Zouzou, *Texts and Documents in Modern Algerian History*, 1405 AH / 1984 Ad, p. 177). " Hugonet viewed them as "a link between the European settlers who arrived in Algeria in 1830 and the local inhabitants who have lived there since before and still

remain." (Hugonet., 1858, pp. 5-6)

These bureaus sought to bridge Algerian and French societies by minimizing differences, particularly in religion, language, customs, and traditions. Their purpose included readiness for any potential opposition from the Algerian people (Farkous, *A Summary of Algerian History*, Dar Al-Uloom Publishing and Distribution, 1423 AH / 2002 AD, pp. 17-18). Initially, some officers who were entrusted with these roles studied Algerian issues in Arabic, following the title of "Agha of the Arabs," the first of whom was Hamdan bin Amin al-Sikka during General De Bourmont's administration (Ageron, 1968, pp. 250-251).

The beginnings of the Arab Bureaus date back to 1833 under General De Rovigo, who headed the first official entity known as the "Bureau of Indigenous Affairs." The administration appointed De Lamoricière, fluent in Arabic, to communicate with the tribes. In April 1837, Commander Pellissier was tasked with overseeing Arab affairs to monitor Emir Abdelkader's movements. Simultaneously, General Valée in Constantine appointed some tribal elders to serve the French administration. On August 16, 1841, General Bugeaud appointed Officer Dumas to manage indigenous affairs, and on February 1, 1844, Bugeaud's decision officially established the Arab Bureaus, marking the beginning of efforts to solidify French settlement in Algeria (developments, 1396 AH / 1976 AD, p. 41). (Habbash, 1434-1435 AH / 2013-2014)

2.1. Administrative Structure of the Arab Bureaus:

These bureaus operated under a strict administration overseen by the governor-general alongside the political bureau responsible for Arab affairs. Its role included receiving reports from the three provinces and forwarding them to the Ministry of War in France. The political bureau was divided into three main departments, with first-level Arab Bureaus (located in sections under the authority of the supreme commander) and second-level bureaus (situated in distant districts and regions) (Habbash, 1434-1435 AH / 2013-2014, pp. 63-64).

2.1.1. Staff of the Arab Bureaus:

- **French Staff:** French staff selection adhered to objective criteria. These individuals were military personnel proficient in Arabic, thoroughly familiar with Algerian customs and traditions, and unreservedly willing to engage with the lives of Muslim Arabs. These characteristics were vital for facilitating colonial settlement and ensuring security and stability (source, p. 64).

The bureau was typically led by a military officer with the rank of lieutenant or major, supported by a group of military personnel and Arab and French clerks, with around ten employees per bureau (Ageron, 1968, pp. 249,

300). These employees included both permanent and probationary staff, specialized in military and civilian archives, and enjoyed a degree of autonomy in managing local populations. The head of the Arab Bureau effectively assumed a position of authority, with his decisions serving as a guide for managing local affairs (Julien C. A., 1429 AH / 2008 AD, pp. 287, 688) (Habbash, 1434-1435 AH / 2013-2014, p. 65).

It is observed that the officers appointed to manage the Arab offices had their roles shifted from military to bureaucratic tasks, especially after 1863. This transition made recruitment challenging, prompting Governor General Mac Mahon to comment on the poor level of competence and lack of experience among these officers due to widespread corruption within the offices (Ageron, 1968, p. 252).

The main responsibilities of these officers were to keep constant surveillance over the local population to suppress any potential uprisings. This was achieved through a network of spies and various methods to monitor public opinion. Among the most effective in this regard was Captain Boissommet, who, due to his command of the language and poetry, employed the popular poet Mohammed Al-Shadhili to gather intelligence and promote French ideas among locals. His tasks also included tax imposition, monitoring religious figures, and overseeing all revolts, particularly those led by Emir Abdelkader, Ahmed Bey, and leaders of religious orders and tribes (Bouaziz Y. , *Brief History of Algeria*, 1430 AH / 2009 AD, p. 23) (Belhaj, 1427 AH / 2006 AD, p. 141) (Motamer, *French Conquest and Occupation – The Aurès and Its Social Condition* (1844-1884), 1427 AH / 2006 AD, p. 81).

2.1.2. Local Leaders:

These were the aristocratic Algerian classes among the local population whom the French administration tried to draw close in order to subjugate Algerians through members of their own society. General Bugeaud sought to utilize this class by offering them various material and moral privileges, with notable figures being the Bashagha (deputy), the Agha, and the Qa'id (Habbash, 1434-1435 AH / 2013-2014, pp. 66-69).

This force, referred to as the "National Guard," primarily aimed to maintain peace and security in the region and to report on all developments there. The offices were also supported by "Makhzen" forces, which were militias stationed in fabricated quarters designed to sow division among Algerian social classes (Motamer, *Administrative Organization during the French Occupation – Aurès* (Houz of Aris), *History of the Aurès and Its Social Composition During the French Occupation* (1837-1959), 1409 AH / 1988 AD, pp. 223-224) (Qanan, 1430 AH / 2009 AD, p. 99) (Mercier, 1880, pp. 5, 10).

2.2. The Arab Offices: Roles and Objectives

The role of the Arab offices was to collect comprehensive information about Algerian society, primarily for the occupying army. They conducted surveys of agricultural lands, waterways, and examined the social structure to impose financial fines on the elements forming the social fabric of the local population.

Thus, the mission of the Arab offices was to uncover the intricacies of Algerian society, identify its weaknesses and strengths, and to immerse it in internal conflicts and disputes between tribes. This was done by employing local leaders and aghas tasked with this role, in return for various material and moral privileges (Selamani, 1432 AH / 2011 AD, pp. 72-73).

Thus, the roles of these offices can be summarized as follows:

- Preparing and organizing correspondence related to the needs of the local population.
- Keeping financial statistics and identifying taxable items.
- Supervising public education in tribes as well as Arabic and French schools.
- Monitoring religious congregations, zawiyas, and overseeing Islamic judicial affairs.
- Regulating the conduct of local leaders, influential families, and reducing their power.
- Collecting topographical, historical, and various other documents of interest.
- Monitoring hospitality houses, and managing the “Sebaiha,” “cavalry,” and “military” services.
- Establishing offices among tribes, monitoring completed work, and leading training teams.
- Examining civil status in tribes and managing financial records.
- Facilitating routes for occupation, colonial communication, and trade through security and stability.
- Conducting anthropological studies on Algerian society to prepare for colonial occupation (Zouzou, Aurès During the French Occupation: Political, Economic, and Social Developments (1837-1939), 1426 AH / 2005 AD, p. 194).

2.3. The Stance of Sufi Leaders and Prominent Families Towards the Activities of the Arab Offices

Public opinion varied regarding the Arab offices and the activities of their officers in areas under tribal control. Religious leaders, particularly Sufi order leaders, were among the most prominent opponents. Emir Abdelkader was

especially notable, as he led the resistance by adhering to the Qadiriyya order and urging tribes to fight against the enemy (Churchill, 1396 AH / 1974 AD, p. 27). The Rahmaniyya order, adopted by several Algerian leaders, including Al-Muqran, Al-Haddad, and Bou-Baghla, played a significant role in challenging the French administration. This popular resistance was characterized by tight organization and secrecy (Tlemceni, 1425-1426 AH / 2004-2005 AD, p. 232).

At the same time, Sharif Bouma'za spared no effort in resisting the French administration through his affiliation with the Tayyibi order, encouraging locals to resist Officer Beatrix of the Arab office. Some resistance figures in Tlemcen, who were followers of the Tijaniyya order, also incited the population against the Arab offices, most notably Sidi Taher Abu Tayyib, leader of the Tijaniyya zawiya in Tlemcen (Tlemceni, 1425-1426 AH / 2004-2005 AD, p. 233).

On the other hand, some Sufi orders supported the activities of the Arab offices. The Tijaniyya order notably took a supportive stance, viewing French occupation as preordained, a destiny connected to the teachings of their sheikh, Ahmed al-Tijani. Furthermore, Farhat bin Saeed, a tribal leader allied with the French, supported the resistance of Ahmed Bey. Similarly, Hajj Ahmed al-Muqrani, the son of Mohammed al-Muqrani, aligned himself with the French administration as a khalifa. The Saih family in the Majana and Al-Burj regions provided significant support to the French administration, with some family members, like Agha Si Qaddour and Sheikh Saleh bin Ali (Belhaj, 1427 AH / 2006 AD, p. 29) (Al-Ajeeli, 1413 AH/1992 CE, p. 153), becoming aides to Marshal Bingen.

Some prominent families in the Zib region also intensified their assistance to the Arab offices in opposition to Ahmed Bey's resistance. Some French officials expressed admiration for Bouaziz bin Qana, who demonstrated loyalty to them in the Constantine region (Farkous, Administration of Arab Offices and French Colonization of Algeria in Light of the Eastern Region 1844-1871, 1427 AH/2006 CE, pp. 297, 302, 350).

In conclusion, public attitudes towards the Arab offices ranged from support to opposition against the colonial policy of expanding settler occupation. Some Algerians supported the French administration due to a lack of national sentiment, self-interest, or personal gain, as they were continuously courted by Arab office officers.

3. The Policy of Settlement: Roots and Stages of Development:

3.1. Concept and Motivations:

Settlement is one of the most substantial colonial methods, involving the relocation of people from one area to another to establish permanent settlements. It is a human historical phenomenon with cultural, economic, and social

dimensions (Hussein, 1388 AH/1968 CE, p. 80). The French viewed settlement as a type of investment and exploitation of resources that local populations were unable to manage. The settler thus became a functional intermediary between the land and the local population through the process of colonization (Saidan, 1428-1429 AH/2007-2008 CE, p. 54).

Settlement was, therefore, an essential part of French colonialism in Algeria and a way to satisfy European desires for wealth and exploitation, particularly in the economic, human, and cultural spheres.

The idea of settlement in Algeria was not coincidental but rather a plan orchestrated decades before the occupation, within the context of Western civilization's dominance over Islamic civilization. France was one of the first countries to seek to eliminate excess population by encouraging migration to Algeria from the beginning of the occupation, based on the idea that all non-European lands untouched by civilization belonged to them (Tlemceni, 1425-1426 AH / 2004-2005 AD, p. 150). Thus, the European investor took it upon themselves to seek profit abroad, and Algeria became a destination for many in search of wealth (Garbi, 1428 AH/2007 CE, p. 192).

3.2. Forms and Objectives of Colonization in Algeria:

European colonization in Algeria evolved through two major phases, shaped by the French administration's shift from military to civilian rule. During the early military rule, the colonial administration encouraged migration to Algeria, particularly from within the military, to establish complete control. General Bugeaud famously stated, "Since the military is everything in Africa, the only possible authority is military authority, which relies on settlers who are soldiers and farmers at the same time... and also on the army, which remains constant in both war and peace." (Al-Ashraf, 1428 AH/2007 CE, p. missing page numbe)

Bugeaud's policy aimed to designate specific areas for European settlement, creating a civilian-friendly environment through systematic land confiscation. His approach positioned French soldiers as military settlers, a concept he started applying between 1841 and 1842, using military resources to build settlements for civilians eager to establish roots in Algeria (Aboud, 1434-1435 AH/2013-2014 CE, pp. 53-54).

In the second phase, under civilian rule, Bugeaud, upon rising to power, reinforced settlement policies to promote civilian migration to Algeria. Civilian settlement became the foundation for military expansion, contributing to the broader policy of total occupation. Consequently, settlement activities intensified, particularly in the 1870s, leading to substantial changes in Algerian society

(Aboud, 1434-1435 AH/2013-2014 CE, pp. 53-54). .

French colonial policies aimed to control Algeria's social structure, primarily through the confiscation of agricultural lands, transforming Algerian farmers from landowners into laborers. This strategy sought to disrupt local wealth, suppress resistance (Ameeraoui, 1426 AH/2005 CE, p. 11), and redirect natural resources to European markets, enriching French industries and elevating the economic status of the French bourgeoisie and aristocracy. Algeria thus became a source of wealth for these classes, lifting them from poverty (Ameeraoui, 1426 AH/2005 CE, pp. 232-233). At the same time, this policy aimed to undermine Algerian Islamic-Arab culture, replacing it with French civilization. One of its most profound goals was to promote Christianity and Westernize Algerian society, halting the spread of knowledge and education (Saadallah, 1417 AH/1996 CE, p. 208).

3.3. Stages of the Colonization Policy:

3.3.1. Military Rule Period (1830–1870):

This phase saw the development of settlement as a tool for advancing colonial expansion in Algeria, especially from 1830 to 1840, during which intense debate in France arose on colonizing Algeria (Farkous, A Summary of Algerian History, Dar Al-Uloom Publishing and Distribution, 1423 AH / 2002 AD, p. 330) to alleviate internal issues.

Many advocated for colonization, including General Clauzel, who supported land confiscation by seizing religious endowment properties. By 1832, settler numbers reached 25,000, and the French government considered an official settlement (Farkous, Administration of Arab Offices and French Colonization of Algeria in Light of the Eastern Region 1844-1871, 1427 AH/2006 CE, p. 330) proposal. The landscape shifted with the annexation decree on July 22, 1834, promoting migration to Algeria through media campaigns (Lounissi, 1427 AH/2006 CE, p. 71)

Between 1840 and 1848, the settlement movement saw a notable rise due to General Bugeaud's policies. An April 18, 1848 decision encouraged land purchases in Algeria and endorsed land expropriation from Algerians through 1844 and 1846 laws. By the end of his rule, approximately 190,400 settlers were established, primarily in rural regions (Jalal, 1402 AH/1981 CE, p. 220) (Yahia Bouaziz, 1428 AH / 2007 AD, p. 10).

The French Second Republic, established in 1848, facilitated migration to Algeria, particularly among European vagabonds surpassed 200.000 migrants (Labid, 1431-1432 AH/2010-2011 CE, p. 38). By 1851, settler numbers reached 131,000 (Yahia Bouaziz, 1428 AH / 2007 AD, p. 14). Napoleon III's rise in 1852 marked a turning point, especially under Governor-General Marshal Jacques

Louis Randon, who created over 556 villages between 1853 and 1858 by confiscating land (Yahia Bouaziz, 1428 AH / 2007 AD, p. 19). By 1854, European settlers numbered 520,000, and numerous companies were established, displacing Algerian farmers (Al-Jilali, 1415 AH/1994 CE, p. 9).

Marshal Randon successfully settled 1,500 individuals and expanded the authority of Arab offices under Napoleon III's orders on June 4, 1855. However, settlers opposed this, prompting Napoleon to rescind military rule and create the Ministry of Colonies on June 24, 1858. Military rule returned in 1860, with continued emphasis on settler migration and agricultural land confiscation (Bouaziz Y. , *The Struggle of Algeria through Documents*, National Book Foundation, 1986, p. 19).

3.3.2. Civilian Rule Period (Post-1870):

The transition from military to civilian rule marked a difficult period in the history of Algerian colonization due to the fall of the empire and the declaration of the Third Republic on September 4, 1870. Napoleon III's support for settler interests, which protected Arab offices, was overturned. Following the Franco-Prussian War, settlers encouraged migration from Alsace and Lorraine, facilitating the relocation of approximately 5,000 people between 1871 and 1881 with grants of agricultural land and favorable conditions (Boudrassiya, 1428 AH/2007 CE,, p. 227). .

This shift represented the official adoption of settlement by the authorities, with support from settlers (Al-Ashraf, 1428 AH/2007 CE, p. 17.52), and included laws that dispossessed Algerians of their agricultural land. Notable examples include the Sénatus-Consulte decree of April 22, 1863, which allocated tribal lands to settlers (Ageron, 1968, p. 78), and the Warnier Law of July 26, 1873, which abolished collective land ownership . The April 22, 1887 law amended the 1873 law to abolish individual ownership and allowed settlers to become co-owners of family lands, among other regulations aimed at promoting European settlement in Algeria (Daha, 1429 AH/2008 CE, p. 376).

4. The Conflict Between the Arab Offices and the Settler Community: Reality and Implications

4.1. The Early Beginnings of the Political Conflict:

The initial stages of the conflict between the two sides can be traced back to French ambitions to control Algeria. The military approach was essential to achieving this goal, particularly in response to the growing Algerian resistance in the west and east. Consequently, General Bugeaud focused on this strategy, announcing the establishment of the Arab offices on February 1, 1848 (Habbash, 1434-1435 AH / 2013-2014, pp. 69-70).

Bugeaud's policy had a dual aim: on one hand, to eliminate the Algerian resistance, and on the other, to encourage European settlement. This was achieved by dividing Algeria into three provinces, each with areas specifically designated for settlers, particularly in the northern regions. Algerians were placed under the authority of military-led Arab offices, while settlers were governed by civilian administrations (Habbash, 1434-1435 AH / 2013-2014, p. 70).

The steps taken by General Bugeaud gradually allowed for civil governance, leading up to 1848 and the declaration of the Second Republic. During this period, the French authorities encouraged the settlement movement in Algeria as a means of managing the socialist revolution that was emerging in France (primarily led by workers) by relocating workers to Algeria to ease domestic unrest (Al-Tamimi, 1411 AH/1990 CE, p. 19).

This situation increased the significance of the settlers in Algeria, who called for the implementation of actual integration in Algeria and demanded equality between military and civilian authorities, as per the annexation law of December 9, 1848. Although the Arab offices-maintained control, resentment began to grow among settlers due to the rising support for the Second Empire under Napoleon III (Habbash, 1434-1435 AH / 2013-2014, pp. 71-72..58).

With these developments, and particularly with the French completing their control over the Kabyle region in 1857 and the northern areas, discussions began about the dissolution of the Arab offices and the abolition of military rule. This led the officers of the Arab offices to defend their ideas and interests, as they considered themselves an essential link between the local population and French authority (Bouaziz Y. , 1407 AH/1986 CE, p. 185).

As these changes unfolded, the officers of the Arab offices began to feel that the settlers threatened their interests. This led them to oppose the settlement policy, which intensified with the issuance of the Sénatus-consulte decree of 1863. This decree granted authority to the Arab offices rather than the settlers in managing agricultural land and dividing properties, somewhat limiting the settlers' power. This situation may have prompted Napoleon III to ask General MacMahon about the nature of the conflict between the two sides, to which MacMahon responded by likening the conflict to that between smugglers and customs officers (Ageron, 1968, p. 20).

From this point, Arab office officers came to be viewed by settlers as the primary reason for delays in the colonization process in Algeria, as well as supporters of individual land ownership. At the same time, settler demands grew for the implementation of civil governance and the abolishment of the military system. As a result, the conflict spread to both the upper and lower levels of society in both France and Algeria.

4.2. Manifestations of the Authority of Arab Office Officers:

Arab office officers considered themselves guardians of Algerian society, due to their extensive interaction with its people. Their fluency in Arabic and understanding of local culture, customs, and traditions allowed them to transmit French civilization to the Algerian community. Initially, these officers supported the settlement policy, conducting surveys of agricultural land for the benefit of incoming settlers.

However, this support did not last long. The officers quickly turned against the settlers, hoping Napoleon III's government would bolster military authority. In contrast, settlers viewed these officers as obstacles to the progress of settlement, which was accompanied by policies of land confiscation (Julien C. A., 1429 AH / 2008 AD, p. 336).

Arab office officers wielded considerable power in their dealings with the locals. Hugonet described them as arrogant, proud, and authoritarian, comparing them to pashas ruling over Muslims (Hugonet., 1858, p. 05). Evidence of this harshness includes the methods used to suppress locals (Julien C. A., 1429 AH / 2008 AD, pp. 337-338), such as the use of clubs.

Further illustrating their dominance is the case of Captain Doineau, who perpetrated a massacre against the Ouled Mouhen tribe near the Tunisian border. In 1856, a court in Oran sentenced him to death, a decision that caused an uproar among his fellow officers, who demanded his acquittal. Despite the international scandal tarnishing France's image for its brutality against Algerians, Emperor Napoleon III issued a pardon for Doineau, signaling a victory for the military regime (Julien C. A., 1429 AH / 2008 AD, p. 340).

One of the most notable periods during which Arab office officers held significant authority over both locals and settlers was after the rule of General Bugeaud, particularly during the tenure of Randon, who governed Algeria. Randon supported the authority of the Arab offices, increasing their number between 1844 and 1870 to a total of 49 (COLLOT, p. 39). During his time, these offices exercised substantial authority over locals and settlers alike; Algerians referred to the officers as "Makhzen" or administrative officials who managed affairs independently of higher authorities, despite opposition from settlers to these powers (Habbash, 1434-1435 AH / 2013-2014, p. 66).

In summary, the growing influence of the Arab office officers played a significant role in intensifying the political conflict between the two sides, as each remained steadfast in pursuing its own interests. This tension was heightened by the governing authority's support of the Arab office policy to maintain control over the colony, while settler voices increasingly demanded a

shift from military to civilian governance that would better serve their interests.

4.3. The Second Empire and the Intensification of Political Conflict:

Following the political victory achieved by the Arab offices, particularly with the acquittal of Captain Doineau, the conflict between the two sides intensified toward the end of the Second Empire. Cardinal Lavigerie took on the role of defending the settlers against the Arab offices, and tensions escalated following a massacre committed by these officers against Muslims in May 1869, which angered the settlers, who blamed the Arab offices for the ongoing disorder in the country (Julien C. A., 1429 AH / 2008 AD, p. 340).

Emperor Napoleon III found himself in a difficult situation due to his support for Captain Doineau, prompting him to attempt to resolve the conflict by creating the Ministry of Algeria and Colonies, which operated from 1858 to 1860. This decision provided a temporary success for the settlers by abolishing the role of the governor-general and replacing it with the position of resident minister in Paris, led by Jerome. Jerome expanded the authority of civilians and marginalized the military, making it easier for settlers to establish communities and encouraging colonial immigration to Algeria. This shift transformed the Arab offices and their officers from active participants in colonial administration to opposition figures (Habbash, 1434-1435 AH / 2013-2014, p. 74).

The settlers began to blame the Arab office officers for every crisis in Algeria, especially the famine that struck Constantine in 1867, which led to the deaths of more than 400,000 Algerians, and the 1871 uprising led by al-Muqrānī and al-Haddād. These events led many officials in France, particularly Jules Duval and Auguste Warnier, to turn against these officers. Duval and Warnier co-authored a book entitled *The Arab Offices and the Settlers*, in which they sent a memorandum to the Minister of State, condemning the Arab offices and calling for the establishment of civilian rule, the abolition of military governance, and the expansion of settler privileges (A, 1869, p. 07).

As a result, Jules Duval and Auguste Warnier became the official spokespersons for the settlers, advocating for their interests in Algeria against the authority of the Arab offices. Most of their demands were published in the French magazine *La Constitution*, where they held the Arab office officers responsible for all setbacks in the colony's settlement process. They also called for the elimination of Napoleon's political project of establishing an Arab Kingdom, viewing it as a reason for colonial failure (A, 1869, pp. 157-158).

Thus, the Second Empire, led by Napoleon III, ultimately demonstrated its failure to sustain the occupation and settlement. This situation fostered deep resentment among the settlers and their representatives, leading them to push for change and for the abolition of the military rule dominated by the Arab office

officers. Hence, the political conflicts between the two sides were a manifestation of the broader struggle between military and civilian interests, driven by the desire for control, power, and expanded influence at the expense of the Algerian population.

4.4. The End of Political Conflict:

The period following the Franco-Prussian War marked a crucial phase that led to the end of the conflict between the settlers and the Arab office officers. The settlers succeeded in overturning Napoleon III's policies, especially after the decrees issued post-1870 calling for the dissolution of the Arab offices (COLLOT, p. 41).

The fall of Napoleon III and the declaration of the French Republic encouraged the settlers to push for an assimilation policy, which took shape with the Crémieux Decree on December 24, 1870. This decree held the officers of the Arab offices accountable for any unrest in the colony, requiring them to submit detailed reports on efforts to curb it (Louis, 1891, p. 101).

This decision provoked anger among the Arab office officers, who threatened a mass resignation, leading General Lallemand to petition the Minister of Justice to repeal the decree (Louis, 1891, p. 101).

Simultaneously, the settlers intensified their opposition to the officers, especially following the uprisings led by al-Muqranī and al-Ḥaddād. In contrast, some traditional Algerian leaders-maintained allegiance to the Arab office officers to protect shared interests in light of the perceived threat from settlers who advocated for land expropriation and the dismantling of Algerian society. Consequently, these Algerian leaders rejected civilian governance as a show of support for the military officers who had resigned their positions to the French government (Ageron, 1968, pp. 15-16-74).

The shift in governance also coincided with the al-Muqranī and al-Ḥaddād revolts, sparking a new conflict between settlers and tribal leaders, who allied with immigrants from Alsace and Lorraine (Ageron, 1968, pp. 26-75). In response, the settlers demanded that punitive measures be imposed on the Arab office officers, accusing them of inciting uprisings in Algeria (Ageron, 1968, pp. 49-76).

The settlers' animosity toward the Arab office officers escalated significantly between 1870 and 1873, fueled by French newspapers that branded these officers as traitors, deceitful, and instigators of Muslim Algerians against the French motherland, even going so far as to consider them natural enemies (Ageron, 1968, pp. 44-77).

In conclusion, the settlers successfully established civilian governance and

dismantled the influence of the Arab offices, leveraging material resources, political conditions, and propaganda campaigns to erode the officers' power. This grassroots political conflict was ultimately part of a broader power struggle within the hierarchy of governance between military and civilian rule. The subsequent period thus witnessed the absolute authority of the settlers in Algeria, as they began to wield influence over political, military, and economic decision-making in the colony's administration.

5. Political Conflict and Its Impact on the Colonization Movement:

The evolution of Algeria's colonization reveals a significant increase in the influx of European settlers since the announcement of the military settlement policy, which marked the initial organized effort to resettle Europeans in Algeria. Major Algerian cities became the first to attract these waves of settlers, with General Clauzel being one of the early advocates for promoting colonization. As a result of this policy, many Algerians were compelled to migrate to the interior regions, abandoning their farmlands for the settlers (Al-Ashraf, 1428 AH/2007 CE, pp. 78-80).

Since then, the steady influx of European immigrants into Algeria with the intent of settling and exploiting the land can be observed through the following figures (Abbad, 1426 AH/2005, p. 197) (Amiraoui, 1428 AH/2007, pp. 46, 48):

Year	Number of Immigrants
1831	3.228
1836	14.561
1841	57.347
1846	109.400
1851	132.708
1853	142.379
1854	151.712
1855	155.607
1856	158.282
1857	180.471
1861	205.888
1866	235.225
1970	245.500
1872	245.117
1880	3.768.800

The table above shows that settlement policy in Algeria experienced a steady increase in migrant numbers. Notably, there was a rise in settlers between

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1841–1846 and 1851–1857, periods that coincided with settlement leaders like General Clauzel, General Bugeaud, and the tenure of Randon, who played significant roles in promoting migration to Algeria.

From 1851 to 1856, a large influx of migrants of all nationalities was recorded: 22% Europeans, 40% French, and 4.3% foreigners. Despite the ongoing conflict between the Arab Bureaus and settlers, it indicates that this conflict did not affect the settlement movement or migration to Algeria.

During the Second Empire, the settler numbers increased more slowly, especially between 1858 and 1866, with Europeans ranging between 12-19%, French between 6-21%, and foreigners between 18-21%. This suggests a relative decline due to the intense conflict between the two sides, particularly in the final days of the Second Empire.

The end of this conflict and the settlers' dominance over the Arab Bureaus became apparent after the fall of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870. This period saw a surge in settlement activity, marked by the arrival of migrants from Alsace and Lorraine and supported by new settlement laws, highlighting the settlers' ability to manage internal and external matters effectively.

In summary, the political conflict between the two parties played a significant role in shaping the settlement movement in Algeria but did not greatly hinder it. The steady inflow of migrants, albeit fluctuating with the intensity of the conflict, is a clear indication of this.

Conclusion:

In conclusion, this research paper leads to the following results:

- The decree of July 22, 1834, marks the initial foundation of uncontrolled settlement in Algeria, with Marshal Clauzel being the first to endorse a settlement policy. The period after 1870, however, was a pivotal stage in the history of the settlement movement due to the considerable quantitative and qualitative growth of settlers.
- The origins of the Arab Bureaus trace back to 1833 under General De Rovigo, while General Bugeaud officially established them on February 1, 1844, as a formal effort to consolidate French settlement in Algeria. These bureaus were managed by specialized officials and locals with the purpose of uncovering the intricacies of Algerian society, identifying its strengths and weaknesses, and exploiting its resources. This policy led to a clear division among Algerian leaders, with some supporting and others opposing the Arab Bureaus and the power of their officers.
- It is certain that settlement was a form of investment and resource

exploitation and a way to satisfy European desires for wealth and exploitation, especially in economic, human, and cultural aspects. Consequently, settlement evolved through two main stages, shaped by events and developments in France, as well as the political changes during the Second Empire.

- The early conflict between settlers and officers of the Arab Bureaus emerged with the establishment of the Second French Republic, when settlers in Algeria demanded actual integration policies, equality between military and civilian authorities, and held these officers accountable for delaying the settlement movement. This demand was opposed by the officers of the Arab Bureaus, who feared for their personal interests.
- The escalation of the conflict was tied to the dominance of the Arab Bureau officers over local communities and their limitations on settler privileges, particularly the case of Captain Doineau, which intensified settlers' calls to end military rule and establish civilian governance, blaming the Second Empire for Algeria's crises and the stagnation of the settlement movement.
- The end of the conflict coincided with the fall of the Second Empire, the establishment of the French Republic, and the increase in migration to Algeria after 1870. Between 1870–1873, a wave of rejection culminated in the abolition of the military system and the establishment of civilian governance. This was largely driven by an intense political and media campaign led by settlers against those supporting the authority of the Arab Bureaus, whether within the French government or among Algerian locals.
- Despite the developments in the conflict at both elite and grassroots levels, the settlement movement continued uninterrupted since its inception, confirming the significance of this policy. Algeria was viewed as a strategic asset subject to extensive and permanent exploitation, and the continuous influx of settlers, especially after 1870, marked the beginning of a genuine effort to undermine the Algerian people and drain its resources.

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