

Crimes of Exile in Colonial Policy: The Fate of the Revolutionaries of 1871 as a Model

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Abstract:

This study examines the French colonial policy of exile and deportation through the case of the revolutionaries of the 1871 uprising led by Bash Agha al-Muqrani and Sheikh al-Haddad. The transformation of the French political system from military administration to civilian rule in Algeria contributed to the dismantling of traditional local leadership structures, the abolition of the Arab bureaux, and the intensification of colonial control over Algerian society. These developments triggered one of the largest popular uprisings of the nineteenth century, especially after the participation of the Rahmaniyya order under Sheikh al-Haddad. Using a historical and analytical approach based on archival sources and specialized historical studies, this paper examines the causes of the uprising, the methods employed by the French colonial authorities to suppress it, and the fate of its leaders after the defeat of the resistance. The study demonstrates that exile and deportation to New Caledonia were not merely punitive measures, but part of a broader colonial strategy aimed at dismantling Algerian social and political structures. Despite the military defeat of the uprising, the revolution preserved the spirit of resistance and reinforced national consciousness among Algerians during the colonial period.

Keywords: Exile; Colonial policy; al-Muqrani; Sheikh al-Haddad; Algerian resistance; New Caledonia.

Résumé:

Le changement de régime français a entraîné un changement de régime algérien, passant du régime militaire au régime civil. Ce système a conduit à l'abolition de la bureaucratie arabe, à la naturalisation des Juifs et à l'abandon du leadership local par les Algériens, tentant ainsi de le dissoudre au sein de la société. Cette dernière était l'une des principales directions dirigées par Bash Agha Al-Muqrani. La région a été le théâtre d'une révolution majeure, notamment l'adhésion de Cheikh Al-Haddad et des adeptes de l'ordre Rahmani. Cette révolution s'est terminée par la répression française, qui a utilisé les méthodes les plus laides et les plus sévères pour réprimer cette révolution. La punition infligée aux Algériens participant à la résistance fut l'exil vers l'inconnu et la déportation vers des camps de travail sur l'île de Calédonie.

Mots clés: Exil; Al-Muqrani; Révolutionnaires; France; Calédonie;.

Introduction

The Algerian resistance movement against French colonialism during the nineteenth century constitutes one of the most important historical experiences of anti-colonial struggle in North Africa. From the beginning of the French occupation in 1830, Algerian society continuously expressed its rejection of colonial domination through a series of armed uprisings, religious mobilizations, and political resistance movements led by tribal chiefs, religious scholars, and Sufi orders. Among the most significant of these uprisings was the revolution of 1871 led by Bash Agha Muhammad al-Muqrani and Sheikh Muhammad al-Haddad, which represented one of the largest popular revolutions against French colonial rule during the nineteenth century.

This revolution occupies a central place in Algerian history not only because of the geographical extent of its spread and the large number of participants involved, but also because of the profound political, social, and economic consequences that resulted from its suppression. The uprising erupted during a critical historical moment marked by political instability in France following its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and the collapse of the Second Empire. These events coincided with major transformations in colonial policy in Algeria, particularly the replacement of military administration with civilian rule, the abolition of the Arab bureaux, and the implementation of assimilationist policies that sought to weaken traditional Algerian leadership structures and reinforce direct colonial control over society.

The revolution of al-Muqrani and al-Haddad was therefore not merely a spontaneous tribal revolt, but rather a broad political and religious movement that reflected the growing dissatisfaction of Algerian society with colonial oppression, economic exploitation, excessive taxation, land confiscation, and the marginalization of indigenous elites. The participation of the Rahmaniyya order under the leadership of Sheikh al-Haddad gave the uprising a spiritual and popular dimension that enabled it to mobilize thousands of fighters from different tribes and regions. Consequently, the revolution represented both a national and religious response to the expansion of French colonial domination.

The French colonial administration reacted with extreme violence to suppress the uprising. Beyond military repression, the colonial authorities adopted systematic punitive measures aimed at dismantling the social foundations of resistance. These measures included collective punishment, confiscation of tribal lands, financial penalties, imprisonment, forced displacement, and exile. Among the harshest policies implemented after the defeat of the revolution was the deportation of Algerian resistance leaders and participants to New Caledonia. Exile thus became a colonial instrument designed not only to punish revolutionaries but also to destroy local leadership networks and weaken the political cohesion of Algerian society.

The issue of exile and deportation remains one of the least explored dimensions of French colonial policy in Algeria despite its profound impact on the structure of Algerian society and the collective memory of resistance. Most historical studies have focused primarily on the military and political aspects of the uprising, while less attention has been devoted to the human consequences of colonial repression and the experiences of Algerian deportees in exile. This study therefore seeks to contribute to the historiography of Algerian resistance by examining exile as a central mechanism of colonial domination and repression.

The importance of this study also lies in its attempt to analyze the relationship between colonial violence and resistance movements within the broader framework of nineteenth-century French imperial expansion. Through the case of the revolutionaries of 1871, the study highlights how colonial

authorities employed exile, displacement, and collective punishment as tools for restructuring Algerian society and consolidating colonial control. At the same time, it demonstrates how these repressive practices failed to eliminate the spirit of resistance among Algerians, who continued to preserve their political consciousness and national identity despite imprisonment and forced exile.

Methodologically, this research relies on the descriptive and analytical historical approach through the examination of archival documents, colonial records, correspondence, and specialized historical studies dealing with the revolution of 1871 and French colonial policy in Algeria. The study also draws upon both Algerian and French historiographical sources in order to provide a balanced and critical interpretation of the events and their consequences. Particular attention is devoted to the analysis of colonial judicial procedures, deportation policies, and the social conditions experienced by Algerian revolutionaries in exile.

This paper therefore seeks to answer several central questions: What were the main causes and circumstances that led to the outbreak of the revolution of 1871? How did the French colonial administration suppress the uprising? What forms of punishment were imposed upon the revolutionaries and the participating tribes? And to what extent did exile and deportation function as instruments of colonial domination and social fragmentation in Algeria?

By addressing these questions, the study aims to shed light on an important yet insufficiently studied dimension of Algerian resistance history and to contribute to a deeper understanding of the mechanisms of colonial repression and their long-term consequences on Algerian society.

1. Causes and circumstances of this revolution:

Several internal and external factors combined to accelerate the outbreak of the 1871 revolution. French intelligence reports repeatedly emphasized the existence of foreign influences that, directly or indirectly, encouraged Algerians to rise against French colonial interests in the region. The colonial administration remained convinced that the growing unrest in Algeria was not solely the result of internal tensions, but was also connected to broader international developments that weakened France politically and militarily during that period.

Among the most important external factors was the propaganda disseminated by German agents during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. German circles sought to exploit Algerian dissatisfaction with French colonial rule in order to destabilize France in North Africa. In November 1870, an official German newspaper published an alleged letter said to have been addressed by Algerians to Emperor Wilhelm I, in which they expressed their joy at Germany's victory over France and congratulated the German Empire on its military success. This publication provoked a strong reaction among several Algerian religious and judicial figures, including judges, imams, and muftis, who publicly denied the authenticity of the letter and rejected the accusations contained within it. France, however, interpreted the incident as evidence of German attempts to incite Algerians against French authority and considered it part of a broader strategy aimed at weakening French colonial influence in Algeria. (Al-Asali, 2010, p. 93)

Another important factor was the role played by Prince Muhyiddin, the son of Emir Abdelkader, who was residing in Tunisia at the time. In late October 1870, he sent a series of letters to Algerian tribal and religious leaders urging them to declare jihad against French colonial rule. Bash Agha al-Muqrani was among those who received these letters, which had a significant impact on the revolutionary atmosphere that preceded the uprising of 1871. The call of Prince Muhyiddin contributed to strengthening anti-colonial sentiment among the population and encouraged many

Algerians to join the ranks of the resistance movement. These appeals also revived memories of the earlier resistance led by Emir Abdelkader and reinforced the religious legitimacy of armed struggle against foreign occupation. (Rinn, *History of the 1871 Uprising in Algeria*, 2013, p. 138)

The Ottoman Empire likewise played an indirect yet influential role in encouraging resistance against French colonialism. Although the Ottoman authorities did not intervene militarily, several historical documents reveal the existence of communication between Ottoman representatives and the leaders of the uprising. One of these letters referred explicitly to the support promised by the Sublime Porte, stating: “The origin of our struggle and disobedience against the enemies of our religion came through the will and desire of the Sublime State, which advised us through the late Ali Pasha and promised us secret and public assistance in weapons and money.” Such statements demonstrate that the leaders of the revolution perceived the Ottoman Empire as a symbolic source of political and religious support, even if such assistance remained indirect and limited in practice. (Bouaziz, *The Revolution of 1871: The Role of the al-Muqrani and al-Haddad Families*, 1975, p. 174)

In addition to these external influences, the outbreak of the revolution was fundamentally rooted in the deteriorating internal conditions experienced by Algeria under French colonial rule. During the late 1860s, Algeria suffered from severe economic, social, and political crises. The country experienced repeated droughts, famine, locust invasions, and epidemics that caused the death of thousands of Algerians and devastated agricultural production. These disasters intensified popular suffering and deepened hostility toward the colonial administration, which failed to provide meaningful relief to the population. At the same time, French colonial expansion continued through the confiscation of tribal lands, the destruction of traditional social structures, and the imposition of increasingly oppressive taxation policies. (Burzet, 1869, p. 53)

The revolution was also influenced by the broader political transformation taking place within France itself. Following France’s defeat in the Franco-Prussian War and the collapse of the Second Empire, the French political system shifted from imperial monarchy to republican rule. This transformation produced major changes in colonial administration in Algeria, most notably the replacement of military rule with civilian administration and the abolition of the Arab bureaux system. These reforms weakened the authority of traditional Algerian leaders and intensified fears among tribal elites that French colonialism intended to eliminate their remaining political influence altogether.

Moreover, the promulgation of the Crémieux Decree in 1870, which granted French citizenship to Algerian Jews while excluding the Muslim majority, generated widespread resentment among Algerians. Many Muslims perceived the decree as a deliberate attempt to divide Algerian society and reinforce colonial inequality. The growing influence of European settlers and Jewish commercial elites, supported by the colonial administration, further contributed to social tensions and increased hostility toward French rule.

Within this context, Bash Agha al-Muqrani increasingly became convinced that cooperation with the colonial administration would no longer preserve his political authority or the interests of his people. The weakening of local leadership, the expansion of civilian colonial control, and the humiliation experienced by traditional tribal elites pushed him toward open rebellion. Consequently, the uprising of 1871 emerged not as an isolated tribal revolt, but rather as the culmination of deep political, economic, social, and religious tensions that had accumulated over decades of French colonial domination in Algeria.

The causes of the revolution were also rooted in the deteriorating conditions experienced by Algeria under French colonial rule and in the succession of popular uprisings that preceded the events of 1871, such as the revolt of the Ouled Sidi Sheikh in southern Algeria in 1864 and other resistance movements. In addition, the regions of Greater and Lesser Kabylia were subjected to massacres, torture, and widespread confiscations during Marshal Randon's military campaigns. These circumstances coincided with the political turmoil taking place in France itself following its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War and the collapse of the imperial regime, which led to the transition from monarchy to republican rule and was accompanied by a wave of revolts and internal disturbances. (Saad Allah, 2015, pp. 53–54)

According to Abd al-Rahman al-Jilali, the principal causes of the revolution can be summarized in France's defeat in the war against Germany and the transformation of its political system from monarchy to republic, in addition to the increase in taxation that impoverished the Algerian population. He also emphasized the impact of the Crémieux Decree of 1870, which granted French citizenship to Algerian Jews while preserving their personal status, a measure that generated widespread resentment among Muslims and deepened social tensions within colonial society. (Al-Jilali, 1994, pp. 305–306)

Yahya Bouaziz, in his analysis of the causes and circumstances of the revolution, highlights the role of Bash Agha al-Muqrani and the difficult situation in which he found himself as a result of his close association with the French colonial administration on the one hand and his financial dependence on loans obtained from the Bank of Algeria on the other. Unable to repay these debts, al-Muqrani increasingly opposed the growing influence of Jewish merchants supported by Crémieux, the Minister of Justice and Keeper of the Seals. Expressing his frustration, al-Muqrani reportedly declared: "I am prepared to place my neck beneath the sword and have my head cut off, but I will never obey anyone except soldiers, nor will I submit to the rule of Jewish merchants." This situation ultimately pushed him toward open revolt and the decision to launch the uprising. (Bouaziz, *Algerian Revolutions in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 2009, pp. 244–245)

Some French studies, particularly those of Louis Rinn on the Sufi brotherhoods, indicate that the heavy taxation imposed by the colonial authorities affected influential figures such as Bash Agha al-Muqrani, who succeeded in mobilizing his followers against French rule and persuading Sheikh al-Haddad to join the revolution. Yahya Bouaziz also referred to this interpretation in his discussion of the uprising of al-Muqrani and al-Haddad in *Algerian Revolutions in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. (Bouaziz, 2009, pp. 234–235)

The transformation of the political system in France consequently produced major changes in colonial administration in Algeria, where military rule was replaced by civilian administration. This transition resulted in the abolition of the Arab bureaux system and the weakening of traditional local leaderships through policies aimed at dissolving their authority within Algerian society. Among the most affected leaders was Bash Agha al-Muqrani, particularly in the Majana region, where the colonial administration gradually sought to reduce his political influence and social authority. (Weshane, *Majana, Capital of the Emirate of the Moqraniids: Three Centuries of Political Struggle and Military Jihad*, 2007, p. 133)

Louis Rinn confirmed this reality when he wrote that "the heads of these families failed to understand that they existed only to serve the French authorities and execute their orders." (Rinn, *Histoire de l'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie*, 1891, pp. 20–22)

Beginning in January 1871, al-Muqrani intensified his contacts with regional leaders and religious figures. He visited Ibn Ali al-Sharif, Bash Agha of Akbou, as well as the sheikh of the Shalata Zawiya. He also met Sheikh Muhammad Amzian al-Haddad, leader of the Rahmaniyya order in Seddouk, who in turn expanded communication among the members and followers of the zawiya. During this period, the zawiya of Seddouk witnessed a remarkable influx of visitors and pilgrims. According to the report of the French officer Louis Rinn, “the number of pilgrims arriving in Seddouk increased considerably, while religious enthusiasm intensified in an alarming manner. Groups of pilgrims led by the muqaddams walked barefoot while chanting dhikr, and the women who visited the sheikh were no less enthusiastic than the men. Something was clearly being prepared in secret.” (Al-Qasimi, 2013, p. 818)

Events of the Revolution:

The events of the 1871 revolution began with the mobilization of the forces of al-Hajj Muhammad al-Muqrani in the Majana region on 15 March 1871, as fighters gathered from various areas to participate in the uprising. The number of combatants soon reached nearly six thousand mujahidin, after which al-Muqrani advanced toward Bordj Bou Arreridj, where many Algerians serving within the French auxiliary guard forces joined his ranks. (Al-Qasimi, 2013, p. 819)

The revolution rapidly expanded across a vast geographical area, particularly in northeastern Algeria. Its influence extended from Hajout, ChercHELL, and Miliana in the west to Jijel and El Kala in the east, and from Batna, Bou Saada, and Sour El Ghazlane in the south to the mountains of Djurdjura, Biban, and Babour, in addition to the regions of the Soummam Valley and Hodna. The uprising also reached Mitidja, Béjaïa, Dellys, Tizi Ouzou, Bordj Menäiel, Draâ El Mizan, and Beni Hanni. (Bouaziz, *The Revolution of Bash Agha Muhammad al-Muqrani and Sheikh al-Haddad in 1871*, 2009, p. 204)

Despite the reservations of Sheikh Muhammad Amzian al-Haddad, who, because of his advanced age, was reluctant to engage in warfare that might threaten the stability of his zawiya, his son Si Aziz eventually persuaded him to proclaim jihad on 8 April 1871 in the town of Seddouk. More than one hundred and twenty-five thousand mujahidin representing nearly 250 tribes responded to the call for jihad under the banner of the Rahmaniyya order. Sheikh al-Haddad personally led the movement and advanced toward the Babour Mountains in northern Constantine, where many followers of the Rahmaniyya brotherhood were concentrated. The battles of the uprising soon spread as far as Algiers and the Mitidja plain. (Al-Jilali, 1994, p. 311)

Historical accounts estimate that the revolutionaries fought nearly 350 battles (al-Alawi, 1992, p. 204), while the total number of participants eventually reached approximately 200,000 mujahidin. In response, Paris dispatched a massive military expedition supported by a large naval fleet commanded by Admiral Gueydon, who was widely known for his brutality and arrogance. French land and naval forces coordinated their operations to suppress the uprising, while warships bombarded the strongholds of the revolutionaries. (Saadi, 2013, p. 591)

The uprising suffered a decisive setback with the martyrdom of al-Muqrani at al-Siflat near Sour El Ghazlane on 5 May 1871. Leadership of the resistance subsequently passed to his brother Sheikh Boumezrag, who was thirty-five years old at the time. (Al-Jilali, 1994, p. 312)

Following these developments, Sheikh Aziz, son of Sheikh al-Haddad, surrendered to the colonial authorities, followed shortly afterward by his brother Sheikh Muhammad and Sheikh al-Haddad himself on 13 July 1871 in the region of Tizi Lakhel in Oued al-Sahel. On 19 April 1873, Sheikh al-

Haddad was sentenced to five years of imprisonment; however, because of his advanced age and deteriorating health, he died only five days later at the age of eighty-three and was buried in Constantine. His two sons, meanwhile, were deported into exile in New Caledonia. (Al-Jilali, 1994, p. 315)

2. The results of this revolution and the fate of its leaders:

3.1. Its effects on the region :

- The revolution of 1871 produced profound consequences and far-reaching repercussions for both individuals and communities throughout Algeria. The suppression of the uprising resulted in the martyrdom of no fewer than sixty thousand Algerians, the execution of nearly six thousand others, and the displacement and forced migration of thousands of families. Following the arrest of the principal leaders of the uprising, the colonial administration implemented a policy of collective confiscation targeting the lands and properties of approximately 314 tribes accused of supporting the resistance. Those who had participated in or encouraged the revolution were systematically disarmed, while their possessions and agricultural lands were seized by the colonial authorities.

- The properties and estates belonging to al-Muqrani and his family, estimated at forty-nine hectares, were entirely confiscated. Likewise, all the lands and possessions of Sheikh al-Haddad and his sons, Si Muhammad and Si Aziz, amounting to nearly 502 hectares, were seized by the colonial administration. Special committees were subsequently established to supervise the collective confiscation of tribal properties belonging to communities that had taken part in the uprising. These measures were largely motivated by revenge and by the colonial principle of collective responsibility in punishment, as the authorities paid little attention either to the social circumstances of the affected populations or to the existence of any legal framework regulating such confiscations. (Leroy-Beaulieu, 1887, pp. 73–75)

- The colonial administration also imposed extremely heavy taxes upon the tribes and families involved in the revolution. In addition to individual penalties, collective war taxes were levied against entire communities, the total amount of which reached nearly thirty-six million French francs. These revenues were later used to finance the settlement of new European colonists arriving from the Alsace-Lorraine region after the Franco-Prussian War. The confiscated Algerian lands were subsequently redistributed free of charge to these settlers as part of the broader colonial settlement policy pursued by France in Algeria. (Batash, 1971, p. 164)

- In parallel with these economic sanctions, the colonial authorities issued mass death sentences against approximately six thousand Algerians accused of participating in the uprising. Some of these sentences were later commuted to life imprisonment or deportation into exile. The repression also triggered a large wave of forced migration, as nearly sixteen thousand Algerians fled to Tunisia and Syria in order to escape persecution. Many others were compelled to migrate toward the interior regions and the desert, while thousands were deported abroad under colonial exile policies. Altogether, the number of displaced and exiled Algerians reached approximately 80,500 individuals, reflecting the enormous human cost of the suppression of the revolution of 1871.

3.2. The fate of the revolutionaries of Al-Muqrani and Al-Haddad:

A/ Trials:

Since the confiscation of lands and property was considered insufficient punishment by the colonial authorities, a second phase of repression was initiated through a series of trials aimed at exacting

revenge upon the revolutionaries. In early 1873, approximately 213 Algerians accused of participating in the uprising were brought before the Criminal Court of Constantine in an atmosphere dominated by hostility and a determination to impose the harshest possible penalties upon the defendants.

All those who had fallen under colonial control, including members of the al-Muqrani and al-Haddad families, were prosecuted and subjected to punishments considered even more severe than the confiscation of their possessions. This clearly demonstrates that the objective of these trials was not the application of justice, but rather the implementation of a policy of revenge and intimidation against the leaders of the resistance. The accused faced numerous charges, including murder, incitement to disorder, disturbance of public order, encouraging the population to rebel against French authority, and participation in the destruction and burning of public and private property. (Fayed, *Aspects of the Life of Sheikh Si Aziz Ibn al-Haddad*, 2010, p. 71)

Several accusations were specifically directed against Boumezrag al-Muqrani, and according to the colonial judiciary, the confirmation of only one of these charges was sufficient to justify a death sentence. He was accused of participating in attacks against the provinces of Constantine and Algiers during the uprising of 1871, mobilizing the population for war, occupying public and private lands and properties, attacking towns, ports, marketplaces, and commercial establishments, resisting colonial military forces, leading armed insurgent groups, and encouraging people to engage in rebellion and acts considered criminal by the colonial authorities. (Bouaziz, *The Revolution of Bash Agha Muhammad al-Muqrani and Sheikh al-Haddad in 1871*, 2009, pp. 327–328)

Nearly identical accusations were brought against Sheikh Muhammad Amzian Ben Ali al-Haddad and his two sons, Aziz and Muhammad. According to the court records, Sheikh al-Haddad, despite being nearly eighty years old, had allegedly directed a movement of rebellion and armed resistance in the Béjaïa region by encouraging the population to take up arms and by supporting attacks on villages and rural settlements, accompanied by acts of looting and destruction.

Regarding Si Aziz, the colonial authorities claimed that he had devoted all his efforts to ensuring the success of the uprising among the tribes and that he had participated, alongside his brother, in attacks against Imoula and Qasr al-Qaid, while also imposing levies and taxes upon local populations. He was accused of encouraging disobedience against French authority and of inciting acts of burning, destruction, and sabotage carried out during the revolt. (Fayed, *Leaders of the Mokrani Revolution before the Criminal Court in Constantine in 1872*, 2017, p. 156)

The reports concerning Sheikh Muhammad similarly portrayed him as an ardent supporter of jihad and one of the most active leaders of the uprising in Oued al-Sahel. He was accused of participating in attacks against Imoula, organizing acts of rebellion and destruction, attacking factories and commercial establishments, besieging Béjaïa and its surrounding areas, collecting weapons, and distributing them to insurgent groups. The colonial authorities further charged him with mobilizing the population for revolt, attacking villages and inhabitants, and participating in acts of arson and sabotage throughout the year 1871. (Fayed, *Leaders of the Mokrani Revolution before the Criminal Court in Constantine in 1872*, 2017, p. 157)

The similarity of the accusations directed against the principal leaders of the uprising clearly reflects the determination of the colonial judiciary to impose the most severe punishments possible, ranging from execution to imprisonment and exile. The Criminal Court of Constantine delivered its verdicts against Boumezrag on 27 March 1873 and against Sheikh al-Haddad and his sons on 17 April 1873. Researcher Bashir Fayed summarized these sentences as follows:

First, Boumezrag al-Muqrani was sentenced to death as the leader of the uprising following the martyrdom of his brother; however, the sentence was later commuted to deportation and exile in New Caledonia. Second, Sheikh al-Haddad was sentenced to five years of imprisonment, although he died only five days after the verdict was issued. Third, Sheikh Muhammad was sentenced to ten years of imprisonment, a sentence that was later converted into exile abroad. Finally, Si Aziz was sentenced to deportation and exile outside Algeria. (Fayed, *Leaders of the Mokrani Revolution before the Criminal Court in Constantine in 1872*, 2017, pp. 160–161)

B/Expulsion and banishment:

In his work *Histoire de l'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie* (The Uprising of 1871 in Algeria), the French officer Louis Rinn described the Algerian revolutionaries brought before the Criminal Court as miserable individuals who, according to French colonial law, were not regarded as genuine French citizens. (Rinn, *Histoire de l'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie*, 1891, pp. 650–651) This perception was reflected in the harsh treatment they endured during the trials and in the severity of the sentences imposed upon them. Following these judicial rulings, the colonial administration implemented a policy of deportation and exile to New Caledonia, where the number of deportees exceeded five thousand individuals, including 104 Algerians, according to a letter sent by Si Aziz to Hussein bin Shaalal and members of his family in Algeria in June 1877. (Weshane, *Immigration and Displacement Policy: A Colonial Approach in Algeria*, 2012, p. 145). Among the most prominent figures condemned to exile was Boumezrag al-Muqrani, whose death sentence, as previously mentioned, was commuted by presidential decree in August 1873 to deportation and forced exile in New Caledonia. Sheikh Aziz ibn al-Haddad and his brother Muhammad were subjected to the same fate. (Bouaziz, *The Revolution of Bash Agha Muhammad al-Muqrani and Sheikh al-Haddad in 1871*, 2009, p. 333)

4. Their activity in exile:

As for the activities of these revolutionaries during exile, Boumezrag al-Muqrani, for example, played an important role alongside the French colonial authorities during the Kanak uprising in New Caledonia. He contributed to the recovery of several towns seized by the rebels and helped protect the capital, Nouméa, from falling into their hands. As a result, the colonial administration acknowledged his services and decided to grant him a pardon. Nevertheless, he refused to return to Algeria for reasons that remain unknown and continued to reside in exile until 1904, when his son al-Wunughi, Mufti of Tlemcen, obtained official authorization for his return after thirty-one years of exile. Boumezrag then settled in Algiers, where he died one year later, in 1905, at the age of sixty-six. (Weshane, *Immigration and Displacement Policy: A Colonial Approach in Algeria*, 2012, p. 146)

As for Si Aziz, he was distinguished by his remarkable activity and determination during exile. During the early years of his deportation, he worked alongside nearly fifty Algerian revolutionaries in agricultural labor in order to secure their daily livelihood. Despite the harsh conditions of exile, they continued to practice their religious rituals and remained proud of the sacrifices they had made for their homeland, as one of their fellow detainees later recounted. (Bouaziz, *The Testaments of Sheikh al-Haddad and the Memoirs of His Son Si Aziz*, 1989, p. 72)

Si Aziz also maintained extensive correspondence with the colonial administration, much of which has been preserved in the Overseas Archives. Among these documents is a letter dated July 1882 addressed by Aziz ibn Sheikh al-Haddad to the Governor-General, in which he requested a pardon and permission to return to Algeria after his son Muhammad al-Salih had been pardoned. (See Appendix No. 1) (A.N.O.M., 1873)

However, the absence of any response from the colonial authorities to his repeated correspondence eventually prompted him to flee aboard a British ship bound for Sydney, Australia, in May 1881, after his brother Muhammad refused to accompany him, declaring: “What has happened to me because of listening to you is enough for me.” From Australia, Si Aziz travelled to Jeddah, where he arrived in June 1881 before settling permanently in Mecca. There he married and had two children, Muhammad al-Sadiq and Khadija, thus ending his long journey of exile in the Hijaz while never abandoning hope of one day returning to Algeria. (Fayed, *Aspects of the Life of Sheikh Si Aziz Ibn al-Haddad*, 2010, p. 72)

According to an account transmitted by one of his grandchildren and reported by the historian Yahya Bouaziz, the colonial authorities eventually granted Si Aziz a pardon after he succeeded in recovering several antiquities that had been looted from a Franco-British archaeological mission in the region of Jeddah. This action earned him the praise of the French consul, who wrote to the French authorities recommending that he be pardoned in 1895. He was subsequently granted the freedom to reside wherever he wished, either in France or outside the French colonies, including Algeria. He chose to settle in France, where he died on 21 August 1895 at the age of fifty-three. His body was later transferred to Algeria by his son Muhammad al-Salih aboard a French steamer and buried in Constantine beside his father. (Fayed, *Aspects of the Life of Sheikh Si Aziz Ibn al-Haddad*, 2010, p. 73)

Conclusion:

After internal circumstances enabled the French army to suppress the Mokrani revolution, severe repercussions affected all the inhabitants of the regions that had supported and participated in the uprising. The colonial administration imposed heavy taxes on the tribes involved in the revolution, and these taxes were divided into three categories according to the degree of participation in resistance against the French forces.

A tax of seventy francs was imposed on individuals merely suspected by French officials of sympathizing with the revolution. A second tax of one hundred and forty francs was levied upon those who had enlisted in or provided assistance to the uprising. Finally, a tax of two hundred and ten francs was imposed on all those who had directly participated in the fighting and openly demonstrated hostility toward French rule. The colonial authorities also determined the financial contribution required from each family, and in cases of refusal to pay, properties were confiscated, while women and children were subjected to arrest and detention.

As for the tribes that had openly joined the revolution, they were collectively required to pay the full amount imposed upon them, which reached approximately 26,844,220 francs. In addition, the colonial administration confiscated their weapons, including 6,365 rifles, 1,239 pistols, 1,826 swords, and three cannons.

Among the principal consequences of the suppression of the uprising were :

- The continuation of collective fines imposed upon the Algerian population, estimated at approximately thirty-six and a half million francs, which were allocated to colonial settlement projects between 1871 and 1881. These measures particularly benefited settlers arriving from Alsace-Lorraine and southern France.
- The colonial authorities also confiscated tribal lands and private property, redistributing them to newly arrived European settlers. Numerous participants in the uprising were imprisoned

without trial, including the wife of Bash Agha Muhammad al-Muqrani, his daughter, and the daughter of his brother Boumezrag.

- The policy of forced deportation and exile to New Caledonia was likewise implemented against many leaders of the resistance movement, among them Boumezrag al-Muqrani and the sons of Sheikh al-Haddad, Aziz and Muhammad. Death sentences were also pronounced against several revolutionary leaders, including Boumezrag al-Muqrani, who was condemned to death by the Criminal Court of Constantine on 7 January 1872 before his sentence was later commuted to exile with forced labor in Nouméa, New Caledonia.
- Sheikh al-Haddad himself was sentenced on 19 April 1873 to five years of solitary imprisonment, but because of his advanced age he was unable to endure incarceration and died only ten days after the sentence was carried out.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the French colonial administration employed every possible means to suppress popular resistance and, in doing so, committed some of the gravest crimes against the Algerian population, including mass repression, forced displacement, and exile. These policies contributed to the dismantling and fragmentation of Algerian social structures, weakened relations among different social groups, and undermined the influence and symbolic authority of prominent aristocratic and religious families such as the al-Muqrani and al-Haddad families. This, in turn, contributed to the decline of organized popular resistance toward the end of the nineteenth century.

France suppressed this uprising, like the revolts that preceded it, with exceptional brutality. Nevertheless, the colonial response ultimately failed to achieve its principal objective of destroying the national spirit among Algerians. Although the revolution did not succeed militarily, it achieved an important psychological and national victory by preserving the spirit of resistance, reinforcing the ideals of jihad and liberation, and strengthening opposition to French colonial rule in all its forms and manifestations.

Appendices:

Appendix No. 1: Two letters written by Aziz ibn Sheikh al-Haddad, dated January and July 1873, while imprisoned in Constantine Prison, addressed to the Governor-General of Algiers. In these letters, he complained about the miserable conditions endured by his women and children, who were living in poverty and hardship after the confiscation of their property by the colonial administration following the imprisonment of his father and brother in Constantine.

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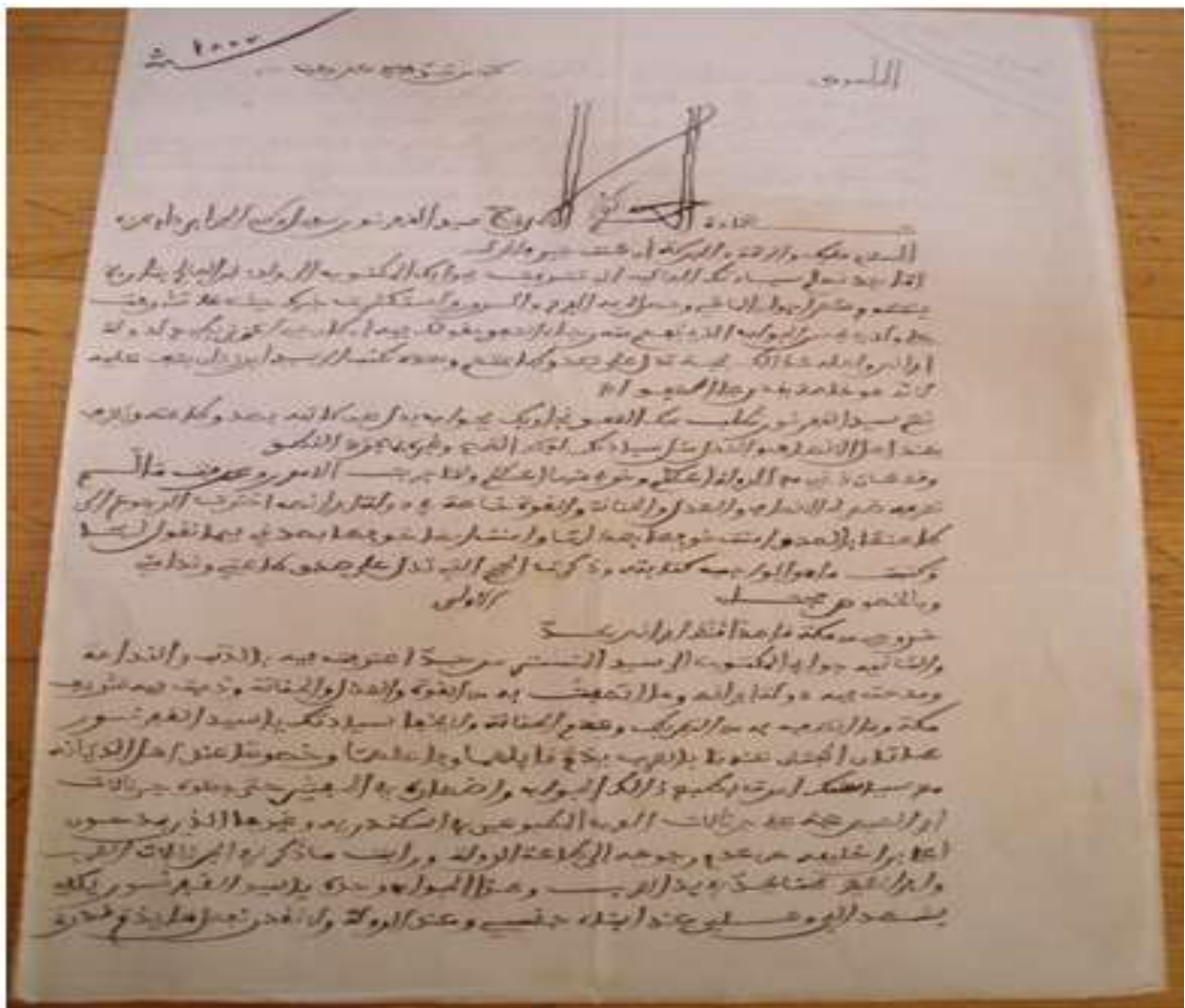
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- A.N.O.M ,16 H62, ALG, département d'Alger, Surveillance politique des indigènes.

Appendix No. 2: Correspondence addressed by Sheikh Aziz ibn al-Haddad to the Governor-General in 1882, in which he expressed his gratitude for the intervention of his son Muhammad al-Salih, who had appealed to the Governor-General to obtain a pardon for his father, Sheikh Aziz. In this correspondence, he declared his remorse, affirmed his sincere obedience, and pledged his respect for the French state.

He also informed the Governor-General of his correspondence with the French Consul in Jeddah and criticized the negligence of the Sharif of Mecca, referring to his role in rescuing the Franco-British expedition.

The letter concludes with Sheikh Aziz stating that, should he be granted a pardon, he would commit himself to residing in Algeria under the supervision of the colonial authorities. He further requested that the Governor-General write to the President of the French Republic in support of his pardon while awaiting an official response to his correspondence.



– A.N.O.M ,16 H62, ALG, département d’Alger, Surveillance politique des indigènes.

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