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"The forgotten of this tribute": Settler Soldiers, Colonial Categories, and the Centenary of the First World War [1]

Abstract:

This article uses the Centenary of the First World War to explore how colonial categories have been mobilized in memory projects. Focusing on "settler soldiers" from French Algeria, it argues that the Centenary continues a longstanding practice of attaching over-simplified singular identities to these men. Using untapped sources, it exposes the gap between these externally assigned labels and the more pluralistic and malleable identifications possessed and used by settler soldiers themselves. Restoring and historicizing the complex identifications of these settler soldiers sheds new light on how the history and memory of the French empire interweaves with that of the First World War, and the ongoing evolution of this relationship.

Key words: First World War; Centenary; France; French Algeria; Settler Soldiers; *pieds-noirs.*

On July 14, 2014, military and civilian representatives from seventy-two nations marched down the Champs Élysées as the French government used the annual Bastille Day parade to officially launch its commemoration of the Centenary of the First World War. The Mission Centenaire, the public interest group responsible for the state-sponsored program of commemorations, described the parade as an "exceptional" event that, by reuniting a diverse array of international participants, would "deliver a universal message of peace and friendship" while also "testifying to the effort of reconciliation accomplished over a century."[2] One of the most striking aspects of the ceremony was the presence of delegations from African and Asian nations that did not exist in 1914 ranging from Algeria to Vietnam, via the Republics of Mali and Vanuatu. The participation of the Algerian military spoke particularly strongly to these themes

given the nation's historically acrimonious relationship with France, epitomized by the brutal War of Independence which saw the nationalist forces of the Front de libération nationale (National Liberation Front or FLN) fight from 1954 until 1962 to secure independence from French colonial rule.[3] Alongside soldiers from other parts of the former French Empire, the Algerian presence served as a poignant reminder of the significant role played by colonial troops, especially those of the Armée d'Afrique (African Army), during the Great War. Indeed, this was something President François Hollande was keen to promote, seeing recognition of this contribution as a way to advance "a shared and pacified memory", as well as diplomatic co-operation between France and its ex-colonies.[4]

Yet not everyone was won over by Hollande and the Mission Centenaire's inclusivity. As the editorial of *L'Écho de l'Oranie,* a magazine for former French-Algerian colonists, complained:

> In this centenary year, the commemorations are numerous. Here and there we hear fine speeches in patriotic accents that occasionally mention the devotion, the selflessness, the sacrifice of the Armée d'Afrique, of the colonial troops, of the "indigènes" [natives]… But what we never hear is the slightest reference to what France owes to the *pieds-noirs*.[5]

The term "pied-noir" denotes the former European settlers of colonial Algeria, one million of whom migrated to metropolitan France in 1962 when Algeria became independent. *L'Écho de l'Oranie's* comments were indicative of the longstanding strategy pursued by activists from this community who use prominent national events to repeat claims that their history has been ignored by the French state and to demand commemorative concessions to rectify this. The Centenary was thus framed by *pied-noir* activists as the latest in a long line of historically significant moments in which, for

reasons of "political correctness", the French government had showed itself more interested in commemorating "foreign" communities (by which *pieds-noirs* usually mean formerly colonized groups, like Muslim Algerians and their descendants) than in recognizing the contributions made by men and women of European origin in the empire.[6] Such accusations have been disproven by a number of empirical studies documenting the support, both material and commemorative, devoted to the *pieds-noirs* by the French state since their arrival in 1962.[7] Yet with respect to the history of their European settler ancestors and the First World War specifically, *L'Écho de l'Oranie*'s *pied-noir* editor had a point: we know almost nothing about the 73,000 French citizens from Algeria who served in the French army between 1914 and 1918. And, as this article will show, far from changing that situation, the Centenary may be exacerbating it.

The purpose of this discussion is not, however, to recuperate the history of men from the settler community of colonial Algeria who served during the First World War by filling the many gaps that exist in our knowledge. Rather, this article interrogates the processes by which knowledge about the past is constructed and disseminated. By focusing not on the period of the First World War itself, but on our own scholarly present, my aim is to foreground some of the difficulties inherent in remembering and writing the histories of groups like the settlers of Algeria whose complex identities do not fit easily within dominant frames of reference. The Centenary is thus used as a case study to explore how the participation of settlers from Algeria in the Great War has been variously remembered and forgotten in order to demonstrate how colonial categories have been mobilized in memory projects and to analyze the implications of these processes for historical understanding.

I will argue that the Centenary perpetuates a century-long pattern whereby external parties such as the French government, the military, national archives and commemorative projects have identified settlers from Algeria who fought in the First World War in over-simplified, singular terms such as such as "French" or "foreign" or

"colonial". During the conflict itself, these externally assigned labels defined the lives and options of these men. In the postcolonial period, such designations have continued to exert a significant influence on how these combatants have, or rather have not, been represented and remembered, including by their own *pied-noir* descendants. Yet, as we will see, such exogenous categories flatten and distort the complex identities of men whose citizenship made them French, whose Algerian homes made them colonials, and whose mixed-European parentage often made them multinationals. This situation only became more complicated between 1914 and 1918 as experiences of combat provided new points of possible identification for men I will refer to as "settler soldiers".

The article begins by tracing how the present-day *pied-noir* community, the French state, and various archives and commemorative projects have positioned settler soldiers in conformity with their own agendas and priorities, with a particular focus on the Centenary commemorations. After assessing the implications of these representations, untapped sources that capture the voices of settler soldiers are used to contrast exogenous narratives with how these men defined themselves, including their relationship to both their Algerian "homeland" and their French "motherland". While there was certainly overlap between external labels and the self-conceptions of settler soldiers, at least at certain moments, the multi-faceted nature of their identifications was not adequately reflected either in the categories that structured official thinking and practice at the time, nor in subsequent discussions and representations of the First World War.

Mirroring the nature of the conflict in which they were fighting, the identities of settler soldiers were a constantly shifting mosaic of national, imperial and local, while also being informed by the distinct cultures of the military units in which they served. Which identification, or combination of identifications, was emphasized depended on the specific circumstances in which the settler soldier found himself at a given moment. Anchoring the processes by which French citizens from Algeria constructed and

articulated their self-conceptions in concrete historical contexts not only exposes the gap between these internally-generated definitions and externally assigned labels, it also brings to the fore a range of voices and perspectives hitherto missing from the Centenary, as well as from wider academic and popular discourses. At the same time, restoring and historicizing the complex identifications of settler soldiers sheds new light on the ways in which the history and memory of the French empire interweaves with that of the First World War, and the ongoing evolution of this relationship.

Identifying and Classifying Settler Soldiers

Categories shape historiography as much as history itself. In the case of Algeria's settler soldiers, a series of categorical ambiguities resulting from both their citizenship status and the standing of the Armée d'Afrique (African Army), the branch of the French military in which the majority of these men served, makes them difficult to identify and thus study as a group. The following section aims to give a sense of who the settler soldiers were, the role they played in the First World War and their place within the existing historiography, while also highlighting some of the issues historians face in locating and researching this historically and bureaucratically amorphous group of men.

At the time of the First World War, the population of French Algeria comprised three distinct groups: 753,000 European settler colonists, 565,000 of whom possessed of French citizenship; a 70,300-strong indigenous Jewish community who had been naturalized en masse by the Crémieux Decree of 1870; and a majority Muslim Algerian population of 4,700,300 colonial subjects of predominantly Arab and Kabyle/Berber ethnicity.[8] However, the category of "settler" contained a number of complexities starting with the fact that the majority of "French citizens" within this group did not originate from France, but rather came to the colonial territory from other European countries over the course of the nineteenth century. In 1906, French citizens of French origin constituted only 45 per cent of the overall settler population. The remaining

proportion was composed of 27 per cent foreigners, predominantly Spaniards, and 28 per cent Europeans naturalized by the June 16, 1889 law.[9] This crucial piece of legislation stipulated that all children born in France to foreign parents would receive French citizenship upon reaching the age of maturity, unless they renounced it.[10] Since Algeria had been incorporated into the French nation in 1848, the provisions of the 1889 law applied there as well as in mainland France. Indeed, many politicians, especially representatives from Algeria, welcomed the law as a way to address concerns about the potential loyalty of the high numbers of foreign nationals living there.[11] This background explains why it the term "Europeans" is used more frequently than "French" when referring to the settler population of Algeria.

When war was declared in August 1914, the 1889 law had been in place for over two decades. Consequently, many more men possessed French citizenship and were therefore eligible to serve in the French army than there otherwise would have been in Algeria, despite their diverse family origins. Some children born to foreign parents of course chose to retain their non-French nationality upon reaching adulthood, in many cases specifically to avoid the military service required of all young Frenchmen at the time. This number rose during the First World War, as did the number of men returning, at least provisionally, to their country of origin, especially in the case of neutral Spain. Nonetheless, 60 per cent of children born to foreign parents who reached the age of maturity between 1914 and 1918 accepted naturalization, knowing, in the case of males, that this would render them liable for conscription. In other cases, men who had retained their non-French nationality enrolled in the Légion étrangère [Foreign Legion] in order to fight in some capacity.[12]

Out of a total French mobilization of 8,410,000 men between 1914 and 1918, Algeria provided 73,000 French citizens of European origin, or settler soldiers. This represented 13 per cent of the 565,000 French citizens living in the colonial territory at the time. For comparison, 173,000 indigenous Algerian colonial subjects and 13,000

naturalized Algerian Jews served, giving mobilization rates of 15 and 20 per cent respectively for each community; the figure for metropolitan France was 20 per cent.[13] The call-up of French citizens proceeded along the same lines in Algeria as in mainland France, placing a broad cross section of settler society together in the trenches alongside their metropolitan cousins. Due to their French citizenship, it is difficult to retrospectively discern settler soldiers within the archives of bodies such as the military because they were not differentiated in administrative terms from their metropolitan-born counterparts at the time and therefore do not appear as a separate category of combatants in documentation. In contrast, the ethno-religious identity and subject status of indigenous colonial soldiers renders them more visible in the historical record. One illustrative example of the consequences of this difference is that while we possess detailed statistics for the numbers of colonial soldiers killed, including 26,000 Muslim Algerians, casualty figures for settler soldiers are less precise because it hard to extract them from the overall French death toll of 1,300,000 men.[14] Most estimates range from 12,000 to 15,000 French citizens from Algeria killed, although some go as high as 22,000, including 2800 Jews.[15]

The archival visibility of colonial troops has been put to good use in recent decades as academics have begun to devote sustained attention to the ways in which the French empire and its inhabitants were integral to and "inextricably intertwined" with the Great War as part of a welcome "imperial turn" in First World War Studies.[16] In the 1980s, pioneering but isolated studies by the likes of Gilbert Meynier, Marc Michel and Myron Echenberg first sought to center indigenous voices.[17] Since the late 1990s, these have been joined by a series of important works by Joe Lunn, Gregory Mann, Richard S. Fogarty, Jacques Frémeaux, Michelle Mann and Dónal Hassett, whose detailed research dissects the complex interactions between republican ideals and racial prejudices produced in the crucible of war, while also considering their impact upon France's 473,000 "troupes indigènes" (native troops), both during and after the conflict.[18] All

these works make some reference to the white French officers and soldiers who commanded and fought alongside colonial troops, including settlers recruited from North Africa but, understandably, this is not their main concern. This article seeks to further the valuable and necessary work of expanding our understanding of the First World War's imperial dimensions by considering more directly the settler soldiers whose multiple, shifting identities enable us to unpack and nuance labels such as "French" and "colonizers" in productive ways.

In terms of overcoming the practical obstacles to such an investigation, although settler soldiers undertook normal military service like all other male citizens in Third Republic France (1870-1940), both prior to and during the First World War, we can still know something about them because they served predominantly in the Armée d'Afrique, making them identifiable to some degree. First raised by the Orléanist Monarchy following the 1830 French landings in Algeria, the Armée d'Afrique continued the French tradition of referring to armies in the field by their location of deployment. Prior to 1870, the Armée d'Afrique thus denoted the portion of military forces deployed in North Africa, which included both metropolitan and locally raised units. Under the Third Republic, it was given an official number as a Corps d'Armée in its own right: the 19th Corps d'Armée. Headquartered in Algiers, the Armée d'Afrique thus became analogous to other Corps d'Armées stationed around metropolitan France, available for both local defensive missions and foreign deployments.[19]

The Armée d'Afrique was composed of a range of nominally "white" regiments that, in theory, were only open to French citizens of European origin: the Chasseurs d'Afrique, the Zouaves, the Battailons d'Infanterie Légère d'Afrique (Bat' d'Af) and the Légion étrangère, which also accepted foreign recruits.[20] These sat alongside indigenous regiments of Spahis (cavalry) and Tirailleurs (riflemen), both commanded by a centrally mandated proportion of French officers of European origin.[21] Reflecting the importance attached by the Third Republic to military service as a tool for nation building, between

1870 and 1914 the rank and file of the Armée d'Afrique, like its metropolitan Corps d'Armée counterparts, was composed primarily of conscripts performing their required military service, alongside a handful of volunteers and career officers.[22] From the Crimean War (1853-1856) onwards, Armée d'Afrique units played a role in all France's major military encounters, including on metropolitan soil during the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871), and were heavily involved in Resident General Hubert Lyautey's "pacification" of Morocco when the First World War broke out.[23]

Under the Third Republic, French citizens from Algeria could be directed into any part of the French military, including the navy and air force depending on their skill set and the nation's needs. However, because the Armée d'Afrique was stationed in North Africa, the majority of settlers ended up completing their military service in its units, particularly the Zouaves. This pattern persisted throughout the Great War, applying to men who volunteered, to those who were conscripted, and to reservists who were recalled, often to their former regiments. As a result, although settler soldiers served throughout the French military between 1914 and 1918, they were particularly concentrated in Armée d'Afrique units. Settlers from Algeria were not the only soldiers of European origin in these regiments, there were also plenty of metropolitan-born French combatants, especially as the conflict wore on and manpower needs became more acute. Nonetheless, there was a particular association between settler soldiers and the Armée d'Afrique that makes such units the logical place to focus any study of these men. Indeed, Clément Charrut described the Zouaves as the "emblematic corps" for the settler community when he rhetorically asked his fellow *pieds-noirs* in 2014: "What family amongst us has not counted, in peacetime or during war, at least one Zouave voluntarily engaged or conscripted into military service?"[24] By examining the record of the Zouaves, the Armée d'Afrique regiments with a particularly high concentrations of Europeans from Algeria, we can therefore get a sense of the contribution settler soldiers made to the First World War.

As a result of their previous military engagements for France, Zouave regiments came into the 1914-18 conflict with a reputation as brave and ferocious "attack units" with a strong esprit de corps. Consequently, they were regularly and widely used on the front lines throughout the war. As a core component within these units, settler soldiers were thus placed at the heart of all the major battles from the Marne onwards, including at Verdun where they proved crucial to the re-taking of the strategically and symbolically important Fort Douaumont.[25] Zouaves formed a large proportion of the troops sent to the Dardanelles in 1915 and then onto Salonika from where they would play a significant role in the various Balkan campaigns. They equally saw action in Syria and Palestine, some were sent to Russia in 1917, and many were stationed in Germany after the Armistice.[26] Such heavy frontline use meant Zouave units experienced particularly high casualty rates, even given the wider carnage of the war, especially during the conflict's early stages.[27] However, these bloody exploits also placed them among the most highly decorated units of the war with glory at the regimental level complimented by numerous highly distinguished individual records of service. One such individual was Joseph Llinarès, born in 1890 in Aïn Taya (eastern Algeria) to parents of Spanish origin who had opted for naturalization in 1897. Serving from August 1914 until April 1919, predominantly with the 1st Zouaves, Llinarès was wounded on three separate occasions and cited five times for bravery, ending up with a prestigious Légion d'honneur alongside his other medals.[28] Zouaves had the less pleasant distinction of being the first troops subjected to a gas attack on April 22, 1915 at Ypres.[29] They did not participate in what Leonard Smith terms the "crisis of indiscipline" that swept the ranks in spring 1917 following the failed Chemin de Dames offensive. In fact, Algerian Tirailleur units, commanded by European officers, including settlers from Algeria, were used to guard rebellious troops during this time.[30]

The above examples tell us that settler soldiers were fully immersed in the Great War and that they contributed in numerous, important ways to the conflict. What they

do not tell us is how these men felt about the service they were called upon to render to France, nor how they experienced, understood and responded to the conflict. It does not tell us what relationships were like between settlers and the indigenous colonial troops they commanded and fought alongside, nor about interactions between men from Algeria and metropolitan *poilus* (the French equivalent of the "Tommy"). Nor does it tell us how fighting might have affected their sense of identity and belonging, especially for soldiers like Llinarès whose families had acquired French citizenship relatively recently. However, attempts to move beyond narratives of units of men and what they did in ways that would allow historians to access individual voices and experiences are complicated by the relative invisibility of settler soldiers in the archival records.

There are a number of practical reasons for this absence in addition to the already discussed impact of the French citizenship of the settler soldiers and their consequent administrative amalgamation with metropolitan-born soldiers. Because the military tends to deals in units of men, it is always more difficult to find information about individuals, especially the rank-and-file. These issues are compounded by the particular relationship between the Armée d'Afrique and France's central military structure during the First World War. Due to its continued involvement in the "pacification" of Morocco, the 19th Corps remained officially stationed in North Africa between 1914 and 1918. Men from the Armée d'Afrique who were sent to fight in France were therefore mobilized as "régiments de marche" (marching regiments), placing them outside the normal corps-based structure of the military between 1914 and 1918 and thus of its archives. Furthermore, the high casualty rates experienced by Armée d'Afrique soldiers meant that their decimated regiments were constantly being reformed and combined with others, rendering the task of tracking specific units very difficult.

The very violent decolonization experienced by Algeria and the resultant chaotic transfer of both people and archives to metropolitan France further impacted the

visibility of settler soldiers. When the French left Algeria in 1962, they were only able to take with them a small portion of the documentation they had built up over 132 years of colonial rule. Two major casualties of this phenomenon are the correspondence between the Governor General of Algeria and the various Ministries in Paris between 1914 and 1918, and the records of Algeria's three *départements* (administrative districts), Algiers, Oran and Constantine, for this same period. Furthermore, as Todd Shepard has chronicled, bitter arguments continue to rage over the fate and present-day location of material that was archived in Algeria at the moment of independence.[31] What was brought to France and what had to be left behind during decolonization is also an issue with respect to personal and familial records, further narrowing the possible range of available sources. At the metropolitan French level, the archives of the Office National des Anciens Combattants et Victimes de Guerre (ONACVG) which holds documentation concerning requests from veterans for *cartes de combattants*, medals and pensions are located in the *département* from which the soldier came. In the case of Algeria, which was no longer part of France when this policy was instituted in 2001, these records were sent to the Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer (ANOM) in Aix-en-Provence. However, the files have not yet been catalogued, rendering them inaccessible for the moment.

But beyond these practical obstacles, the relative invisibility of settler soldiers tells a bigger story about the construction and use of colonial categories over time, and their problematic fit with the self-understandings of actual people, especially those possessed of plural identities. As the remaining sections of this article will show, the difficulties of finding settler soldier voices are intimately linked to which facet of their identity was prioritized at particular moments by their own *pied*-noir descendants, by the French state, and by various archives and commemorative projects in accordance with their own pre-established perceptions, agendas, and organizational systems. Interrogating these processes enables us to better understand what is present in and

absent from these external representations, and how this compares to the multi-faceted identifications used by settler soldiers themselves.

Pied-Noir Representations and Rationales

In the years following 1918, the settlers of French Algeria devoted considerable attention and effort to commemorating the contribution made by the men of their community to the First World War. These endeavors broadly paralleled those undertaken in metropolitan France in form and function. Settlers thus established *Livre d'Or* (commemorative books), erected monuments, organized services of remembrance, formed veterans associations, and lobbied the state for financial support and other forms of recognition.[32] Yet, as Dónal Hassett and Jan Jansen have shown, the colonial context of French Algeria imbued these commemorative activities with certain distinctive features.[33] The Second World War eclipsed the Great War to some extent, but commemoration of the first conflict continued right up to the end of French Algeria in 1962. In the postcolonial period, when the settlers migrated to France and became known as *pieds-noirs,* their memory activism understandably centered on the recent War of Independence and their mass displacement at the end of that conflict. Nonetheless, using associations, which have proven their most effective tools for building and disseminating a collective memory for their community, *pied-noir* activists continued to pay homage to and vocally champion the roles played by their settler soldier ancestors between 1914 and 1918.[34]

The representation of settler soldiers by *pied-noir* associations fits with the broader politicized narratives they seek to tell about the French empire and their community's place within that history. Presenting the colonial era as one of progress and inter-ethnic harmony under the benevolent auspices of the French, *pieds-noirs* accord their settler ancestors an instrumental role in the "civilization" of Algeria. Acknowledging few, if any, inequalities in the colonial system, the War of Independence

is attributed to the machinations of a handful of fanatics. This renders independence a tragic mistake forced upon the Algerian people against the wishes of the majority and casts the *pieds-noirs* as innocent victims of a politically motivated decolonization. Over time, the gap between this positive reading of the colonial past and more critically informed mainstream historical understandings of empire has widened. This evolution furthermore reflects the shift from the immediate post-62 era when *pieds-noirs* wielded considerable political lobbying power while also dominating cultural and political debates about empire, to the present-day where they are but one voice among a diverse array, including descendants of the formerly colonized, clamoring for their viewpoint and experiences to be reflected in national narratives and commemorative gestures.[35]

When it comes to constructing representations of their settler soldier ancestors, *pied-noir* activists categorizes these men as unquestionably French, while equally possessed of a distinct "Algerian" identity as a result of their colonial heritage. Referring to the men from Algeria who fought in the First World War as "français à part entière" (fully French), the same phase they have used to describe themselves since arriving in the metropole in 1962, *pied-noir* associations highlight the patriotism of the settler community, not just in August 1914 when recruitment stations were overwhelmed by volunteers, but throughout the war. According to *pied-noir* publications, their settler ancestors strongly identified with France, rushing to the aid of their motherland even though the majority had never previously set foot on metropolitan soil.[36] As one veteran proclaimed four decades later during the War of Independence: "I left Algeria only one time; when the detachment I was part of went, at the end of '17, to replenish a mixed regiment of Zouaves and Tirailleurs which had bled out hard at Artois."[37] Although historians such as Gilbert Meynier and Charles-Robert Ageron have questioned the veracity of this image of patriotism, *pied-noir* association promote the idea that their settler ancestors did not hesitate to offer their lives in defense of a land with which they

had no physical familiarity in order to underline the exceptional nature of their devotion to France.[38]

Nor, according to *pied-noir* associations, was this behavior confined to those with metropolitan French origins. In the course of an article extolling the bravery of the five-times-cited soldier Joseph Llinarès, whose parents were Spanish immigrants, the article's *pied-noir* author claims Llinarès felt "no price was too high to honor his debt to the land which had welcomed his parents and enabled him to have a decent life." Like many other naturalized settlers, the article concludes, Llinarès therefore felt it was "a natural duty to sign in blood [his] French citizenship card."[39] Evident in these postcolonial representations is same "over-identification" with France that Gilbert Meynier argues was visible within the wider settler community during and immediately after the First World War. Meynier was referring to what he deemed an incessant need on the part of the settler community in colonial Algeria to demonstrate their Frenchness as a marker of authenticity and respectability.[40] In the case of the postcolonial *pied-noir* population, this "over-identification" is evident in examples cited above which present the apparent instinctive willingness of settlers to sacrifice themselves for their metropolitan motherland as proof of the innate Frenchness of the settler community and, by extension, of the present-day *pied-noir* descendants of these men. In both the colonial and postcolonial cases, overt claims regarding Frenchness can be read as a pre-emptive defensive reflex stemming from the fear that these attributes might be contradicted or denied by other groups, including the state and the wider metropolitan French population, if not constantly affirmed.[41]

Pied-noir activists are furthermore keen to stress the scale of the contribution made by their ancestors to the Great War through detailed narratives of exactly which battles they participated in and how bravely they fought. These accounts tend to revolve around major offensives, especially when a distinct settler or Armée d'Afrique role can be identified. Due to its unparalleled status within metropolitan French collective

memory, particular importance is attached by *pieds-noirs* to the Battle of Verdun (February – December 1916).[42] In addition to enumerating each Armée d'Afrique unit involved to underscore the full involvement of troops from Algeria in this epic battle, *pied-noir* associations highlight the specific achievements of their ancestors: "Our soldiers took back Fort Douaumont. After Verdun, Germany was no longer invincible. Hope had changed sides."[43] Central to these accounts is the idea that "the patriotism of the French of Algeria expressed itself through blood spilled."[44] *Pied-noir* publications therefore devote considerable attention to individual examples of noble sacrifice. It is in this context that the story of the "unknown Zouave" appears regularly: On November 12, 1914, the Germans placed several Zouave prisoners in front of their first wave of assault troops at Drie Gratchen on the Yser canal to prevent the French firing on them. One Zouave revealed the deception by crying out "Fire, God damn it, they are Germans!" His intervention saved the French troops, but at the cost of his own life.[45]

Statistics demonstrating the collective significance of the contribution made by settler soldiers are also regularly deployed in *pied-noir* publications. These are often more fine-grained than figures found in academic and popular texts on the war which, as previously mentioned, do not disaggregate the settlers from the broader mass of French troops, but their provenance is not always specified. According to the *pied-noir* historian Frédéric Harymbat, for example, the *département* of Algiers lost 7247 men, a rate of 25.09 per cent among the Europeans mobilized.[46] Just as *pied-noir* associations often to inflate the number of European deaths during the War of Independence, *pied-noir* historians tend to give higher estimates of those who "died for France" between 1914 and 1918 than the academic consensus of 12,000 to 15,000. *L'Écho de l'Oranie* thus cited 110,000 French soldiers from Algeria "called to the flag" and asserts that 22,000 of them "did not return", rendering the settlers "the hardest hit community".[47] Formulations like this emphasize that not only did the French of Algeria "do their duty", but their sacrifices

were at least equal to, if not greater than, those of other groups, including the metropolitan French.

At the same time, however, *pieds-noirs* are careful to acknowledge the role played by Algeria's other ethno-religious communities. Their narratives about the Great War, especially those propounded during the Centenary, thus scrupulously praise the contribution of Muslim Algerians. On this surface, this is at odds with their public denunciations of the attention devoted to such combatants by the French state, as evidenced by the editorial from *L'Écho de l'Oranie* quoted at the beginning of this article. This apparent contradiction can be explained by the particular uses to which *pied-noir* associations put invocations of Muslim and Jewish troops and their relegation to supporting roles in stories that remain focused on the settler soldiers. This contrasts to official state representations over which *pieds-noirs* have no control and which they regard as erasing their ancestors while devoting excessive attention to formerly colonized populations.

References by *pied-noir* associations to other ethno-religious communities are usually framed around the imperial incarnation of the "Union sacrée" (Sacred Union), which transformed the metropolitan notion of putting aside political differences into an ethos centered on solidarity between the colonizers and the colonized as they worked together to save their shared motherland.[48] As Yves Sainsot, president of ANFANOMA, the largest and oldest *pied*-noir association, put it in 2014: "Whether their name was Ali, Alain or Elie, it was shoulder-to-shoulder in fraternal unity that they rushed towards the enemy to vanquish or to die."[49] In these *pied-noir* interpretations, the Christian, Jewish and Muslim populations of French Algeria willingly and harmoniously came together to fight for their shared motherland. Just after the official launch of the Centenary commemorations, *L'Écho de l'Oranie* quoted from a letter written by one Abdelkader to his father on May 7, 1915, shortly before his death, in which he declared: "Tomorrow I

will go into the attack… If I am killed, console yourself [that] it is for France. You gave France a loyal defender. I will have the satisfaction of having accomplished my duty."[50]

These accounts make no mention of the coercion that often accompanied the recruitment of indigenous troops in Algeria, as elsewhere in the empire.[51] *Pied-noir* associations similarly ignore the political dimensions to the rural unrest among Muslim Algerians that dogged the territory throughout the conflict, particularly in 1916 in the Constantine region.[52] Instead, they attribute indigenous protests, which included a rise in banditry, either to the privations of war or to the influence of German agents and propaganda, rather than to any unhappiness with colonial rule. Indeed, several *pied-noir* authors go so far as to claim that the overall loyalty of Algeria's Muslim population was due to the positive influence of daily contact with a beneficent settler community who served as inspirational role models.[53] Yet for all the participation of other communities is acknowledged by *pied-noir* associations, this is often done in ways that clearly "Other" the non-settlers, or qualifies their contribution. One of the most common formulations is to mention the large numbers of Algerians who fought bravely for France, followed by reference to the violent rebellions in Algeria during the war, making it clear that there were limits to indigenous loyalty in contrast to that displayed by settler community.[54]

Obviously there are different shades of *pied-noir* opinion and we need to take care not to assume that associations speak for the whole population. Nonetheless, as the public face of the *pied-noir* community what these entities - some of which have existed for over fifty years - have to say remains important. If their pronouncements did not resonate on some level with sections of the wider *pied-noir* community then they would not continue to attract members and remain viable. As we know, collective memories are socially framed and present-orientated, telling us more about those creating them than about the past they purport to describe. It is unsurprising that present-day *pied-noir* associations should place so much emphasis on the patriotism and contribution of their settler ancestors to France.[55] What these association discourses reflect is a sense

among many *pieds-noirs* that their Frenchness has been consistently questioned by a metropolitan state and population who, they argue, failed to welcome them when they arrived from Algeria in 1962 and then subsequently marginalized both the community and its history. By promoting the service of their ancestors as proof of their community's longstanding loyalty and authentic Frenchness, *pied-noir* associations are staking a claim for equal commemorative recognition alongside the majority population.

Furthermore, unlike the War of Independence and the colonial era more generally, both of which remain the subject of significant controversy, the First World War possesses a more consensual narrative, especially when focused around honoring the memory of the brave *poilus.* Based on articles and letters published in association magazines, as well as correspondence between this author and members of the community, it is clear that a number of *pieds-noirs* feel they are being denied the opportunity to attach themselves to the very visible and positively evaluated national historical moment represented by the Centenary. These *pied-noir* men and women believe that having made sacrifices equal to those of the metropolitan French between 1914 and 1918, their ancestors are entitled to, but are not receiving, the same level of recognition. Nor is the Centenary an isolated incident; rather it perpetuates what associations and their adherents regard as a longstanding "strategy of forgetting" propagated by the French state that encompasses everything from the "pioneering" role played their ancestors in the settlement and prosperity of Colonial Algeria, to the violence and suffering endured by the community during the War of Independence.[56]

Remembering and Forgetting during the Centenary

Although fear of being forgotten underpins almost all *pied-noir* activism, their concerns have been heightened by the Centenary which has raised the stakes of the commemorative landscape in which associations operate. But *pied-noir* disquiet also stems from the particular classificatory system adopted during the anniversary period.

Despite noting that during the First World War itself Algeria comprised three fully French *départements,* for the purposes of the 2014-18 commemorations the Mission Centenaire decided to list the territory as a "foreign nation", placing it under the "international" rubric of their activities.[57] Attributed to the desire to simplify and thus facilitate online searches by categorizing material under only one country, the Mission Centenaire website acknowledges this choice has resulted in a situation that "of course, was not identical to the geopolitics of the era." However, the website goes on to assert, "[t]his does not at all constitute an infringement on the legitimate duty of memory that should be applied to all the French combatants from Algeria."[58]

It may not have been intended as a slight, but this is exactly how *pied-noir* activists interpreted the Mission Centenaire's actions. At the end of 2013, ANFAMONA had expressed the cautious desire to be associated with the forthcoming official ceremonies wherever possible, as long as there was no attempt to "retrospectively withdraw" *pied-noir* "belonging" to the French nation on the "pretext" that Algeria had since become independent. Yet only a few months later, the association found itself decrying the fact that:

> But once more, one time too many, the "Europeans", our ancestors, will be the notable absence, the forgotten of this tribute. Military detachments from 60 invited countries, under their present names, who are descending on the Champs Élysées, will march under the flags of these now independent countries. They will therefore have no capacity to pay tribute to our fathers.[59]

The idea that the Algerian Army would represent their community's participation in the Great War was particularly upsetting to *pied-noir* associations.[60] As direct heirs to the military wing of the FLN, the present-day Algerian army symbolizes a body many *pieds-noirs* blame for inflicting violence upon their community during the War of

Independence before driving them from their homeland in 1962. The dissolution of the Armée d'Afrique that same year, followed by the total disappearance of the Zouaves from the French military in 2006, has further deprived *pieds-noirs* of a possible vector of representation in Centenary ceremonies.[61] As Clément Charrut mournfully noted, "There is no longer even Zig-Zag cigarette paper with the image of Zouave…"[62]

On July 14, 1919, the prominent place of the Armée d'Afrique within the victory parade down the Champs Éysées was widely celebrated in the colonial press as proof of Algeria's rightful place as part of France. By 2014, that same parade had been transformed, in the eyes of *pied-noir* associations, into a symbol of their community's exclusion from the nation's collective memory because their identity did not fit easily into the clear-cut categories of either "French" or "foreign" drawn up by the Mission Centenaire. This was strongly articulated by Jean-Marie Avelin, president of the *pied-noir* association Véritas, via an open letter to the Secretary of State for Veterans, Kader Arif. Criticizing the decision to allow the "army of the FLN" to parade through the streets of Paris under the guise of "honoring 'Algerian' veterans of the First World War", Avelin felt compelled to "remind" the Secretary that "the 'Algerian' combatants who took part in the First World War were not 'Algerians' but Frenchmen issued from departments [that had been] French since 1848."[63] In a similar vein, Antoine Saez used the pages of *L'Écho de l'Oranie* to emphasize that "Under the uniforms of the *poilus,* nothing distinguishes writers from fighters, peasants from workers, the youngest from the oldest, nor the *pieds-noirs* from soldiers of the metropole."[64] His comment highlights the fact that the Mission Centenaire's policy represents a reversal of the situation during the Great War itself when, as far as the state was concerned, settlers from Algeria were purely and simply French, hence why they were not differentiated from metropolitan troops in terms of mobilization.

In addition to the symbolic insult *pieds-noirs* felt the Mission Centenaire delivered by denying their Frenchness, the decision had some wider practical

implications. The dominance of the War of Independence within Algerian public life and collective memory means that the country's role in the First World War is little known by its own citizens. Nor has the current Algerian regime shown any interest in commemorating the conflict beyond agreeing to send troops to the 2014 Bastille Day parade. Instead, the few Centenary initiatives that have taken place in Algeria have been the work of French agencies operating within the country such as the Institut Français or the French Embassy.[65] Across the Mediterranean in France, there have been a number of Centenary events connected to the role of the empire, but almost none that that provided space for the experiences of the French from Algeria. The most promising prospect was an exhibition entitled "Algerians and French people in light of the Great War" scheduled to be held from December 2014 to July 2015 in Montpellier's planned museum for the history of France and Algeria. The exhibition never took place, however, after the town's newly elected mayor, Philippe Saurel, cancelled the museum project at the eleventh hour announcing that the space would instead be used to display contemporary art.[66] The only event where settlers have been the primary focus was "The French of Algeria and the War, 1914-1918", an exhibition hosted by the Centre national de documentation des Français d'Algérie (CDDFA), a *pied-noir* museum and archive supported by the Perpignan municipality.[67] This locally organized exhibition was not accorded official recognition by the Mission Centenaire.

The Mission Centenaire did, however, partner with La Grande Collecte, a state-sponsored collaborative initiative that aims to persuade people to donate personal memorabilia.[68] Launching a First World War-themed appeal in 2014, La Grande Collecte encouraged French people to bring relevant family archives to collection points so that this material could be catalogued, digitized and deposited. Over 20,000 people responded, resulting in 1600 collections donated and 325,000 documents digitized.[69] Yet keyword searches on La Grande Collecte website reveal almost nothing connected to French soldiers from Algeria. The search term "Algérie", produces only one result in a

personal archive, a photo of a nurse giving a drink to an injured indigenous Algerian Tirailleur. Using the more specific search term "Français d'Algérie" leads to the same photo.[70] "Zouave" produces two hits: a photograph of Gaston Bonhomme in his Zouave uniform and a page from the photo album of Emile Champert. But since the place of birth is not given for either man it cannot be ascertained if they are *poilus* from France or from Algeria.[71] Even though it is not possible to determine whether the limited presence of settler soldiers is due to a lack of relevant donations or to La Grande Collecte's decision to put on their website only what they deemed "the most prestigious" material brought to their collection points, the results are indicative of a broader absence of these men from the commemorative picture .[72]

Operating along more inclusive lines, the web-based project "Europeana 1914-1918" combines official sources currently being digitized by French libraries and archives with "previously unseen" artifacts submitted by the general public. Yet despite possessing considerably more material – over 500,000 items collected to date – it still remains difficult to find settler soldiers within the project's database.[73] It is true that some of the fifty-five entries returned for the search term "Algérie" comprise substantial documents, such as the fifty-six-page *carnet de guerre* of David Gaston Simon, born February 1, 1891 in Tiaret (Algiers).[74] But many of the results have only a tangential link to Algeria, like the *carte de combattant* of Marius Pénavaire who was born "by chance" in Mers-el-Kébir (Oran) in 1893 because his father was working in construction there at the time, but who spent the majority of his life in Castelnaudary (Aude) where he was based when he was called up in 1914.[75] Even the more precise term "Français d'Algérie" yields multiple deceptive results, like the metropolitan-born Léopold Hostin who did his military service in Algeria between 1911 and 1913, before returning to France an subsequently fighting in a Zouave unit during the war.[76] Searching under "Zouave" produces 166 hits, but the majority are souvenir postcards of Zouave troops, official army photographs of these units, or regimental histories recently digitized by the

Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF). Among the small number of personal documents, most contain insufficient detail to identify the soldier's place of birth. The Europeana project has rightly been praised for assembling a "cornucopia" of sources that will "allow historians to write new histories in new ways."[77] Yet, as the preceding discussion demonstrates, the visibility Europeana and La Grande Collecte vaunt as part of their mission statements is unevenly distributed. At the same time as they shed light on many "untold stories" from the Great War, the categories used to structure their databases can also work to confine groups like the settler soldiers to the shadows.

In contrast to the paucity within these two major online Centenary projects stand the rich collections of personal artifacts held in *pied-noir* dedicated repositories like the Centre de documentation historique sur l'Algérie (CDHA). Founded in 1974 in Aix-en-Provence, also home to France's national colonial archives, the CDHA is staffed by a small team of professionals with assistance from a handful of volunteers. The institution's goal is to "collect, index, conserve, preserve and make known" documentation of any kind relating to the history of Algeria, both during and after the French presence.[78] Material donated to the CDHA is wide-ranging, encompassing photographs, letters, postcards, diaries, unpublished memoirs, novels, histories, and official paperwork including citations. The CDHA also possesses objects such as a shell casing fired from a German submarine, and oral histories like that of Alexandre Cerda, a submariner who revealed that most of the metropolitan French crew on his vessel were unable to swim.[79] In many cases, donors have gone to considerable trouble to make their family archives into explicitly commemorative artifacts. For example, the three grandchildren of François Claude Maldamé (known as Francis) took the time to transcribe the 107 letters he wrote to his wife between August 1914, when he was called up as a reservist, and his death in the Dardanelles in May 1915. The Maldamés also included photographs taken by their grandfather, maps, timelines, copies of the correspondence received by his wife as she tried to find out what had happened to her

husband, even lyrics to songs he was likely to have sung. A note at the front of the booklet states that it was created so that readers might access "in an easily exploitable format" an archive the Maldamés hoped would be "useful to researchers or historians."[80] Maldamé's correspondence was given to the CDHA in 2015, exactly one hundred years after his death, one of several family archives to make explicit reference to the Centenary as an impetus behind their donation..[81]

The CDHA also holds material compiled by amateur historians usually from or closely connected to the *pied-noir* community. Former soldier and *pied-noir* Clément Charrut has taken it upon himself to create a database of the graves of settlers from North Africa killed during the First World War. Out of the 2273 records compiled so far, Charrut believes most people will be particularly interested in the entry for Lucien Camus, father of Albert, who "died for France" on October 11, 1914 and is buried in the Saint-Michel Cemetery in Saint-Brieuc (Côtes-d-Armor). But his meticulous research reveals a number of other fascinating cases such as the twins Gino and Marino Gasperini of La Calle (Constantine) who enlisted together, fought together in the 3rd Zouaves, died together on November 25, 1917 at Samogneux (Meuse), and were then buried together in the Nécropole nationale at Verdun; earning the sad distinction of possessing both consecutive matriculation and grave numbers.[82] Charrut explicitly positions his work as a response to what he regards as the "total silence" from the state surrounding the part played by the settler community in the Great War. His general "irritation" over this fact, which he had already expressed via several articles in the *pied-noir* press, was transformed into action by the official discourse surrounding the approaching Centenary.[83] In particular, Charrut objected to the "lies by omission or by anachronism (disastrous for History!) very much practiced by politicians and quasi-official historians,", which he felt confirmed "the desire to erase the official story of the participation of the French of North Africa."[84]

Choosing to donate their family archives or their historical research to institutions like the CDHA is a logical choice for *pieds-noirs*. These are repositories that explicitly value, indeed often valorize, the history of the settler community. They furthermore recognize the duality of men and women who were French but also possessed a distinct colonial identity. Consequently, such bodies appear to *pieds-noirs* as places they can trust to preserve and protect their heritage. This is particularly appealing in light of the community's belief that the French state and their metropolitan cousins are at best indifferent and at worst actively hostile to their history. On some levels, institutions like the CDHA do provide a bulwark against invisibility and obscurity by preserving in a single space materials pertaining to this specific group of people. But they equally risk further exacerbating the marginalization of settler history by isolating it from mainstream institutions and discourses. For all the CDHA is a professionally run operation, it does not enjoy the same status or resources as official state repositories, including the Archives nationales d'outre-mer just down the road in Aix. This has implications for the visibility, accessibility and, ultimately, for the authority granted to the histories held in the CDHA's stacks.

Settler Soldiers: Self-Identifications and Self-Representations

During the Centenary, the state alongside other official actors and institutions thus continued their long-standing practice of projecting particular identities onto settler soldiers that conformed to their own priorities and agendas. Defining these men as either purely "French" during the war itself, or as "foreign" for the purposes of the Centenary, has obscured the multiple subjectivities of the settler soldiers and consequently their history. In contrast, the contemporary *pied*-noir community has sought to make their ancestors and their contribution to the Great War visible by vocally promoting a collective identity that is simultaneously national and imperial. But this too is a projection, informed by the memory politics of associations and the community's

complex relationship to metropolitan France. The question that remains is how settler soldiers from Algeria thought of themselves. Providing an answer requires taking up Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper's injunction to move "beyond 'identity'" because of its limitations as a category of analysis. As they argue:

> [T]he prevailing constructivist stance on identity – the attempt to "soften" the term, to acquit it of the charge of "essentialism" by stipulating that identities are constructed, fluid and multiple – leaves us without a rationale for talking about "identities" at all and ill-equipped to examine the "hard" dynamics and essentialist claims of contemporary identity politics.

In place of the "blunt, flat, undifferentiated vocabulary" of "identity" which is positioned as an anachronic category, Brubaker and Cooper suggest terms such as "identification" and "categorization", alongside "self-understanding" and "self-representation" which convey the idea of a synchronic process.[85] Through his nuanced account of how Muslim soldiers from North Africa negotiated a path between the identities constructed for them by the French and German militaries, Richard Fogarty has shown how Brubaker and Cooper's terminology offers a productive way for historians to engage with the experiences of specific groups of combatants.[86] Drawing the ideas of Brubaker and Cooper into conversation with Amin Maalouf's argument that "identities are in fact mosaics made up of many different identifications," Fogarty demonstrates how "even individuals with seemingly reduced agency" could still try to compose, articulate and act in accordance with "their own complex self-understandings".[87] In a similar vein, and using untapped sources drawn primarily from the CDHA, the following discussion will consider the different "identifications" and "allegiances" displayed by settler soldiers and the extent to which these map onto external definitions previously applied to these men.[88]

At first glance, what settler soldiers from Algeria articulate through their letters, diaries, memoirs and oral histories was an experience of the war common to all the combatants, irrespective of their origins. Significant portions of their accounts are thus devoted to the cold, the damp, the endless mud, the lice, the rats, the terrible food, the close friendships they formed and the pain of losing those comrades in battle. They gossip and gripe about their officers, some of whom are brave and honorable men while others are cruel and petty tyrants. They fret about their loved ones and the lives they have left behind as they anxiously wait for the next letter from home.[89] When they step back and consider the bigger picture of the conflict, the overt patriotism emphasized in present-day *pied-noir* descriptions is noticeably absent. The rare patriotic declarations that do exist tend to come during the very early stages of the war, usually following enlistment, but prior to leaving Algeria or being deployed on the front line. New recruit Emile Sédira thus described for his close friend Pépin Ottavi a ceremony held at a memorial in Fort National (today Larbaâ Nath Irathen) in September 1914 that "in ordinary times" would have made only "a slight impression," but which in that specific context "strongly awakens the patriotic fiber" Sédira claimed he and his fellow recruits each felt "vibrating forcefully within."[90]

Instead of explicit patriotic declamations, the most common formulation found in testimonies is the idea that settler soldiers were "doing their duty"; a theme also prominent within metropolitan French accounts. Explaining his repeated refusal to be evacuated along with other men who had contracted fevers in Salonika, Sergeant Joséphin Pélissier of the 2nd Zouaves told his father-in-law: "I remembered always that I was first of all an officer, then a teacher, and due to this double identity, without counting that of being French, it was my duty to remain at my post until the end."'[91] Other accounts display more of the connotations of compulsion that the notion of "duty" can carry. The conscript Charles Hanin was not keen to suspend his studies when he was called up in 1915, but nonetheless felt obliged to don a uniform and fulfill his military

obligations.[92] This sense of reluctance was even more visible among older reservists who already had wives and children. Although not thrilled to be sent out into the Algerian *bled* [countryside] to guard prisoners, reservist Caporal Ventre did concede to his wife that "fortune has favored me" since if he had remained with the rest of his company at Bizerte he would almost certainly have been deployed to the Dardanelles. Despite the distance separating them, Ventre thus encouraged his wife to console herself with the fact that "I am safe from bullets."[93]

Duty was also a concept that could be strategically invoked to achieve certain ends. In the course of an indignant letter penned in August 1918 to the newspaper *Le Matin* on the subject of the quality and quantity of food available to POWs in German camps, Charles Gueugnier, who had been a captive since October 12, 1914, explained: "I volunteered to go to the front, having willingly left behind the 10 francs a day of the English Navy [where he worked as a cook prior to 1914] for the 10 centimes of the army of my county, I fully did my Duty."[94] Here, Gueugenier was using the idea of having "done his duty", at considerable financial and personal cost, to underscore why the state of perpetual hunger in which he and his fellow POWs had been kept and the lack of French intervention to address this was so unacceptable.

As Gueugnier's letter illustrates, irrespective of the degree of willingness, all these soldiers were conscious that they were doing their duty as *Frenchmen*. For the most part, this identification remains implicit or unstated. The only time Hanin explicitly associated himself with France is in July 1916 when he was posted to the Lorraine region – where his family originated from – at which poitnt he asserts "I feel at home, as if in a rediscovered country."[95] Otherwise there is no evidence of the "over-identification" with France that Meynier claims characterized settler society in Algeria and which is visible in contemporary *pied-noir* representations. Nor is there any sense that metropolitan French troops drew a distinction between themselves and their fellow citizens from Algeria. The only mention of negative perceptions of such men comes in a

letter from a soldier known only as "Charles" to his *marraine de guerre* (female pen friend), Marie Macron in Sétif (eastern Algeria). Expressing his desire to be able to eat a good couscous from time to time, Charles adds: "These are the things we miss, us *bicots* as the French of France call us."[96] "Bicot" was one of a range of derogatory slang terms commonly used to refer to Arabs in Algeria, the implication being that metropolitan soldiers did not view Charles and his ilk as fully French. Yet, across the multiple memoirs written by metropolitan-born French citizens who served in Armée d'Afrique units with large numbers of settlers, particularly the Zouaves, no similar insults appear. Indeed it is rare for the Algerian origins of combatants to feature at all in metropolitan accounts, except as a statement of geographical fact or description, for example, when August Drouet observed that the recently deceased Captain Léon Engle would be buried far from his native land of Algeria.[97] A rare remark about settlers as a culturally or ethnically distinct group is Captain Ricotto Canudo's description of the "half-French, half-Italian or half-Spanish, or Jews" from Algeria and Tunisia who made up the Zouaves in his regiment as "bizarre" but possessed of a "strange charm".[98] This is in contrast to the very regular comments metropolitan soldiers make about indigenous colonial soldiers, which dwell at length on the many differences they perceived between "them" and "us *poilus*". The latter category – us *poilus* - seems to implicitly include settler soldiers on the basis of shared characteristics such as race, religion and language.

Similarly, the strongest evidence for a consistent identification with France among settler soldiers lies in the way they talk about those they regard as not French and how they position themselves in relation to such men. This is most obvious in discussions of the indigenous colonial troops that made up regiments like the *spahis* (cavalry) or *tirailleurs* (riflemen), such as officer Henri d'Estre's description of lieutenant Bel A… as "a cultivated Arab who speaks our language with a purity and an ease that is remarkable for an *indigène*."[99] Indeed, one of the most common ways to highlight a person's status as "Other", in both settler and metropolitan accounts, was to

render their speech in pidgin French.[100] More telling still is Hanin's assessment of the various soldiers present in the Constantine garrison where he was stationed during a period of convalescence: "Poor France! ... I am in a room that consists of one-third Alsatians speaking German, one-third Martinicans speaking Po-Po, and one-third Jews speaking Hebrew. We are two Frenchmen."[101] This classification speaks volumes about Hanin's personal perception of Frenchness and the roles played by race, religion and ethnicity within that: both the Jewish and Martiniquan soldiers in the barracks would have possessed French citizenship at this time, placing them in the same legal category as Hanin, even though he does not include them in his head count of Frenchmen.[102] The men described as "Alsatians speaking German" could potentially also have been French citizens if their families had left the region when it was annexed by Germany in 1871 at the end of the Franco-Prussian War. Or, they could have been some of the 17,500 men from Alsace and the other "lost province" of Lorraine who, rather than be conscripted into the German army, volunteered to fight for the French. Legally-speaking, such men were German subjects, but they were described by contemporary observers and in subsequent commemorations as "Frenchmen at heart"; a view Hanin appears not to share. In both scenarios, what Hanin hears as "German" was more likely a local dialect.[103]

Implicit and frequently relational, a sense of Frenchness is nonetheless consistently present in narratives by settler soldiers. In contrast, "Algerian" is almost never deployed as a term of self-identification. This is particularly interesting given that by the 1890s, "Algerian" was in regular use across colonial society as a descriptor for the mixed-origin European settler population, including in the press.[104] Yet during the First World War, it was reserved as a designation for indigenous soldiers from Algeria. This is the sense in which Gueugnier used it when describing exchanging English lessons with "an Algerian" working in the garden of the POW camp for vegetables; his language making clear that he sees this man as distinct from himself, even though they hail from

the same place.[105] As scholars have noted, in the pre-1914 context, "Algerian" provided a way for the settlers to express an ambivalence that oscillated "between the need, on the one hand to maintain the privilege of the colonizer, and the appeal, on the other of a process of indigenization."[106] This ambivalence seemed to disappear between 1914 and 1918, replaced with a clearer and firmer identification with France. On the surface, this supports claims that the First World War "fused colony and metropole", solidifying a "French" identity in the process.[107] However, as Brubaker and Cooper remind us, rather than permanent changes, identifications are things that "emerge, crystallize, and fade away in particular social and political circumstances."[108] Indeed, the evidence suggests that while "French" may have replaced "Algerian" as the dominant self-identifier during the Great War, "Algerian" made a comeback during the interwar years. This was particularly visible within the cultural sphere, symbolized by the rise of the "Algérianiste" literary school led by Robert Randau and Jean Brun.[109]

Furthermore, although "French" became a stronger marker for settler soldiers between 1914 and 1918, it did not erase, and may not even have eclipsed other facets of the mosaic identities men from Algeria took with them into the conflict. Locally rooted identifications, for example, are strongly present within accounts by settler soldiers. This is not surprising given that many of these men were unfamiliar with other parts of Algeria, let alone metropolitan France, and that for most the war constituted the longest period they had spent away from their place of birth. Consequently, and in common with all soldiers, men from Algeria missed their homes greatly. Home only got further away and less accessible for settler soldiers once they were deployed, especially given transport restrictions in force in the Mediterranean and irregular attributions of periods of leave.[110] In light of the physical difficulties of getting back to Algeria, letter writing became a vital way for soldiers to maintain links with home as demonstrated by the amount of attention devoted to local news in missives both sent and received. On June 4, 1915, the distribution of letters to Albert de Lamotte's unit came after dark, forcing him

to wait until morning before reading their contents. Nonetheless, simply having the pages in his hands was comforting: "My fingers graze [the pages] gently, looking for the trace of the hands that wrote them, and their contact feels like a caress."[111] De Lamotte goes on to describe the *cagna* [dug-out] he shared with another officer from Algeria, the walls of which they decorated with postcards "that remind us of the familiar details of our far-away country."[112]

The importance of local connections and networks is evident in the regularity with which settler soldiers note encounters with or sightings of men they recognize from home. Writing to his wife shortly after arriving in Gallipoli, Francis Maldamé reported: "Yesterday we received reinforcements, among them a large number of men from Blida. Lachaize, the tailor. Philippe, the cobbler… Rouzy from the bank. One of the Arlandis boys – and finally the famous Féron."[113] Soldiers regularly passed on news about local men to those back in Algeria, often in response to requests from friends and neighbors. It was in this context that Emile Sédira shared with Pépin Ottavi the news that their mutual friend Nestor had been wounded in the head in the trenches. Happily, the bullet only grazed his scalp, but Sédira nonetheless asked Ottavi not to tell Nestor's wife in case she "worries herself sick".[114] Sédira also informed Ottavi that he had passed on his message to another mutual friend at the front, the "brave Bernardini", who was pleased to receive it. Indeed, it would be Bernardini, only a few weeks later, who would inform Ottavi that Sédira had received a fatal injury.[115] No pre-established personal connection between men from Algeria was needed to find comfort in each other's presence. During a trench inspection at Seichamps (Meurthe-et-Moselle) in July 1916 carried out by the Algeria-born General Franchet d'Esperey, Charles Hanin maneuvered to ensure he gets a front-row seat. Noticing Hanin's efforts, the General stopped and engaged him in conversation. Upon learning that Hanin was recruited in Algeria, Franchet d'Esperey turned to his companion, General Nissel, and said "It is always nice to see a compatriot'. He then called on Hanin to explain the lay of the land to him, much

to the consternation of Hanin's superiors given that he was only an *aspirant* (officer cadet) at the time."[116]

This kind of behavior parallels that observed among other combatants with "regional" identities, particularly men from Corsica.[117] For such men, the war was not the origin of their "community spirit", but it did strengthen such sentiments, enabling them to maintain a connection to their traditional and familiar *millieux,* and thus to a memory of "normal" life.[118] The nature of the hardships endured during the war, combined with the distance separating soldiers from their homes and families, created a particular sense of solidarity and a desire to look out for each other. Consequently, whereas Frenchness was expressed primarily in the abstract, local identifications took more concrete forms for settler soldiers, manifested through practical acts such as sharing food, clothing and news from home. Contact with men from the same place was thus something that settler soldiers, in common with men from other *petites patries*, constantly looked for. These contacts functioned as source of reassurance and of consolation, restoring morale and ultimately helping soldiers to endure.[119]

Although they manifested in different ways, national and local identifications were not mutually exclusive, nor were they incompatible with the sense of distinctiveness felt by settler soldiers on account of their presence within Armée d'Afrique units. For external observers, it was primarily the specific uniforms worn by the Armée d'Afrique regiments which marked them out from regular troops, signaling that these soldiers were French but also slightly different. Hanin's bright red *chéchia*, the hallmark headgear of the Zouaves, led him to be regarded as "a curious beast" in civilian zones; the exact same phrase that Gueugnier used when describing the fascination displayed towards the captive Zouaves by the German civilians who came to promenade around his POW camp on Sundays.[120] But this sense of distinction was also internally generated. Being part of the Armée d'Afrique was a source of considerable pride, especially given the glorious reputations attached to regiments like the Zouaves. Such

sentiments were further nurtured though a range of regimental traditions including songs like the "Marche des Zouaves", via theatre performances for which the La Chéchia troop of the 1st Zouaves were particularly renowned,[121] and through a thriving sub-genre of trench journals.[122] Armée d'Afrique units furthermore provided settlers with a liminal space in which it was possible to identify and to be identified as "French" and/or "Other", depending on the circumstances. Gueugenier, for example, derived a perverse pleasure from the Germans' pride in having captured units with such fearsome and "savage" reputations as the Zouaves. Yet he also got offended when his captors gave the order for Zouaves to stand to the left and for the French to stand to the right because of the implication that the Germans saw these groups as two separate categories of soldier. Or when he decided one day to put on his full Zouave uniform and was promptly mistaken by newly arrived Russian prisoners for a "Muslim".[123]

Given the centrality of these military formations to the everyday lives of soldiers, it is unsurprising that they formed a significant node of identification. As the men of his unit lay in hollows on the mountainside of the Vardar Valley on the Macedonian Front waiting for the order to attack, Captain Canudo reflected:

> In war, communities are formed, deformed and re-formed according to the facts, the circumstances of the terrain. And each individual is identified with his community… Here "us" is our brigade which, since the Dardanelles, mixes infantrymen, Zouaves and Legionnaires in the most daring and deadly affairs.[124]

But in other contexts, "us" meant "us Frenchmen", or "us men from Blida", or "us men who are not *indigènes*". As the evidence presented here demonstrates, particular elements of settler soldiers' "mosaic identities" emerged and receded in prominence depended on the specific circumstances in which the men found themselves. This is not to argue that this scenario pertained only to Europeans from Algeria, since clearly it did

not. Rather, the aim is to highlight the multiplicity and malleability of the affiliations possessed by settler soldiers which have largely been flattened out by the various externally generated definitions placed upon these men over the past one hundred years. Although they may not have been exceptional in negotiating among several identities, a full understanding of the imperial dimensions of the First World War nonetheless requires consideration of settler soldiers' self-representations.

At the start of the Centenary in 2014, Antoine Prost, the eminent historian and president of the Conseil scientifique of the Mission Centenaire, predicted that the upcoming commemorations would be "rooted in innumerable family memories and be borne along by multiple actors."[125] In many respects this has proven true, and the resultant diversity of memories and histories visible during the Centenary is to be appaluded. But it is equally important to acknowledge that the status and visibility granted to these narratives has been shaped to a significant degree by decisions regarding how to classify these "multiple actors" and their associated communities. Many of the choices made concerning the Centenary have embedded diversity and plurality in popular understandings of the First World War, most notably in the purposeful emphasis on the role of colonial soldiers. But in the case of French Algeria's settler soldiers, they have had the opposite effect.

The Centenary thus fits into a broader trend whereby public narratives in France have been steadily expanded to include a greater range of voices and experiences as part of a (still incomplete) process of critical reflection on the history of empire and its relationship to the French metropole. Decentering the settlers, a group who dominated colonial Algeria as well as the commemorative landscape of postcolonial France for many decades, has been a necessary part of this process. The challenge lies in determining how far this recalibration should go. The case of the settler soldiers thus draws our attention to the thorny issue of how to engage with the colonial past in ways

that are inclusive and accessible, but which nonetheless reflect the complexities of the era and of the actors concerned which cannot be summarized by simple binaries such as French/foreign or colonizer/colonized. In this sense, Ann Laura Stoler and Frederic Cooper's 1997 call for colonial histories to move beyond binaries has yet to be fully answered.[126]

But even in spaces where the histories of settler soldiers from Algeria are more present, such as within the pages of the *pied-noir* press or the walls of repositories like the CDHA, a gap persists between the externally-facing representations offered by these agents and the more nuanced ways in which the men in question conceived of themselves. Despite being legally bound together as a single administrative entity from 1848, "French Algeria intersected only intermittently and awkwardly with the historical time of the French state."[127] The First World War provided one of those rare moments of congruity. But this did not mean that the men dispatched from Algeria seamlessly became French. Just as the conflict was at once global and local, national, and imperial, so too were the men who fought in it. Settler soldiers retained their multiple identifications and allegiances, using these to help them navigate the profoundly alien and unsettling environment they found themselves in between 1914 and 1918. It is only when we focus on the previously hidden voices of the men themselves that this plurality, complexity and malleability become fully apparent. The settler soldiers from Algeria thus provide a useful reminder of the need to pay attention to the processes through which our knowledge about the past is constructed and disseminated, how communities are labeled, the ways in which these categories are then mobilized, and the implications all of this has for the construction of history, memory, and identity.

Biography

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[2] 14-18: Mission du Centenaire, *2014 Centenaire de la Première Guerre mondiale,* brochure, 23. Available at: http://centenaire.org/sites/default/files/references-files/centenaire_bible_web_double_0.pdf [last accessed December 12, 2018].

[3] For discussion of the Algerian perspective on the Centenary see Dónal Hassett, "Contested Commemoration: The Great War and the Politics of Memory in Contemporary Algeria," *International Journal of Francophone Studies*, 21, no. 3-4 (2018): 209-231.

[4] Farid Alilat, "Cérémonie du 14 Juillet en France: les Algériens sur les Champs, polémique au tournant," *Jeune Afrique*, July 10, 2014. Available at: http://www.jeuneafrique.com/49923/politique/c-r-monie-du-14-juillet-en-france-les-alg-riens-sur-les-champs-pol-mique-au-tournant/ [last accessed December 12, 2018]; Hassett, "Contested Commemoration," 218.

[5] "Éditorial: Les Français d'Algérie et la guerre de 14…," *L'Écho de l'Oranie,* 353 (July-August 2014): 4.

[6] For a fuller discussion of the evolution of *pied*-noir memory activism and its relationship to postcolonial French memory politics see Claire Eldridge, *From Empire to Exile: History and Memory within the* Pied-Noir *and* Harki *Communities, 1962-2012* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

[7] Regarding the unprecedented material support provided by the French state to the *pieds-noir*s see, in the first instance, Yann Scioldo-Zürcher, *Devenir métropolitain: Politique d'intégration et parcours de rapatriés d'Algérie en métropole (1954-2005)* (Paris: Éditions EHESS, 2010). For evidence of the community's still significant place within commemorative debates see Fiona Barclay, "Reporting on 1962: the Evolution of *Pied-Noir* Identity across Fifty Years of Print Media," *Modern and Contemporary France,* 23, no. 2 (2015): 197-211.

[8] These statistics are based on census data collected in 1911. Kamel Kateb, *Européens, indigènes et Juifs en Algérie, 1830-1962: représentations et réalités des populations* (Paris: Éditions de l'Institut national d'études démographiques, 2001), 120. For additional information on the demographic composition of French Algeria see: Patricia M.E. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999).

[9] Charlotte Ann Chopin, "Pages without borders: global networks and the settler press in Algeria, 1881-1914," *Settler Colonial Studies* 8. no. 2 (2018): 153.

[10] For further discussion of the 1889 law and citizenship in France and its implications for Algeria see: Patrick Weil, *How to be French: Nationality in the Making since 1789,* trans. Catherine Porter (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 30-53; Saliha Belmessous, *Assimilation and Empire: Uniformity in French and British Colonies, 1541-1954* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 128-144.

[11] Weil, *How to be French*, 44-45, 48.

[12] Jacques Frémeaux, *Les colonies dans la Grande guerre: combats et épreuves des peuples d'outre-mer* (Saint-Cloud: 14-18 Éditions, 2006), 55; Gérard Crespo, "Alger pendant la Grande Guerre," in Jean-Jacques Jordi and Jean-Louis Planche (eds.), *Alger 1860-1939. Le modèle ambigu du triomphe colonial* (Paris: Les Éditions Autrement, 1999), 65.

[13] The statistics come from Frémeaux, *Les colonies,* 55; Gilbert Meynier, *L'Algérie révélée: la guerre de 1914-1918 et le premier quart du XXe siècle,* 2nd edn (Saint-Denis: Éditions Bouchène, 2015), 588; Jean-Pierre Le Foll-Luciani, "Une guerre 'assimilatrice'? Stratégies discursives et reconfigurations identitaires chez les juifs d'Algérie durant la Première Guerre mondiale," in Sylvain Gregori and Jean-Paul Pellegrinetti (eds.), *Minorités, identités régionales et nationales en guerre 1914-1918* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2017), pp. 154-5. For a fuller discussion of the Algerian Jewish experience, in addition to Le Foll-Luciani cited above, see Ethan Katz, *The Burdens of Brotherhood: Jews and Muslims from North Africa to France* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 22-59; Philippe E. Landau, *Les Juifs de France et la Grande guerre: un patriotisme républicain* (Paris : CNRS Editions, 2008), 33-35.

[14] Frémeaux, *Les colonies,* 202.

[15] Based on available data, Ethan Katz has calculated that 1 in every 5.46 Europeans mobilized died in combat, whereas for Muslim Algerians the figure was 1 in every 4.32 men. *The Burdens of Brotherhood,* 44.

[16] Andrew Tait Jarboe and Richard S. Fogarty, "An Imperial Turn in First World War Studies," in Andrew Tait Jarboe and Richard S. Fogarty, eds., *Empires in World War I: Shifting Frontiers and Imperial Dynamics in a Global Context* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 1-20. For overviews reflecting this "turn" see: Santanu Das (ed.), *Race, Empire and First World War Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Eric Storm and Ali Al Tuma (eds.), *Colonial Soldiers in Europe, 1914-1945: "Aliens in Uniform" in Wartime Societies* (New York: Routledge, 2016); Robert Gerwarth and Erez Manela (eds), *Empires at War 1911-1923* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[17] Gilbert Meynier, *L'Algérie révélée: la guerre de 1914-1918 et le premier quart du XXe siècle* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1981); Marc Michel, *L'Appel à l'Afrique: contributions et réactions à l'effort de guerre en A.O.F., 1914-1919* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1982), reprinted as *Les Africains et la Grande guerre: l'appel à l'Afrique, 1914-1918* (Paris: Karthala, 2003); Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: the Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857-1960* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1991).

[18] Joe Lunn, *Memoirs of the Malestrom: A Senegalese Oral History of the First World War* (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 1999); Gregory Mann, *Native Sons: West African Veterans and France in the Twentieth Century* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); Frémeaux, *Les colonies;* Richard S. Fogarty, *Race and War in France: Colonial Subjects in the French Army, 1914-1918* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); Michelle Mann, "Not Quite Citizens: Assimilation, World War One and the *question indigène* in Colonial Algeria 1870-1920," (PhD diss., Brandeis University, Boston, 2017); Dónal Hassett, "Mobilising Memory: The Great War and the Language of Politics in Colonial Algeria, 1918-1939," (PhD diss., European University Institute, Florence, Italy, 2016).

[19] The standard reference on the early Armée d'Afrique remains Paul Azan, *L'Armée d'Afrique de 1830 à 1852* (Paris: Plon, 1936). For coverage of later period see Anthony Clayton, *France, Soldiers and Africa* (London: Brassey's Defence Publishers, 1988).

[20] The fact that it was possible, albeit difficult, for indigenous Algerians to acquire French citizenship from the Sénatus Consulte of 1865 onwards meant that it was also possible, albeit rare, for naturalized colonial subjects to serve in these nominally "white" units.

[21] Clayton, *France, Soldiers and Africa*, 6-8.

[22] For further discussion of the connection between military service and national identity see Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976), 292-302.

[23] For additional information about the history of the Armée d'Afrique, see Clayton, *France, Soldiers and Africa;* Azan, *L'Armée d'Afrique*; Jean-Louis Larcade, *Zouaves et Tirailleurs: les régiments de marche et les régiments mixtes (1914-1918),* volume 1 (Les Jonquerets-de-Livet, Belgium: Éd. des Argonautes, 2000); Pierre Montagnon, *L'Armée d'Afrique: De 1830 à l'indépendence de l'Algérie* (Paris: Pygmalion, 2012).

[24] Clément Charrut, "La deuxième mort des zouaves," *L'Algérianiste,* 148 (December 2014), 48.

[25] Montagon, *L'Armée d'Afrique,* 219; Jean-Charles Jauffret, "La Grande Guerre et l'Afrique Française du Nord," in Claude Carlier and Guy Pedroncini (eds.) *Les Troupes coloniales dans la Grande Guerre* (Paris: Economica, 1997), 111.
[26] Montagon, *L'Armée d'Afrique,* 229.
[27] Clayton, *France, Soldiers and Africa,* 207.
[28] Alain Lardillier, "Devenir Français un droit," *L'Algérianiste,* 145 (March 2014): 16-20.
[29] Montagon, *L'Armée d'Afrique,* 219.
[30] Leonard V. Smith, "War and 'Politics': The French Army Mutinies of 1917," *War and History* 2 no. 2 (1995): 180; Clayton, *France, Soldiers and Africa,* 207.
[31] Todd Shepard, "'Of Sovereignty': Disputed Archives, 'Wholly Modern' Archives, and the Post-Decolonization French and Algerian Republics, 1962–2012," *American Historical Review,* 120, no. 3 (June 2015): 869-883.
[32] Examples of these commemorative efforts include: *Le Livre d'or de l'Oranie* (Alger, 1925); *Livre d'or du département de Constantine*, ed. by Paul Cuttoli, Gaston Thomson and Emile Morinaud (Alger, 1924); *Le Livre du souvenir. Fédération nationale des combattants volontaires de la grande guerre 1914-1918. Section d'Oranie* (Oran : Case postale 1934). For examples of veterans associations and their press in Algeria see: *Bulletin des Vieux du Neuf. Association amicale des anciens combattants du 9eme Zouaves (section d'Alger); Bulletin trimestrielle de la mutuelle des Anciens Combattants des Dardanelles du Département d'Oran; Les Mutilés: bulletin mensuel*. *Union philanthropique des blessés de la Grande Guerre du département d'Oran*.
[33] Dónal Hassett, "A Tale of Two Monuments: The War Memorials of Oran and Algiers and Commemorative Culture in Colonial and Postcolonial Algeria," in Ben Wellings and Shanti Sumartojo (eds.), *Commemorating Race and Empire in the First World War Centenary* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018), 51-68; Jan C. Jansen, "Une autre 'Union Sacrée' ? Commémorer la Grande Guerre dans l'Algérie colonisée (1918-1939)", translated by Augustin Jommier, *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 61-2 (2014): 32-60.
[34] See, for example, articles in *L'Algérianiste,* the magazine of the Cercle Algérianiste association such as: Francine Dessiagne, "Alger 1917-1918. Correspondance de Louis ROUGIER, professeur au Lycée d'Alger," *L'Algérianiste,* 28 (15 December 1984): 38-44; Michel Bonansien, "Les premiers coups de canon de la guerre de 1914-1918," *L'Algérianiste,* 67 (September 1994): 59-60; Claude Arlès, "Août 1914… un Bônois mobilisé raconte," *L'Algérianiste,* 76 (December 1996): 35-47.
[35] Eldridge, *From Empire to Exile,* 237-294; Jansen, Jan C., "Politics of Remembrance, Colonialism and the Algerian War of Independence in France," in Matgorzata Pakier and Bo Stråth (eds.), *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Remembrance* (New York and Oxford: Berghan Books, 2010), 275-91; Robert Aldrich, "The Colonial Past and the Postcolonial Present," in Martin Thomas (ed.), *The French Colonial Mind Volume 2: Violence, Military Encounters, and Colonialism,* (Lincoln, NB and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 334-356.
[36] Antoine Saez, "1914-1918: 100 ans après, les Pieds-Noirs se souviennent!," *L'Écho de l'Oranie,* 355 (November-December 2014), 16.
[37] Tristan Banocre, *Des jours moissonnés* (Paris: Éditions La pensée universelle, 1974), 14. Cited in Frédéric Harymbat, "1914-18 L'armée d'Afrique en opération: le théâtre occidental (2ème partie)," *L'Écho de l'Oranie,* 371 (July-August 2017), 15.
[38] Gilbert Meynier argues the statistics paint a less positive picture of the behavior of the French settlers from Algeria, while Ageron draws attention to complaints from Senators regarding the "bad example" being given to Muslim Algerians by settler "shirkers". Although, as Jacques Frémeaux points out, we would need comparative statistics for other regions of France before deciding if the settlers were more disposed towards shirking than other soldiers. Meynier, *L'Algérie révélee,* 587-590; Charles-Robert Ageron, *Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine. Tome II. De l'insurection de 1871 au déclenchement de la guerre de libération* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1964), 262; Frémeaux, *Les colonies,* 56.
[39] Lardillier, "Devenir Français," 20.
[40] Meynier, *L'Algérie révélée,* 166; 591.
[41] For further discussion of the complex relationship between the settler community and metropolitan France during the colonial era see: Emmanuel Sivan, "Colonialism and Popular Culture in Algeria," *Journal of Contemporary History* 14 no. 1 (1979): 21-53; Ali Yedes, "Social Dynamics in Colonial Algeria: The Question of *Pieds-Noirs* Identity," in Tyler Stovall and Georges

van den Abbeele (eds.), *French Civilization and its Discontents: Nationalism, Colonialism, Race* (Lanham, MD; Oxford; Lexington, 2003), 235-249.
[42] Antoine Prost, "Verdun," in Pierre Nora (ed.) *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past. Volume III. Symbols*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 377-401.
[43] "Éditorial: Les Français d'Algérie," 5.
[44] Hélène Martin, "1914-1918. Ils partaient d'Algérie pour défendre la patrie (1ère partie)," *L'Algérianiste,* 149 (March 2015): 18.
[45] Harymbat, "1914-18 L'armée d'Afrique en opération," 13.
[46] Harymbat, "1914-18 L'armée d'Afrique en opération," 15. In this instance, Harymbat does cite his sources, claiming the figures come from Belkacem Recham, *Les Musulmans Algériens dans l'armée française (1919-1945)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996).
[47] "Éditorial: Les Français d'Algérie," 6.
[48] Jansen, "Une autre 'Union Sacrée'?", 34.
[49] Yves Sainsot, "Du culte du souvenir au devoir de mémoire," *France Horizon,* 537-538-539 (October-November-December 2013): 1. Founded in 1956 and still active today, ANFANOMA stands for Association Nationale des Français d'Afrique du Nord, d'Outre-Mer et de leurs Amis.
[50] Saez, "1914-1918' "15. No reference is given for the source.
[51] Richard Fogarty provides a useful overview of the nature of indigenous recruitment into the French Army in *Race and War in France,* 15-54.
[52] Samuel Kalman has shown that this rural unrest went beyond draft dodging and banditry for subsistence and was instead explicitly political. "Criminalizing Dissent: Policing Banditry in the Constantinois, 1914-18," in Rabah Aissaoui and Claire Eldridge (eds.), *Algeria Revisited: History, Memory and Identity* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 19-38. See also Meynier, *L'Algérie révélée,* 559-578.
[53] E. F. Gautier quoted in Martin, "1914-18 (1ère Partie)," 44. Among the many academic works that illustrate the gap between *pied-noir* presentations of inter-ethnic interactions and the actual historical situation see in particular: Meynier, *L'Algérie révélée,* 260-287; James McDougall, *A History of Algeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 86-130; John Ruedy, *Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation,* 2nd edition (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005), 80-113,
[54] See, for example, Martin, "1914-1918. Ils partent d'Algérie," 17.
[55] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory,* trans. Francis J. Ditter and Vita Yazdi Ditter (New York, 1980).
[56] "Éditorial: 19 mars: 'no pasarán!'," *L'Écho de l'Oranie,* 364 (May-June 2016), 4. Indeed, while many *pied-noir* associations have written about the First World War from the perspective of exposing the historical role played by their community, a small core of more hardline publications, like *La Lettre de Véritas,* have framed the Centenary as simply the latest example of the state's discriminatory memory politics. For an example of this type of framing see "Non au drapeau FLN à Paris le 14 juillet prochain!," *La Lettre de Véritas,* 174 (July-August 2014), 4-6.
[57] http://centenaire.org/fr/algerie [last accessed December 12, 2018]
[58] http://centenaire-14-18.ecpad.fr/wp-content/uploads/dmm/pays/algerie.pdf [last accessed December 12, 2018].
[59] Yves Sainsot, "2014: l'année du souvenir et des commémorations, semée d'embûches," *France Horizon,* 540-541-542 (January-February-March 2014), 1.
[60] Martin, "1914-1918. Ils partaient d'Algérie," 9.
[61] Although the Armée d'Afrique was dissolved in 1962, in the 1980s the 19th Corps was symbolically revived by adding a recognizably "African" appellation to one regiment per subdivision e.g. "1ère Régiment de Tirailleurs d'Epinal". All these units remain, apart from the 9e Zouaves de Givet (Ardennes), which disappeared during a 2006 re-organization of the military. Charrut, "La deuxième mort," 46-51.
[62] Charrut, "La deuxième mort," 51.
[63] Jean-Marie Avelin, "Le mot du Président," *La Lettre de Véritas,* 174 (July-August 2014), 3. Emphasis in the original.
[64] Saez, "1914-1918," 14.
[65] For a fuller discussion of the place of the Great War within contemporary Algerian memory and culture see: Hassett, "Contested Commemoration," 209-231.

[66]. Sandrine Blanchard, "Montpellier exile son Musée de l'histoire de la France et de l'Algérie," *Le Monde,* May 29, 2014.
[67] http://www.clan-r.org/portail/exposition-francais-d-algerie-et-guerre-de [last accessed December 12, 2018]
[68] La Grande Collect is led by the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) and the Service interministériel des Archives de France. See www.lagrandecollecte.fr [last accessed December 12, 2018]
[69] www.lagrandecollecte.fr/lagrandecollecte/fr/precedentes [last accessed December 12, 2018]
[70] www.lagrandecollecte.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b69318779.r=français%20d%27algérie?rk=85837;2 [last accessed December 12, 2018]
[71] www.lagrandecollecte.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10100054s.r=gaston%20bonhomme?rk=21459;2; and www.lagrandecollecte.fr/services/engine/search/sru?operation=searchRetrieve&version=1.2&query=%28gallica%20all%20%22emile%20champert%22%29&lang=fr&suggest=0[last accessed December 12, 2018]
[72] At the time of writing, the website displays only 70 items of correspondence, 151 photographs, 23 official documents, 30 diaries or diary entries, and 31 drawings out of a total of 325,000 items digitized. www.lagrandecollecte.fr [last accessed December 12, 2018]
[73] www.europeana.eu/portal/en/collections/world-war-I [last accessed December 12, 2018]
[74] www.europeana.eu/portal/en/record/2020601/contributions_15346.html?q=Algerie [last accessed December 12, 2018]
[75] https://www.europeana.eu/portal/en/record/2020601/contributions_9686.html?q=Algerie [last accessed December 12, 2018]
[76] https://www.europeana.eu/portal/en/record/2020601/contributions_8579.html?q=Léopold+Hostin [last accessed December 12, 2018]
[77] Martha Hanna and John Horne, "France and the Great War on its Centenary," *French Historical Studies,* 39 no. 2 (April 2016): 236.
[78] http://cdha.fr/historique [last accessed December 12, 2018] There are two other *pied-noir* repositories: the Centre d'études pied-noir (CEPN) located in Nice and the Centre de documentation des Français d'Algérie (CDDFA) opened in in 2012 in Perpignan.
[79] Centre de documentation historique sur l'Algérie (hereafter CDHA) CAS-845 GHE, "Témoignage de Alexandre Cerda". Oral history interview recorded by Jean Monneret, December 11, 1989.
[80] CDHA 965.3 MAL-b b, Régis Maldamé and Jean-Claude Maldamé, *Un poilu d'Algérie mort au combat dans les Dardanelles Correspondance à son épouse de Blida à Gallipoli août 1914 - juin 1915* (2015).
[81] For another example of the Centenary as an impetus to donate see: CDHA 845 MUZ, Alfred Muzart, *Souvenirs de la guerre 1914-1918.*
[82] CDHA 215 ARC 08, Fonds Charrut.
[83] See Clément Charrut, "Armée d'Afrique et troupe coloniales," *L'Écho de l'Oranie,* 327 (March-April 2010): 6-7; Clément Charrut, "Germersheim 31 mars 1945. Le franchiseement du Rhin: un fait d'armes méconnu," *Algérianiste* 129 (2010): 21-27; Charrut, "La deuxième mort des zouaves," 46-51.
[84] CDHA 215 ARC 08, Fonds Charrut.
[85] Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity'," *Theory and Society,* 29 no. 1 (2000): 1-2.
[86] Richard S. Fogarty, "Out of North Africa: Contested Visions of French Muslim Soldiers during World War I," in *Empires in World War I*, 154.
[87] Fogarty, "Out of North Africa," 140; Amin Maalouf, *In the Name of Identity: Violence and the Need to Belong,* trans. Barbara Bray (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2012).
[88] This is not intended as a direct comparison between the experiences of Muslim soldiers from North Africa and white French settlers who fought. The author fully acknowledges the very different contexts in which their wartime service occurred produced by factors such as race, religion and citizenship status, or lack thereof.
[89] Published accounts by settler soldiers display the same bias that exists in metropolitan accounts with an over-representation of officer voices. This is addressed somewhat by the more

diverse collection of testimony accessible via the CDHA, but it remains true that the experiences of "ordinary" soldiers are less visible than their numbers merit.
[90] The memorial in question was the monument to the fallen "heroes" of the Battle of Icheriden, which took place in Kabylia on June 24, 1857. Bibliothèque de documentation internationale contemporaine (hereafter BDIC), F Delta 2125.08 Correspondence de soldats (1914-1918), Sédira, Emile (3e Zouaves), Emile Sédira to Pépin Ottavi, September 8, 1914.
[91] CDHA 965.3 PEL, Georges Pélissier, *Les Dardanelles et l'expédition de Salonique, L'Armée française d'Orient, Lettres de Joséphin Pélissier 1915-1918* (2013), Georges Pélissier to Julien Chazot, January 21, 1916.
[92] Charles Hanin, *Souvenirs d'un officier de zouaves, 1915-1918* (Paris: Bernard Giovanangeli Éditeur, 2014), 8-9.
[93] FR ANOM FP 140 APOM/3. Caporal Ventre to his wife, November 14, 1915.
[94] Charles Gueugnier, *Les Carnets de captivité de Charles Gueugnier 1914-1918* (Toulouse: Accord Édition, 1998), 224. Capitalisation as in the original.
[95] Hanin, *Souvenirs d'un officier,* 94.
[96] CDHA 273 ARC 01 Archives Lleu, Letter to Marie Marcon, April 30, 1918.
[97] Louis Buscail, *Capitaine de Zouaves: l'extraordinaire destin d'un officier pendant la Grande guerre* (Escalquens: Editions Grancher, 2014), 147.
[98] Ricciotto Canudo, *Capitaine Canudo. Combats d'Orient, Dardanelles, Salonique, (1915-1916)* (Paris: Hachette, 1917), 63.
[99] Henry D'Estre, *De l'Algérie au Rhin: Journal de Guerre du 3ème Tirailleurs de Marche* (Paris: A. Picard, 1920), 45. D'Estre was the pen name of Henri-Xavier Dufestre.
[100] For examples of this practice in accounts by settler soldiers see: D'Estre, *De l'Algérie au Rhin,* 28-9, 67; Albert de Lamotte, *Cinq mois aux Dardanelles* (Oran: Henri Chazaud, 1923); André Laquière, *Khelili, Frendi, Ziani, brancardiers* (Alger: Éditions P & G Soubiron, 1931).
[101] Hanin, *Souvenirs d'un officier,* 52.
[102] Due to Martinique's status as an "old colony", its inhabitants, including formerly enslaved people, were granted citizenship in 1848. Citizenship was granted to metropolitan Jews in the wake of the 1789 Revolution, while their co-religionists in Algeria obtained this same status in 1870.
[103] For further information on the identities and loyalties of soldiers from Alsace and Lorraine see Raphaël Georges, "Quelle mémoire pour les soldats alsaciens-lorrains de la Grande Guerre?" *Le Mouvement Social,* 215, no. 2 (2015): 59-74; J-N Grandhomme and F. Grandhomme, *Les Alsaciens-Lorrains dans la Grande Guerre* (Strasbourg, La Nuée Bleue, 2013). My thanks to Alison Carrol for her suggestions on this issue.
[104] Chopin, "Pages without borders," 156; Lizabeth Zack, "French and Algerian Identities in Formation," *French Colonial History,* 2 (2002): 117.
[105] Gueugnier, *Les carnets de captivité,* 166. Having worked as a cook with the British Navy for several years prior to the war, Gueugnier spoke English very well.
[106] Fiona Barclay, Charlotte Chopin and Martin Evans, "Settler Colonialism and French Algeria," *Settler Colonial Studies,* 8 no. 2 (2018): 8.
[107] Jonathan Gosnell, *The Politics of Frenchness in Colonial Algeria, 1930-1954* (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2002), 75.
[108] Brubaker and Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity'," 30.
[109] For further discussion of this phenomenon see David Cummings, "Civilising the Settler: unstable representations of French settler colonialism in Algeria," *Settler Colonial Studies,* 8 no.2 (2018): 175-194; Peter Dunwoodie, *Writing French Algeria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
[110] As a result of reductions in maritime transport, in 1917 the system of two leave periods of 11 days per year which had been in operation for soldiers from Algeria (both settler and indigenous) in 1915 and 1916, was replaced with a single "permission" of 21 days making them wait longer and leading to complaints from families. Crespo, "Alger pendant la Grande Guerre," 66.
[111] De Lamotte, *Cinq mois,* 75.
[112] De Lamotte, *Cinq mois,* 86.
[113] CDHA 965.3 PEL, Georges Pélissier, *Les Dardanelles et l'expédition de Salonique, L'Armée française d'Orient, Lettres de Joséphin Pélissier 1915-1918* (2013), Georges Pélissier to his wife, May 29, 1915.

[114] BDIC F Delta 2125.08 Correspondence de soldats (1914-1918), Sédira, Emile (3e Zouaves), Emile Sédira to Pépin Ottavi, November 19, 1914.
[115] BDIC F Delta 2125.08 Correspondence de soldats (1914-1918), Sédira, Emile (3e Zouaves), Telegram, Bernardini to Pépin Ottavi, November 27, 1914.
[116] Hanin, *Souvenirs,* 98.
[117] Algeria does not feature in the body of scholarship devoted to regional identities and the First World War, even though with its three *départements* it possessed the same administrative status as regions like Brittany or the Languedoc-Rousillon (today part of the Occitanie region) which have been the subject of academic studies. See, for example, Gregori and Pellegrinetti (eds), *Minorités, identités régionales et nationales en guerre 1914-1918;* François Bouloc, Rémy Cazals and André Loez (eds), *Identités troublées 1914-1918. Les appartenances sociales et nationales à l'épreuve de la guerre* (Paris: Éditions Privat, 2011); Michaël Bourlet, Yann Lagadec, Erwan Le Gall (eds), *Petites patries dans la Grande Guerre* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2013).
[118] Jean-Paul Pellegrinetti, "Les combattants corses dans la Première Guerre mondiale' "in *Identités troubles,* 129-139; Alexandre Lafon, *La Camaraderie au front 1914-1918* (Paris: Armand Colin/Ministère de la défense 2014), 362-377.
[119] Pellerinetti, "Les combattants corses," 137-8.
[120] Hanin, *Souvenirs,* 142; Gueugnier, *Les Carnets de captivité,* 60.
[121] See, for example, Capitaine Fiori, *Au clair de la... dune: revue en 1 acte et 2 tableaux* (Sceaux : impr. de Charaire, [1915]), and Capitaine Fiori, *C'est à schlitter partout !... Deuxième revue de "La Chéchia"* (Sceaux : Impr. de Charaire, c. 1916).
[122] Perhaps the best known of these titles was *La Chéchia* which became *Le Zouzou: Journal des zouaves* in 1916*.* Other examples include *Aux 100.000 articles : Organe du 4e zouaves* and *Les sans-cravate : journal du 2e zouaves.*
[123] Gueugnier, *Les carnets de captivité,* 9, 10, 138.
[124] Canudo, *Capitaine Canudo,* 148-9.
[125] 14-18: Mission du Centenaire, *2014: Centenaire de la Première Guerre Mondiale,* 9. Cited in Hanna and Horne, "France and the Great War," 235.
[126] Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds.), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois* World (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 19917), 1-56.
[127] Barclay, Chopin and Evans, "Settler Colonialism," 22.