

**THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE IN ALGERIA THROUGH THE DOMINANCE OF
THE DIRECTORATE OF CIVIL AFFAIRS DURING THE COLONIAL
PERIOD(1947/1830)**

المسألة الدينية في الجزائر من خلال تسلط مديرية شؤون الأهالي خلال الفترة الاستعمارية
(1947/1830)

Ph.D. Student Rahmani Mohamed El Amine

Laboratory–Algeria: History and Society in the modern and contemporary period
University of Djilali Liabes, Sidi Bel Abbes, Algeria
rahmanizaki90@gmail.com

Prof. Ouldennebia Karim
University of Djilali Liabes, Sidi Bel Abbes, Algeria
karimouldennebia@yahoo.fr

Date of receipt: 20/04/2025

Date of acceptance: 04/06/2026

Date of publication: 10/06/2026

Author Correspondence: Rahmani Mohamed El Amine, rahmanizaki90@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This study examines the nature of French colonial intervention in religious affairs in Algeria during the period from 1830 to 1947. It addresses the problem of how the colonial administration instrumentalized religion as a tool of control and the impact of this policy on the religious and cultural life of Algerians.

The study adopts a historical-analytical approach by tracing colonial religious policies and analyzing relevant legal texts, administrative decisions, and archival documents. The findings show that the colonial administration worked to subordinate the religious sphere through the monitoring of mosques and zawiyas, the confiscation of religious endowments (waqf), interference in religious education and pilgrimage, and the restriction of independent reformist activities. Despite the exclusionary nature of these policies, they contributed to strengthening religious and national consciousness and fostering various forms of cultural resistance against the French colonial project.

Keywords:

Directorate of Civil Affairs, local administration, Religious issues ; religious associations, Sufi orders,.

ملخص

تبحث هذه الدراسة في طبيعة تدخل الإدارة الاستعمارية الفرنسية في الشأن الديني بالجزائر خلال الفترة الممتدة من 1830 إلى 1947، وتنطلق من إشكالية تتمحور حول مدى استغلال الإدارة الاستعمارية للدين كأداة للسيطرة، وأثر ذلك على الحياة الدينية والثقافية للجزائريين.

اعتمدت الدراسة المنهج التاريخي التحليلي، من خلال تتبع السياسات الدينية الاستعمارية وتحليل النصوص القانونية والقرارات الإدارية والوثائق الأرشيفية ذات الصلة. وتخلص النتائج إلى أن الإدارة الاستعمارية عملت على إخضاع المجال الديني عبر مراقبة المساجد والزوايا، ومصادرة الأوقاف، والتدخل في التعليم الديني والحج، ومحاصرة النشاط الإصلاحي. ورغم الطابع الإقصائي لهذه السياسات، فإنها ساهمت في تعزيز الوعي الديني والوطني، وبلورة أشكال متعددة من المقاومة الثقافية ضد المشروع الاستعماري الفرنسي.

الكلمات المفتاحية:

الإدارة المحلية، الجمعيات الدينية، الطرق الصوفية المسائل الدينية، مديرية شؤون الأهالي.

1.Introduction

After the French military incursion into Algeria, which began with the seizure of land and property and expanded into the hinterlands, the colonial administration soon realized that military occupation alone was insufficient for establishing a lasting dominion and achieving the overarching strategic objectives of colonization.

A broader strategy aimed at the intellectual and cultural domination of Algerian society was deemed essential. This strategy was designed to erode the Arab and Islamic identity of Algerians, thereby altering the dynamics of the civilizational conflict between the indigenous society and European settlers. The institution of Civil Affairs became a cornerstone for the colonial regime, orchestrating the subjugation of religious institutions under its dominion. This included control over mosques, zawiyas, Islamic endowments, and Islamic jurisprudence.

Additionally, it engaged in missionary activities aimed at promoting cultural assimilation and integration The present study is structured into two main sections: the first examines the colonial administration’s hegemony over the Algerian populace; the second section provides a historical analysis of the Algerian resistance to the imposed religious policies and their robust defense of their national identity and character.

The central research question investigates whether colonial interventions in Islamic religious affairs significantly impacted Algeria's cultural landscape on the cultural landscape of Algeria between 1830 and 1947. This research employs a historical methodology suitable for the depth and scope of the inquiry, which includes the identification of the research theme, collection and critical analysis of historical data, and chronological organization of the findings to construct a coherent historical narrative. The research is supported by an extensive examination of archival documents and major scholarly works that focus on the history of colonial religious policies and their effects in Algeria.

2. Civil Affairs and Religious Policy

Under the leadership of de Bourmont, the French administration initiated its control over Algerian Islamic endowments shortly after the military occupation. Despite the treaty of July 5, 1830 (Kebaili, 2016, p. 216), in which de Bourmont pledged, where de Bourmont pledged to respect religious ceremonies and the freedoms of Algerian inhabitants, a stark contradiction became evident by September 8, 1830. On this date, he sanctioned the confiscation of all Islamic endowments across Algeria, a move followed closely by a decree on December 7, 1830, that granted the colonial governor extensive powers to manage these religious properties through leasing or renting. (Administrative Directory of Algeria, 1933, p. 196)

<i>Review EL'BAHITH - ENS - Bouzareah - Algiers</i>					
ISSN : 9577-1112	EISSN : 2602-5388	Volume: (18)	Number : (02)	year: 2026	Pages: 35-50

This aggressive appropriation and management of religious assets underscored the depth of the colonial administration's control, extending well beyond mere political or economic dominance into the religious and cultural spheres. Endowments, or waqfs, traditionally supported a wide array of religious and community institutions such as zawiyas, mosques, schools, and charitable entities. (Ageron, 1968, pp. 297–301) These endowments varied widely, encompassing land, shops, houses, wells, springs, and fields, each managed by designated agents or committees.

The impact of French policy on religious structures was profound and destructive. Numerous mosques were repurposed into churches, cathedrals, and even military barracks. Such conversions continued relentlessly, reducing the number of mosques in Algiers alone from 176 before the occupation to a mere four by 1899. Notably, General de Rovigo transformed the Ketchaoua Mosque into a cathedral named Saint Philippe, where the first Christian service was conducted on Christmas Eve of 1832. This pattern of conversion and destruction was not isolated to Algiers but was a common occurrence in other Algerian cities as well.

Historian Charles Ageron detailed the scale of these transformations in his thesis. He noted that in 1830, Algiers had thirteen large mosques, 190 smaller ones, 32 prayer rooms, and 12 zawiyas. By 1862, only a fraction of these remained: nine large mosques, 19 small ones, 15 prayer rooms, and five zawiyas, making a total of 48 buildings from an original count of 176. Moreover, not all of these remaining structures were dedicated to Islamic worship, as only four large mosques, eight small mosques, and nine prayer rooms were still serving their original religious purpose. (Ibid, 1968, p. 299)

3. The Dominance of the Directorate of Civil Affairs over Algerian Islamic Affairs

The treatise *The Algerians and the Directorate of Civil Affairs during the Colonial Period 1833-1947* (Ouldennebia & Gouasmia, 2024, p. 200) employs a historical methodology to dissect the colonial strategies concerning civil affairs throughout the colonial era. Initially established as an Arab office in 1833, this office evolved into the "Directorate of Arab Affairs" (its inaugural title) with its inception on April 22, 1837. This directorate served as the primary agency for managing the affairs of the Algerian populace after the dissolution of the Aga of the Arabs' office. (Ibid, 2024, pp. 73–99).

Its formal structure was codified by the decree of August 16, 1841, and by 1845, it was transformed into the Central Directorate for Civil Affairs. This change marked a dual role: while embedded within the army's command structure, it integrated roles spanning intelligence, civil monitoring, and security services, initially resembling a military entity before its transition into a civilian governance system. The directorate's operations were phased out in 1867, only to undergo a reformation and be renamed in 1901 as the "General Directorate for Civil Affairs."

Directors such as Luciani, Mirante, Miyeu, and Augustin Berque were instrumental in shaping colonial policies toward Algerians. Post World War II, the directorate underwent a nominal change, shifting from Arab or Civil to Islamic, yet it perpetually remained a distinctly colonial and discriminatory institution.

3.1 The Directorate of Civil Affairs and Religious Issues

From its inception, the Directorate of Civil Affairs was deeply involved in religious affairs in Algeria, continuing the colonial blueprint aimed at dismantling the robust Islamic foundations integral to the Algerian ethos. This colonial intent was candidly articulated by a French official who posited, "If Muslims embrace

Christianity, they will show us obedience and become our brothers... Don't these miserable people deserve that we attempt this? When we offer them the new creed, we will end the hideous bitterness of their natures and morals, characteristic of those guided by the Quran." (Ibid, 2024, p. 43)

In a notable declaration in 1837, the secretary to the French General Governor in Algeria proclaimed, "The last days of Islam have dawned, and within twenty years, Algeria will have no god but Christ." Echoing this sentiment, Cardinal La Vigerie in 1867 articulated a vision to transform Algerian soil into the bedrock of a significant Christian dominion, envisaging it as "another France dominated by the Gospel as religion and creed." (Ouldennebia, 2020, p. 160)

The administration used its expansive military apparatus to erode the Arab and Islamic identity systematically. From the expropriation of endowments to the restriction of Islamic jurisprudence and the aggressive promotion of Christianization, these strategies were not merely acts of cultural imposition but calculated attempts to dissolve Algeria's distinct cultural identity into a subsumed French ethos.

This integration was further facilitated through the collaborative efforts of certain Algerian leaders and French church authorities, exemplified by figures such as Marshal Vallée, General Bugeaud, and Captain Lamoricière. The latter notably transformed a mosque in Oran into a church, symbolizing the tangible manifestations of these colonial endeavors. (Ibid, 2020, p. 89)

He wrote to the Pope, stating: "I have observed fathers nurturing their sons, which instilled in me a profound admiration; they imparted a lesson that there exists a triumph surpassing all victories, the triumph we achieve for Christ surpasses any worldly conquest." Among the key figures instrumental in the Christianization process in Algeria was Cardinal Charles Lavigerie, who was appointed bishop and arrived in Algeria on May 15, 1867.

Review EL'BAHITH - ENS - Bouzareah - Algiers					
ISSN : 9577-1112	EISSN : 2602-5388	Volume: (18)	Number : (02)	year: 2026	Pages: 35-50

Lavigerie perceived the church's missionary strategies as fraught with risks and consequently advocated for these initiatives to depend on acts of charity, such as the establishment of hospitals, orphanages, schools, and the promotion of the colonizer's culture. (Ibid, 2020, p. 80) He emphasized: "Charity, kindness, sincerity, and fair justice, combined with cautious zeal and vigilance, traits mandated by the Christian creed, are solely capable of fulfilling the objectives originally imposed by force."

Despite France's proclamation of secularism and the enactment of the 1905 law that separated religion from the state, the Directorate persisted in engaging with religious affairs in Algeria, attempting to cultivate a new version of Islam, branded as "Algerian Islam."

3.2 The Enactment of the February 4, 1919 Law and Increasing Harassment Towards Algerians

The promulgation of the law on February 4, 1919, was closely linked to the policies of Charles Jonnart, the Governor-General noted for his "Indigénophile" philosophy. Following the merger of 'Al-Islam' and 'Al-Rashidi', newspapers such as *Al-Iqdam* by Prince Khaled and 'Al-Najah' by Abdul Hafiz Al-Hashimi appeared, alongside 'Al-Siddiq' by Mohammed Ben Bakir. Nonetheless, the appointment of Jean Baptiste Eugène Abel (1919-1921) marked a return to policies of suppression and surveillance, leading to the decline of numerous Arabic civil titles.

A brief period of respite occurred during the administration of Maurice Violette (1925-1927), which saw the emergence of Arabic newspapers such as 'Sada Al-Sahra', 'Al-Haq', 'Al-Shihab', 'Wadi M'zab', 'Al-Barq', 'Al-Balagh Al-Jaza'iri', 'Al-Islah', and in French, 'La Voix Indigène'.

However, this period of relative freedom was short-lived, as Pierre Louis Bordes succeeded Violette as Governor-General (1927-1931), exhibiting pronounced hostility towards local cultures and concerns. Under his governance, the press suffered extensively, some publications ceased while others moderated their

Review EL'BAHITH - ENS - Bouzareah - Algiers					
ISSN : 9577-1112	EISSN : 2602-5388	Volume: (18)	Number : (02)	year: 2026	Pages: 35-50

enthusiasm (Saadallah, 1998, pp. 241–242). Overall, the civil press, while domiciled in its nation, was treated as foreign, with France's policies oscillating between oppression, liberty, and surveillance, granting those in French full rights but severely restricting those in Arabic.

3.3 The Law Separating Religion from the State and the Emergence of a Demand to Return the Administration of Waqf Properties to Muslims

Following vigorous debates in 1906, the financial mission for non-settlers passed a resolution in 1907 that urgently called for the application of the 1905 separation law from France to Algeria. The colonial administration, however, steadfastly maintained its stance: "We cannot abandon the Islamic religious institution we oversee *without* resources, nor can we permit its duties to be executed by Islamic religious associations without our supervision." Article two of the resolution, enacted on September 27, explicitly stated: "The Republic neither recognizes any religious institution nor remunerates them, nor does it provide any financial aid." (Salam, 2012, p. 186)

Yet, clause 11 allowed the Governor-General, in specific districts, to provide temporary compensation to religious scholars appointed personally by him. Despite efforts to sever ties with the Islamic religious institution minimally, the general government sought to maintain control as highlighted by financial delegate Aga Si Mohammed ben Daif: "The majority of Muslims desire the state to return the administration of the Waqf properties to Muslims since the law has deprived them of state-provided financial assistance." (Ibid, 2012, p. 189) However, the colonial state's alignment with its colonial interests made this challenging.

Following a disagreement with Dominique Luciani, the Director of Local Population Affairs, who wielded significant influence, the financial mission for Arab affairs declined to approve the budget for the Islamic religious institution. Subsequently, they submitted a memorandum to the General Governor, highlighting that the properties confiscated in 1830 had not been compensated: "When the domain appropriated all Waqf properties and other assets intended to cover the expenses of

<i>Review EL'BAHITH - ENS - Bouzareah - Algiers</i>					
ISSN : 9577-1112	EISSN : 2602-5388	Volume: (18)	Number : (02)	year: 2026	Pages: 35-50

the religious institution, it unequivocally pledged to allocate its revenues to sustain this institution." (Ibid, 2012, p. 191)

The general government expressed its discontent upon realizing that the Muslim population had become petitioners. Nevertheless, it proceeded to implement the decision of September 1907, which stipulated in its seventeenth clause that associations could be established to gather the necessary funds for maintaining the religious institution.

These associations were tasked with the recruitment and employment of mosque personnel, albeit the state continued to finance their upkeep. However, the directive mandated that the directors and supervisors of these associations be French, effectively excluding "non-naturalized local residents." In a response to an inquiry from Deputy Albin Rozet, Foreign Minister Clemenceau affirmed that "citizens of France may join these associations," a promise that remained unfulfilled. (Ouldennebia, 2020, p. 153)

Despite the enactment of the 1905 law, regarded as a seminal change in French history, the status quo in Algeria persisted unchanged, and the strategy of religious domination continued, grounded in the May 11, 1848, decision. This decision authorized the military authority to establish a special bureau within the civil administration dedicated to overseeing and regulating mosques, zawiyas, their sheikhs, and other religious entities. It also involved nominating candidates for high religious offices, appointing personnel at subordinate centers, supervising the infrastructure and supplies for the religious institution, and handling all financial matters concerning its employees. (Zawi & Ouldennebia, 2022, pp. 142–161)

L. Rinn commented on this situation, noting: "What the state allocated for Islam was markedly insufficient compared to the needs of the local population, who were eager to practice their rituals and were devoutly faithful. As these individuals harbored

limited regard for the official religious scholars, the majority sought to meet their religious needs either through the sheikhs of religious organizations or via independent zawiyas' sheikhs, who conducted religious duties outside any official structure in institutions funded by alms or donations from the devout. This situation is anticipated to persist." (Berque, 1918, p. 158)

Despite the pivotal role and significance of zawiyas in Algerian society, the esteem of religious figures waned, although the administration overstated their influence, contradicting evident reality.

Historian Charles Robert Ageron lamented the ineffectiveness of religious leaders appointed by the authorities due to their affiliation with the administration: "With France establishing an administration to oversee spiritual affairs, it was unforeseeable that a religious bureaucracy, instituted by non-Muslims and financially supported by them – albeit with modest remuneration , would garner significant respect in a Muslim nation or attract the faithful. Is it not said that the imam is compelled to preach contrary to what Islam decrees, a reflection of that era?" (*Al-Basair*, 1936, pp. 4–5).

3.4 The Colonial Administration’s Alliance with the Spiritual Baraka of Sufi Orders

Between 1905 and 1940, a transformative policy emerged in the colonial administration's dealings with zawiyas and religious leaders, particularly concerning the sheikhs of Sufi orders. The mere support of a sheikh by the authorities in extending his influence over a religious group warranted vigilance. Colonial authorities were known to exert their influence during Sufi order conferences, often installing their favored candidates, those endowed with an "administrative blessing," as opposed to those recognized for their spiritual authority.

<i>Review EL'BAHITH - ENS - Bouzareah - Algiers</i>					
ISSN : 9577-1112	EISSN : 2602-5388	Volume: (18)	Number : (02)	year: 2026	Pages: 35-50

This strategic alignment with major religious factions became increasingly conspicuous following the colonial administration's overt hostility toward the local populace. This antagonism was evidenced by the imposition of constraints triggered by the emergence of autonomous intellectual and religious forces. In contrast to its support for Sufi orders, the colonial administration opposed the Association of Muslim Scholars, actively combating the association's publications. (Saadallah, 1998, p. 136)

This stance was underscored by the atmosphere following the centennial celebration of the occupation, which only intensified Algerian disapproval of French arrogance after a century of dominion and control. (Saadallah, 1998, pp. 330–331) Additionally, the inception of the enthusiastic Association of Muslim Scholars, advocating for Islamic revival through Salafism and religious reform, was perceived as a bulwark against Communist infiltration into local communities, according to the colonial viewpoint. (Collot, 1987, p. 84)

4. Restrictions by the Directorate of Civil Affairs on Hajj Affairs

From 1881 to 1886, during the tenure of General Governor Ternan, measures to obstruct the Hajj pilgrimage were documented. (Saadallah, 1998, pp. 31, 43) These attempts were often justified under pretexts such as the outbreak of epidemics or prevailing wars and international tensions. In 1883, directives were issued to administrative leaders in municipalities to subtly discourage locals from the Hajj, alleging that the pilgrimage was fundamentally at odds with religious tolerance. (Ouldennebia, 2020, p. 240)

The colonial administration, particularly the Directorate of Civil Affairs, was invariably influenced by directives from Paris and prevailing French public sentiment. The colonists in Algeria, through their diverse and prolific press,

<i>Review EL'BAHITH - ENS - Bouzareah - Algiers</i>					
ISSN : 9577-1112	EISSN : 2602-5388	Volume: (18)	Number : (02)	year: 2026	Pages: 35-50

exhibited unease, cognizant of France's limited influence in the Hejaz region compared to the British. (Ageron, 1968, p. 569)

For the administration, the Hajj represented a potential breach in the internal isolation and embargo imposed on Algerians, often restricting their migration and travel. In this context, it is pertinent to note a directive from Governor-General Albert Grévy dated August 31, 1880, which aimed to "minimize the number of pilgrims to Mecca as much as possible, to prevent pilgrims from participating in religious processions that oppose our dominion, and to obstruct any opportunity for these pilgrims to establish connections with agitators who have escaped to Islamic countries." (Administrative Directory of Algeria, 1933, p. 196).

5. Restrictions on the Crescent Committee and Islamic Affairs

In 1930, the colonial regime in Algeria instituted advisory committees for Islamic religious ceremonies in each district, advisory committees... strikingly led by Europeans and including members from the colonial police force. In a further development in 1933(al-Ibrahimi, 1978, p. 107), the Crescent Committee was established to oversee the determination of lunar months, orchestrate religious holidays, and regulate Hajj affairs. Predominantly, the committee members were loyalists, dedicated to advancing the interests of the local colonial administration.

In response to these developments, Sheikh El Ibrahimi remarked, "From this modest regulation, it was clear that Ramadan held little significance to the government beyond its non-inclusion as a public holiday; it was more of a burden to the committee. We discerned that the committee's announcements were made carelessly, without verification, as if the announcer's very survival depended on it, spoken from behind a wall." (Ouldennebia, 2019, p. 147)

This revelation indicated that prior to the formation of these committees, religious matters such as moon sighting were managed by muftis. However, with the rise of

<i>Review EL'BAHITH - ENS - Bouzareah - Algiers</i>					
ISSN : 9577-1112	EISSN : 2602-5388	Volume: (18)	Number : (02)	year: 2026	Pages: 35-50

the Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars and the broader reform movement, the colonial authorities recognized a growing threat in the verification of moon sighting within the Muslim Algerian community. (J.O.R.F, 1935, p. 1268)

6. Provocative Publication by Michel in 1933 and Renier Decision in 1935:

In 1933, a provocative publication authored by Michel was released, directly targeting the members of the Association of Algerian Muslims and, more specifically, the reformist figures among them. This publication contained directives aimed at security personnel and the French colonial administration, urging them to intensify surveillance over the activities of Algerian scholars and to tighten control over their movements. The publication propagated false claims, including assertions that Algerians were discontent with the actions of these scholars and that there were alleged links between them and political movements in the Arab East.

Subsequently, the arbitrary Renier decision followed in 1935. Issued on March 30, 1935, it explicitly rejected the implementation of any substantive reforms in Algeria. Instead, it adopted a repressive tone, threatening the use of force against individuals labeled as Algerian agitators. The three articles of this decision uniformly emphasized punitive measures, warning of repercussions for individuals who engaged in demonstrations or who resisted French colonial policies and laws.

Renier, who was serving as the French Minister of the Interior at the time, promulgated this decision during his visit to Algeria in March 1935. The decision consisted of three key provisions. The first article declared that any local Algerians or foreigners residing in Algeria who disrupted public order would be subject to imprisonment for a term ranging from three months to two years, in addition to incurring fines ranging between 500 and 5,000 francs. (Kaddach, 2016, p. 368) In

<i>Review EL'BAHITH - ENS - Bouzareah - Algiers</i>					
ISSN : 9577-1112	EISSN : 2602-5388	Volume: (18)	Number : (02)	year: 2026	Pages: 35-50

essence, this decision served as a continuation and reinforcement of Michel's earlier directives.

7. Conclusion

The overarching aim of the local colonial administration was to intensify restrictions and undermine the reform movement throughout Algeria, given the latter's critical role in resisting and opposing colonial rule. From its inception, the political activities of the nationalist movement represented a significant concern for the French administration, which actively worked to curtail nationalist efforts. Among the administrative entities most engaged in this task was the Directorate of Civil Affairs.

The approach taken by the Directorate varied according to its leadership. During the tenure of Luciani, the Director of Civil Affairs, young Francophile Algerian elites experienced notable constraints on their freedom, an approach not necessarily mirrored by his predecessors or successors. A particularly significant moment of resistance emerged through the petition submitted by the Association of Muslim Scholars to the Director of Civil Affairs, Mio.

This petition represented one of the most prominent responses by Algerians to colonial governance. It sought to appeal directly to the General Director of Civil Affairs, urging the cancellation of arbitrary individual decrees and demanding the restoration of the right to education in mosques, an activity that had been systematically obstructed and ultimately prohibited for the Association of Scholars.

Although framed as a petition and formal protest against the policies of the colonial regime, the association's demands were presented within a tone of loyalty. This strategic formulation rendered the demands palatable, or at least not outright rejected, by the colonial authorities, as advocated by prominent reformist leaders such as Ibn Badis and El Ibrahimi.

Review EL'BAHITH - ENS - Bouzareah - Algiers					
ISSN : 9577-1112	EISSN : 2602-5388	Volume: (18)	Number : (02)	year: 2026	Pages: 35-50

The efforts of the Directorate of Civil Affairs between 1935 and 1937 to constrain the reformist current spearheaded by the Association of Muslim Scholars catalyzed a significant evolution in the political demands of the Algerian people. This transformation was clearly reflected in the list of demands submitted by the executive committee on behalf of the Islamic Conference.

These demands included: the abolition of all exceptional laws; the direct integration of Algeria into France; the termination of the system of financial delegations, mixed municipalities, and the overarching general government. These calls effectively advocated for the equal application of laws to both French citizens and Algerians, asserting that the legal principles of the French Republic should extend fully to Algeria as an integral part of France.

In other words, this reformist strategy sought to challenge colonialism by employing the very legal and institutional frameworks established by the colonizers. Ultimately, this approach had significant implications for the religious and cultural life in Algeria, underscoring the broader socio-political impact of the reform movement during this critical historical juncture.

8. References

Administrative Directory of Algeria (Grand Edition). (1933).

Ageron, C-R. (1968). *Muslim Algerians and France 1871–1919* (Volumes 1–2). Paris.

Al-Basair. (1936, August 7). *Michel's decree against scholars: Administration Prefecture in Algeria, Civil Works Department, General Police Service* (Issue 31).

Al-Ibrahimi, M. B. (1978). *Traces of Imam Mohammed Bashir al-Ibrahimi* (Vol. 1, Compiled and presented by Ahmed Taleb al-Ibrahimi).

Berque, A. (1918). *An attempt to prepare a critical bibliography of Algerian Islamic Sufi associations*. Oran, Algeria: Geography Society Bulletin.

Review EL'BAHITH - ENS - Bouzareah - Algiers					
ISSN : 9577-1112	EISSN : 2602-5388	Volume: (18)	Number : (02)	year: 2026	Pages: 35-50

Collot, C. (1987). *The Institutions of Algeria During the Colonial Period (1830–1962)*. Paris/Algiers: CNRS Editions & Office des Publications Universitaires (OPU).

Kaddach, M. (2016). *History of the Algerian national movement 1919–1939* (Part 1, Translated by Ahmed Ben al-Bar). Bordj El Kiffan, Algeria: Dar Al-Ummah for Printing, Distribution, and Publishing.

Kebaili, H. (2016). *French policy towards Islam and its institutions in Algeria 1830–1962*. Algeria: Dar Al-Quds Al-Arabi.

Official Journal of the French Republic (J.O.R.F). (1935, April 5). p. 1268.

Oueldennebia, K. , & Gouasmia, A. (2024). *The Algerians and the Directorate of Civil Affairs during the colonial era 1833–1947*. Oran, Algeria: Dar Al-Quds Al-Arabi.

Oueldennebia, K. (2019). *History of the local colonial administration in Algeria 1830–1954 through archival documents*. Ben Aknoun, Algeria: Treasures of Wisdom Publishing House.

Oueldennebia, K. (2020). *The colonial municipality in Algeria 1863–1947 through archival documents*. Batna, Algeria: Al-Muthaqaf Publishing House.

Saadallah, Abu Lkasem. (1998). *Cultural history of Algeria 1830–1954* (Vol. 4, 1st ed.). Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami.

Saadallah, A.Q. (1998). *Cultural history of Algeria 1830–1954* (Vol. 5, 1st ed.). Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami.

Saadallah, A.Q. (1998). *Research and opinions in the history of Algeria* (Vol. 5). Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami.

Salam, S. (2012). *France and its Muslims: A century of Islamic policy 1895–2005* (Translated by Zahida Darwish Jabbour). Abu Dhabi: Abu Dhabi Authority for Culture and Heritage.

Zawi, N., & Oueldennebia, K. (2022, July). The failure of colonialism in spreading missionary education in Algeria (1867–1904). *Maghreb Journal of Research and Historical and Social Studies*, 14(01), 142–161.