

Barbarity, civilization, and the worker-settler in *Revue Sociale*, 1845-1850
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What I want to talk to you about today is how early French socialists, long recognized for their championing of an inclusive notion of humanity, understood and supported the French imperial project, particularly the conquest and colonial settlement of Algeria. This paper is drawn from a much bigger work-in-progress in which I've been investigating how a broad range of socialist groups and journals during the July Monarchy and Second Republic approached the related issues of ending colonial slavery and settling the newly conquered Algerian territory. Throughout this project, I'm interested in the language that socialists and their contemporaries used to characterize two groups of colonial subjects, chattel slaves and Algerian civilians, in relation to metropolitan workers, as many of the same kinds of rhetoric and categories were applied in overlapping ways to these three groups. Whether in discussions of "barbarians" in the *banlieue* or wage slaves in the metropole, the vocabulary of colonial subjection permeated discussions of the social order during this period, a trend that colored metropolitan attitudes toward the colonial enterprise in complex and interesting ways.

This is a big topic; however given the constraints of this venue, in this paper I have focused on the rhetoric of barbarity and civilization that appears in Pierre Leroux's journal, *Revue Sociale, Ou, Solution Pacifique Du Problème Du Proletariat*, published in Boussac (Creuse) from October 1845 to February 1848, and resumed

briefly under different leadership for the first part of 1850.ⁱ The full run of *Revue Sociale* combines extensive reprints of Leroux's essays from previous decades with intermittent contributions from members of his extended network and family, many of whom resided at Boussac during the last years of the July Monarchy in an intentional community organized around the Imprimerie de Boussac.ⁱⁱ Although the journal's coverage of Algeria was only intermittent, the years 1845-1848 were particularly volatile ones in the French pacification of Algeria. More specifically, the first issue of the journal, October 1845, coincided closely with the public outrage over the mass murder at Dahra of the Ouled-Riah tribe in June 1845 by French soldiers under the command of lieutenant-colonel Jean-Jacques Pélissier. Prior to the February revolution, the *Revue Sociale* contains a number of articles either directly or indirectly touching on the question of barbarity at "home" and in Algeria, in essays, poetry, and first person reportage. These texts allow us a window into the complex dynamics of sympathy, advocacy, and erasure at work in framing socialist attitudes toward the "peuplement d'Algerie" at the end of the July Monarchy.

The period of the July monarchy was a violent one not only within metropolitan France and in the territory of Algeria, but also in the "old" colonies.ⁱⁱⁱ During this period, tactics used against resistant Algerians by the French Army of Africa were re-imported to manage urban labor unrest in France, particularly in the late 1840s. Even earlier, broad parallels were recognized in the behavior of the military toward workers and Algerians – as the twin monikers of General Thomas-Robert Bugeaud "executioner of Dahra" and "butcher of the rue Transnonain"

demonstrate.^{iv} Given these parallels between the treatment of workers and colonial subjects at the hands of the state during these years, and the humanitarian character of early socialism, we might expect romantic socialists to take a broadly anti-imperial stance, in which the brutality of the conquest in Algeria would be condemned for its violence and dehumanizing effects.^v This was not, however, the case. Despite widespread press denunciations of specific episodes of violence used against Algerian civilians by the French Army, in which socialists were vociferous participants, the inescapable reality of collateral damage as a byproduct of settler expansion went largely unacknowledged by socialist writers.^{vi} And even though they often had detailed knowledge of the treatment being meted out to Algerians, as well as its broad similarity to the plight of colonial slaves and metropolitan workers, both objects of their sympathy, socialist writers nevertheless consistently lobbied simultaneously for the end of slavery and workers' rights while supporting the "expedition" into, and eventual colonial settlement of, Algeria.^{vii} As much as we might search for a consistent humanitarian concern for self-determination and human dignity in socialist attitudes toward French overseas expansion, no such consistency is to be found. Given this reality, how do we understand and contextualize socialists' "selective" humanitarianism?

In answering this question, I want to highlight the importance of framing in determining one's perspective: recognizing inhumane conditions is, thus, a function of where one looks and who is visible there.^{viii} As I'm arguing in my larger project on early socialism and the French empire, socialists' prioritization of the working classes in France was the critical determinant of their views on the colonies, old and

new. In their writings, they presented the workers as the civilizing vanguard of French society, victimized by the evils of capitalism and, in the context of Algeria, the French military by way of working class conscription. Writing about the *enfumade* at Dahra in October 1845, Pierre Leroux lamented the barbarity that was penetrating Africa through the tactics of the leadership of the French army, while at the same time, contributors to his journals depicted worker-colonists as transporters of civilization to barbaric Algeria.^{ix} Where their liberal and conservative contemporaries frequently depicted the working classes of France as menacing, unruly, and uncivilized, socialists emphasized their humanity and their Christ-like suffering to evoke sympathy from their readers, often doing so in gendered language and imagery.^x Recurring depictions of Christian French workers (and worker-settlers) as long suffering, and in many cases, feminine, figures, coupled with the dehumanization or erasure of Muslim Algerian civilians, obscured the violence of the conquest they, and virtually all other politically engaged Frenchmen, endorsed.^{xi}

As I noted earlier, the vocabulary of colonial subjugation was central to metropolitan conversations about labor and class relations during the July Monarchy, particularly within socialist cohorts, and its valence determined the charge, so to speak, of the discussion. The most pervasive example of this theme is the often-drawn parallel between the worker and the slave. Socialists and industrial reformers in Europe and North America used this parallel in a variety of ways, but most particularly to characterize the condition of the laboring poor in urban centers. If the abject figure of the slave evoked sympathy in a broad readership, the inverse

language of barbarity, used often in the the bourgeois press to characterize rebellious workers, conjured up middle class fears of worker violence and political disorder. The most notorious use of this language, of course, was that of Saint-Marc Girardin in his 1831 “Les Barbares,” in which he ominously observed “the barbarians who threaten society are not in the Caucasus or on the steppes of Tartary; they are in the suburbs of our industrial towns,” but caustic characterizations of the workers as uncivilized and savage are a consistent theme in the bourgeois press throughout the era.^{xii} In a variety of writings in *La Revue Sociale*, images of slavery and barbarity are deployed to critique contemporary class relations. These parallel uses of the vocabulary of barbarity and civilization allow us to see the relationship between the deployment of such language and more tangible relations between French workers and Algerian subjects in France’s newly conquered territory.

Although my primary focus here today is on the depiction of workers and Algerians, I would like to give you a few examples of the rhetoric of slavery by socialists, as it is an important underpinning to the sympathy socialist writers aimed to evoke for the workers in their readers. Speaking broadly of the problems of contemporary society, in 1845, Pierre Leroux used the language of slavery to diagnose the essential human condition to that point in time.^{xiii} Likewise, Leroux’s follower Robert du Var, in his *Histoire de la classe ouvrière, depuis l’esclave jusqu’au prolétaire de nos jours* drew continuities between ancient slavery, medieval serfdom, and modern wage labor, and argued that the kind of deprivation visible in modern society would have been unthinkable in the ancient world due to the ubiquity and

structure of slavery itself.^{xiv} Like many of his contemporaries, du Var used the vocabulary of antislavery in his discussion of the workers, invoking both their enfranchisement and their eventual “emancipation.”^{xv} Thus while socialists deplored colonial slavery, they also leveraged its moral obnoxiousness in service of their primary agenda, the denunciation of capitalist wage relations. Interestingly, whereas the specter of slave revolt loomed large in mainstream antislavery debates, there is a relative dearth of threats such as the one invoked by Saint Marc Girardin (“the sedition of Lyon is a version of Saint-Domingue’s insurrection”).^{xvi} This absence is telling, as socialists’ case for both worker and slave emancipation rested on the moral imperative to mitigate the pain of society’s downtrodden. As befits the paternalism of much humanitarian rhetoric - especially antislavery discussions - the subject populations are presented as essentially powerless and in need of the protection of their advocates. Their common Christianity is a powerful element in this argument, one that positions both chattel slaves and wage slaves as the responsibility of French Christian society. Socialists, like liberal antislavery critics, depicted slavery - like industrial wage relations - as a crime committed by European societies, and one that had to be redeemed through their efforts, and in order to ensure the salvation of slave and master alike.

There were, in fact, many similarities between the chattel slaves of the colonies and the workers of the metropole, and these similarities were pivotal to socialist depictions of the suffering *ouvriers*. Just as socialist discussions of slaves tended to emphasize their humane and childlike qualities, and shied away from overt recognition of the very real threat of colonial violence, violent conflicts

between workers and the state were depicted in terms of workers' victimization at the hands of the ruling power rather than their militancy and dangerousness.^{xvii} In one of the many poems he published in *Revue Sociale* between 1845-1850, "Le banquet égalitaire," Edmond Tissier called upon the workers to overwhelm their opposition with love, not swords: "proletaires, debout! Au combat! Mais sans glaive."^{xviii} In another of his poems, "Le suicide," Tissier presented an image of the patient and longsuffering worker dying in calm and resignation from hunger after being summarily dismissed from his long time employment. Planning his death with "ancient calm" he "gives up his divine soul" without "uttering a cry." Thus where the mainstream French press emphasized the barbarity and risk of violence mounting in the industrial regions of modern France, socialists painted the workers as noble, peaceful, and Christ-like, holding the exploitative state and the greedy bourgeoisie, rather than the workers, responsible.^{xix}

In a particularly biting critique of class relations, Gregoire Champseix reversed the conventional poles in the idiom of barbarians in the *banlieue*. Writing in 1845 in the *Revue Sociale*, he described barbarity and civilization as class traits. In his rendering, barbarity is the preserve of the bourgeois capitalist, and civility that of the anti-materialistic, humanitarian, laboring man. The bourgeois is the ultimate product of contemporary society: materialistic, amoral, self-justifying, misogynistic, intent on hierarchical division of society, he always "pursues a way to overhaul this world which would arrest the progress of Humanity in its tracks, and plunge it into a barbarity more horrible and more backward than all those from which we have emerged." "Le Civilisé" by contrast is sweet, good humored, and loves his fellow

man, embracing the religion of “equality, the product of Christianity and of philosophy. Equality should unite, tie together all men in unity.” He knows what is important in life, and “feels himself united to Nature, to Humanity, to God, but most particularly and most directly to Humanity.” Sympathetic to his fellow man *and woman*, he cherishes solidarity above all else. Emphasizing the centrality of Christianity to civilization and the benevolence and integrity of that civilization, Champseix depicts a workingman identifiably inspired by the “Christ on the barricades” often evoked in this era, a man who “dies without fear or terror, ... full of confidence and hope in God.”^{xx}

These empathic and even heroic depictions of workers in France stand in counterpoint to the way Algerian civilians, also victimized by the forces of order and property, were portrayed in the pages of the journal. Whereas the workers were depicted as victims of exploitation by the capitalist system, as Pierre Leroux noted, “[i]t is capital that is killing Humanity,” the worker-settlers we meet in Algeria were in fact the ultimate beneficiaries of state violence.^{xxi} In that new venue, discussions of the brutality of warfare were depersonalized or minimized, and their victims dehumanized through a variety of rhetorical means that I explore below.

In the various forms of writing about Algeria found in the *Revue Sociale*, which range from first person reportage to poetry, the native populations of the newly claimed Algerian territory were depicted in many ways, but never the kind of personalized and sympathetic care with which metropolitan workers were portrayed. For example, in Leroux’s October 1845 denunciation of the crimes of the

Armée d'Afrique, he depicted the Arab population of Algeria as a corrupting influence, infecting French soldiers – already victimized by the French army itself – with the “moral turpitude” of the Orient.^{xxii} Moreover, these contrasts were often drawn in terms that resonated with religious differences between French workers and their Muslim antagonists. These contrasting depictions fall broadly into two categories: The first is the most striking and also typical of other kinds of “virgin territory” writing from the nineteenth century, namely, the detailed description of empty and uncultivated lands, ripe for the taking.^{xxiii} To the extent that indigenous populations were described at all, it was in similar terms to that used to describe the landscape and natural resources, namely in descriptive and typological language.

The second mode of description depended on gendered imagery, wherein the Algerian populations were primarily referred to as offstage warriors, implicitly threatening the livelihood of the vulnerable and familial worker-settler populations. Where indigenous women and children were depicted, moreover, they stood as signs of the debauched and archaic patriarchy of the Algerians, rather than as symbols of innocence and fruitfulness as do European settler women. Both strategies had the effect of distancing and dehumanizing Algerians undergoing conquest and expulsion from their homes, while humanizing and making highly sympathetic the settler populations following the roads “pierced by the government.”^{xxiv} Most relevantly, the workers from the metropole figured centrally in both kinds of depictions of Algerian civilians – most often as the intrepid settlers, making fruitful the “uncultivated” land cleared of Arabs by the French military.

Beyond what we might identify as ethnographic descriptions of the population, there is relatively little discussion of actual Algerians to be found in socialist journalism before the widespread metropolitan horror expressed when the 1845 *enfumades* at Dahra became front-page news.^{xxv} A poetic version of this erasure of Algerians appears in an early issue of the *Revue Sociale*, in a poem from 1845 by worker-poet Charles Poncy, "l'Afrique dans cent ans," reprinted in the journal in 1846. The opening stanza, in which it is the land rather than the people of Algeria that suffers, neatly encapsulates my point: "For a long time Africa has suffered. Its fields/Ravaged by war and desiccating winds/Were covered everywhere by blood and smoke./A shroud weighed on this beautiful continent./But I have torn it away. Come and see now,/Come and see the treasures with which Africa is sown."^{xxvi} By emphasizing the terrain rather than its inhabitants, Poncy lays the groundwork for the salvific function of the Frenchmen en route to pacify long-suffering African land with their productive settlement.

Philippe Faure used a similar set of images in a series of letters that appeared prominently in the *Revue Sociale* between September 1846 and October 1847, letters devoted to the study of "the future possibilities of Algeria."^{xxvii} These letters follow Faure and unnamed companions through various regions of Algeria in 1845. Faure's accounts offer tableaux of settler-hungry Algeria and the opportunity it represents for the longsuffering wage slaves of the metropole to remake themselves in the newly available, fertile lands of the colony. Epitomizing the logic of settler colonization, Faure repeatedly invokes images of French laborers cultivating Algerian land beneath the African sun.^{xxviii} Elaborating on themes already circulating

in socialist discussions of colonization, Faure calls upon France to redeem the bloodiness of the conquest through the morally admirable work of colony building.^{xxxix} As was the case with Champseix's inversion of the valence of barbarity discussed above, Faure and other socialists (including Pierre Leroux in post-June 1848 discussions in the Assembly) positioned settlement of Algeria by workers as a beneficial solution to the troubles of modern life in France. By contrast to more conservative politicians and bureaucrats throughout the July Monarchy who saw Algeria as a safety-valve against "Disorderly Riot" in the metropole, socialist writers emphasized both the virtues of settlement for workers and the benefits they would bring to the nascent civilizing mission.^{xxx}

In his first letter Faure recounts his boat ride on the Pharamond on 25 August 1845 bound for Algiers.^{xxxi} Front and center in this account are the immigrant workers crammed into steerage, "men, women, and children ... heaped up with the animals on the bridge of the boat... badly dressed, poorly fed, ... burnt by the heat..." Faure crowns his pitiful evocation of the suffering masses with a touching portrait of a beautiful young Italian woman, nursing at her breast "a pink and white baby girl." Juxtaposed to this humane and personified image of the nursing settler mother, are a series of ethnographic descriptions of the various racial and religious groups of Algiers, including the (predictable) veiled woman "entirely hidden by an enormous burnoose." From the first glimpse of the Algerian coastline, the narrative of arrival and colonization is told from the point of view of these worker-colonist families, and the moral and sympathetic anchor they provide determines its conclusions.

Changing scenes, we find Faure at the monastery at Notre Dame de Staouëli. In three rapidly succeeding scenes the necessary blind spots of socialist imperialism are succinctly demonstrated. In the first, our author laments the dearth of settler families in Algeria, rhetorically asks “isn’t it obvious that one has to populate the desert with families, not with monks?” and then momentarily contemplates moving to Algeria himself as a settler. But this fantasy is quickly banished when he hears the name of his pew-mate at masse, Pelissier, the “assassin of Dahra,” whose name sets him trembling. He then graphically denounces the horrors of conquest but uses only abstractions, in which no human victims are designated. “The ferocious and implacable war, the devastation, then the exclusive and jealously held property of a few fat farmers; the arrogant domination of the military, the corruption and cupidity of the colonists, this is what we are establishing in Algeria.” Finally, the third scene brings us to the newly established villages of Cheragas and Delly-Ibrahim, half built and already depopulated by discouraged settlers, of whom the majority are workers.^{xxxii} Faure emphasizes the fertility of the land and asserts that the only thing really lacking is “men who understand the force of association,” an obvious call for socialists and workers.

Amid the defeats, however, a few hopeful signs are visible. Faure’s letter closes with an image of fertility and intrepidity in the form of the wife of a *colon*, temporarily on her own and living in peace amidst her vegetables, vines, and fruit trees. Evoking the safety in which this woman “sleeps tranquilly” in her “isolated dwelling [*habitation*]” we are reassured of the ultimate hopefulness of the situation, as all this cultivation has occurred in the four years since the Arabs were “sent

packing” from the region. Throughout Faure’s letter, the only human suffering recounted with empathy is that of the worker-colonists, and though he certainly expressed outrage at the tactics of the military, he did so in depersonalized and abstracted language, whereas the feminized and stalwart worker settlers were vividly and personally described.

Writing later from Oran, Faure elaborated upon the issues raised in his first letter, intermingling images of warlike Arabs, sacrificial worker-soldiers, and wholesome families of worker-settlers. Specifically referring to the *enfumade* of the Ouled-Riah tribe at Dahra in 1845, for example, Faure puts a somewhat different emphasis on the events than Pierre Leroux had in the debut issue of *Revue Sociale* by describing the “incessant fire” of the Kabyles upon “our” soldiers, who have suffered “the death of their comrades” and the obstinate resistance of the “populations.” Given the bad leadership and danger they face, “why,” Faure asked, is it necessary to constantly dwell on the *razzias* at the “odiously celebrated” mountains of Dahra?^{xxxiii} Although we have already seen the revulsion with which Faure reacted to the very name of Pelissier, that the suffering in this scene is experienced by the French soldiers, and it describes the physical site rather than the human victims of the *enfumade*. As in the bleeding landscape Poncy described, so here: it is the abstraction of the land rather than the lived experience of human victims that Faure evoked.

When Faure did discuss the native Algerian population, he drew on familiar orientalist themes of the “timeless east” and recounted numerous anecdotes of the confused or unintelligible nature of the Arabs.^{xxxiv} For example, in his second letter,

dated 2 September 1845, Faure described a Moor asleep under a fig tree, “feet in the shade, and face in the sun!” This practice, “so opposed to our customs,” he opined, is followed by “tous les indigènes.” Such reversals of common sense and common practice are integral to Faure’s account, in which fertile land goes uncultivated, shade unused, and women unprotected. Taking a tone familiar to those acquainted with twenty-first century western discourse on women in Islam, Faure intones, “Poor women! Ruddy from the sun, deformed by work, brutalized by slavery, they seem not to belong to the same race as the men with their noble traits, energetic, and imposing, who misuse them and treat them like animals.”^{xxxv} In another letter, Faure and his companions run into an indigenous tribe, which allows Faure to give his readers a further glimpse into the family life of Arab patriarchy:

...jumping down from a rock, we practically tripped over some straw huts, the size of dog houses, populated by women and children in rags, and guarded by red dogs, quarrelsome but quite cowardly. ... The poverty and dirtiness of these populations are only equaled by their indifference to the results of this condition. For centuries, these clans have led the same life, obeying their sheikh, and each repeating in his life the life of the head of the family. This is what they call patriarchy, the ideal of the family!^{xxxvi}

This vignette most interestingly compares to that of the solitary colonist’s wife that Faure described in his first letter, likewise guarded by her dog. The French woman, unlike the faceless and undifferentiated women and children met here, is well protected and fed, living in grace and plenitude in the abundance of her cultivated estate, while the indigenous agricultural enterprise of which the clan is proprietor is described as “mean” [*mesquine*], despite its location in the Metidja, described earlier in the same letter as the “granary of Africa”. The contrast between Faure’s descriptions of colonizer and colonized come together in these antithetical images of

family, in which the fertility of the land and the propriety of the family are intertwined to present the *colons* as the proper and productive occupants of Algeria. Throughout these accounts, as from the first descent of our narrator from the Pharamond, it is the scrappy and long suffering working class of France, whether nuclear families or women in need of protection, transplanted to Algeria's virgin soil, whose plight invokes our sympathy and with whose travails the reader is meant to empathically identify.

The transition from the slave based system of the "old" colonies to the settler driven model of Algeria was the result of the economic and moral discrediting of chattel slavery over the turn of the nineteenth century.^{xxxvii} For liberal economists and colonialists, settler colonies based on the free labor of European migrants to neo-Europes came to be the only defensible form of colonialism, while slave emancipation was an acknowledged, if grudgingly, necessity. For a figure like Tocqueville the two proposals were driven by the common logic of maintaining the viability and power of the French imperial nation state.^{xxxviii} For many liberal contemporaries, and for the French state both under Orleanist and Republican governments in the 1830s and 40s, settler migration offered a solution to the perceived overpopulation and urban labor discontent that plagued the metropole.^{xxxix}

The twin agendas of slave emancipation and settler colonization were tied together in the logic of early socialism, as well. However, while socialists also rejected slave labor and endorsed settler colonialism, their reasoning differed

significantly, as it was based on the plight of the workers first and foremost, rather than on the threat that they theoretically posed to bourgeois society. And as it was for their liberal contemporaries, one solution to the problem of labor central to abolition debates and wage labor critiques, lay in the “new” colony of Algeria. In contrast to many of their contemporaries, socialists did not see it as a dumping ground for paupers and subversives, but rather as a potential site for the reinvention of French society on new terms.^{xi} Members of many socialist écoles saw in Algeria the possibility to remake society on a new footing, and in terrain otherwise unpolluted by the deficits of “civilization” as they experienced them in the metropole.^{xii} The subjection of the wage slaves of France, the prime object of early socialist reform efforts, could be “ameliorated” in the new colonial world being established across the Mediterranean, a possibility that fed and justified socialist enthusiasm for the colonial project.

ⁱ *Revue Sociale* ceased publication after the January 1848 issue, resuming publication in January 1850 under the management of Pierre’s brother Jules Leroux, Paul Rochery, and Louis Nétré. It ceased publication entirely in July 1850.

ⁱⁱ The later issues of the journal include an intermittent column “notes historiques de l’association de Boussac,” which include necrologies of various members of the association. See Juin-Juillet 1850.

ⁱⁱⁱ Jeremy D. Popkin, *Press, Revolution, and Social Identities in France, 1830-1835* (University Park, PA, 2002); Robert J. Bezucha, *The Lyon Uprising of 1834: Social and Political Conflict in the Early July Monarchy* (Cambridge, MA, 1974); Ludovic Frobert, *Les canuts, ou, La démocratie turbulente: Lyon, 1831-1834* (Lyon, 2009). On slave revolts, Rebecca Hartkopf Schloss, *Sweet Liberty: The Final Days of Slavery in Martinique* (Philadelphia, PA, 2009), 91; Schloss, “The February 1831 Slave Uprising in Martinique and the Policing of White Identity,” *French Historical Studies* 30, no. 2 (April 2007): 203-236; Dale Tomich, “Liberté ou Mort: Republicanism and Slave Revolt in Martinique, February, 1831,” *History Workshop Journal*, 29 (Spring, 1990), 85-91. For the linkage between *canuts* and colonial slaves, Myriam Cottias, *D’une abolition, l’autre: anthologie raisonnée de textes consacrés à la seconde abolition de l’esclavage dans les colonies françaises* (Marseille, 1998), 6.

^{iv} General Robert-Thomas Bugeaud was linked in republican and socialist writings to the killings at the rue Transnonain on April 15, 1834, in which soldiers killed twelve non-combatants in their home while engaged with barricade fighters nearby. The “massacre” was commemorated by Daumier in his eponymous etching, and became shorthand among socialists and republicans for the victimization of the “people” by the military. Troops in Paris during this episode of barricade fighting, initially connected to the second *canuts* uprising in Lyon, were under the general command of Bugeaud, who was also the architect of the pacification of Algeria beginning with his first posting there in 1836 and continuing when he served as Governor general from 1840-1846. Pierre Leroux captured the tone pretty well in his 1845 denunciation of the enfumade at Dahra: “Ah! Colonel qui avez ordonné ce massacre, la France ne se reconnaît pas dans vos exploits! Qu’importe que votre general vous ait approuvé! Votre général a peut-être ses raisons pour pardonner les massacres faciles. N’a-t-il pas, dans la rue Transnonain, exercé des cruautés qui font souvenir de la Saint-Barthélemy!”] *Revue Sociale*, octobre, 1845, 5.

^v Socialists were engaged with the antislavery movement and used the rhetoric of slavery frequently to denounce the situation of the wage laborers of the metropole. See Naomi J. Andrews, “Breaking the Ties: French Romantic Socialism and the Critique of Liberal Slave Emancipation” *Journal of Modern History* 85:3, 2013, for an extensive discussion of the uses of the worker/slave analogy.

^{vi} See reproduction of press coverage in RS in October (?) 45; For more detail on the character of socialist promotion of the *mission civilisatrice*, see Naomi J. Andrews, ““The Universal Alliance of All Peoples””: Romantic Socialists, the Human Family, and the Defense of Empire during the July Monarchy, 1830–1848, *French Historical Studies* 34:3, 2011. On the question of collateral damage, see discussions of genocide and settler colonialism in *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History*, A. Dirk Moses, Ed., (New York, 2008, 2010).

^{vii} As Jennifer Pitts has shown, this is part of a larger shift in attitudes about empire in the nineteenth century. Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (Princeton, NJ, 2005). For the differences between liberal and socialist perspectives on empire, see Andrews, ““The Universal Alliance of All Peoples.””

^{viii} As a growing body of scholarship on humanitarianism is demonstrating, the humanitarian and imperial agendas were deeply intertwined from the beginning. See for both historical and contemporary examples, Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca, 2011); Miriam Tiktin, *Casualties of Care: Casualties of Care: Immigration and the Politics of Humanitarianism in France*, (Berkeley, 2011); Peter Redfield, *Life in Crisis: The Ethical Journey of Doctors without Borders*, (Berkeley, 2013); *Forces of Compassion: Humanitarianism between Ethics and Politics*, Eds. Erica Bornstein and Peter Redfield, (Santa Fe, NM, 2010); Gender analysis does not figure centrally in the historiography of humanitarianism and human rights, however the power dynamics of advocacy suggest its importance to the phenomenon. Feminist scholars have demonstrated its relevance to contemporary politics around these issues. See for example, Wendy S. Hesford and

Wendy Kozol, *Just Advocacy? Women's Human Rights, Transnational Feminisms, and the Politics of Representation* (New Brunswick, NJ, 2005), 1-29; Wendy S. Hesford, *Spectacular Rhetorics: Human Rights Visions, Recognitions* (Durham, NC, 2011).

^{ix} Leroux, October 45, Dahra article.

^x On the role of gendered imagery in romantic socialism, see Naomi J. Andrews, *Socialism's Muse: Gender in the Intellectual Landscape of French Romantic Socialism* (Lanham, MD, 2006).

^{xi} Skepticism about the colonial project in Algeria came mainly from economic liberals, dubious about the feasibility of the project, not its immorality. See Sessions, *By Sword and Plow*.

^{xii} Saint-Marc Girardin, *Souvenirs et réflexions politiques d'un journaliste* (Paris, 1859), 143. (Reprint of "Les Barbares," *Le Journal des Débats*, December 8, 1831. See, e.g., Louis Chevalier, *Laboring classes and dangerous classes in Paris during the first half of the nineteenth century* (Princeton, 1973); Popkin, *Press, revolution, and social identities in France*.

^{xiii} Leroux, "L'abolition des castes," *Revue sociale*, octobre, 1845.

^{xiv} Robert du Var, *Histoire de la classe ouvrière, depuis l'esclave jusqu'au prolétaire des nos jours*, 4 vol. 1845-1850. Du Var's work was used by George Fitzhugh in *Cannibals all! Slaves without Masters*, 1857 to make the pro-slavery case in the southern US.

^{xv} *Ibid.*, 172.

^{xvi} Saint-Marc Girardin, "Les Barbares."

^{xvii} Socialists were hardly alone in their discomfort and avoidance of the racial violence that was so central to the history of slavery in the French Caribbean. The discussion initiated by Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (New York, 1997) about memory of the Haitian Revolution is by now a rich and complex literature. See for fascinating discussions of the issue Sybille Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (Durham, 2004); Doris Garraway, ed., *The Tree of Liberty: Cultural Legacies of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Charlottesville, 2008); Miller, *The French Atlantic Triangle*; Cynthia Bouton, "Reconciliation, Hope, Trust, and Instability in July Monarchy France," *French Historical Studies* 35:3, 2012, 541-575.

^{xviii} Edmond Tissier, "Le Banquet égalitaire," *Revue sociale*, janvier 1847.

^{xix} Tissier, "Le Suicide," *La Revue sociale*, mai 1846. For other examples of this rhetoric see the article "Novembre 1831" in *Revue sociale*, December 1845, p. 44. Saint Marc Girardin, "Les Barbares" ... Bowman, *Le Christ romantique*; Edward Berenson, *Populist Religion and Left Wing Politics in France, 1830-1852* (Princeton, 1984);

^{xx} Gregoire Champseix, "Barbare et Civilisé," *Revue sociale*, juin, 1846.

^{xxi} Pierre Leroux, *Revue sociale*, mars 1846, in an article on humanity and capital, part of "De la recherché des biens materiels," 4th article.

^{xxii} Leroux, "L'évènement du Dahra," *Revue sociale*, octobre 1845.

^{xxiii} On popular imagery of Algeria during the July Monarchy, see Jennifer E. Sessions, *By Sword and Plow* (Ithaca, 2011), 208-263.

^{xxiv} Faure, "Souvenirs d'Algérie: Blidah," *Revue sociale*, octobre, 1846.

^{xxv}Jennifer E. Sessions, “Unfortunate Necessities”: Violence and Civilization in the Conquest of Algeria,” in Patricia M. E. Lorcin and Daniel Brewer, *France and its spaces of war: experience, memory, image* (Macmillan, 2009), 29-44; Even in the humanitarian uproar over the massacre of the Ouled Riah tribe socialists continued their support for the conquest, although critiquing the military prosecution of the war. Also evident, both in liberal and socialist accounts of the event, is a displacement of horror alternating between concerns for the moral debasement of the soldiers (Sessions) or their treatment as soldiers (Andrews). Leroux’s account of the Dahra “évènement” in October 45 is exemplary of these dynamics. His horror at the violence inflicted on a vulnerable and civilian population transitions into a vituperative discussion of the treatment of French soldiers and foreshadowing of the ultimate payback – the application of these methods in France. Jennifer Sessions’ conference paper, “Commendable Displays of Algerian Barbarity: Algeria and the Political Culture of 1848,” presented at the Western Society for French History, November 2011, demonstrates that he was not alone in this fear, nor wrong. Leroux’s account closely parallels Cabet’s discussed in Andrews, “The Universal Alliance.” Also worth noting is that Leroux was a vociferous supporter of emigration to Algeria after the June days, see Claire Salinas, *Colonies without colonists: colonial emigration, Algeria, and liberal politics in France, 1848-1870* (Stanford University PhD Dissertation, 2005).

^{xxvi} Charles Poncey, “L’afrique dans cent ans,” *Revue sociale*, January 1846 63-64. First printed in his collected poems in 1842. Poncey was “discovered” by George Sand, longtime friend, disciple, and patron of Leroux. On Poncey see Sewell, *Work and Revolution: The Language of Labor in France 1789-1848* (London, 1980), 236-242 on the ennobling of work by the worker-poets. On worker-poets more generally see Jacques Rancière, *The Nights of Labor: The Workers’ Dream in Nineteenth-Century France*, trans. John Drury (Philadelphia, 1989). Edgar Leon Newman, “L’arme du siècle, c’est la plume: The French Worker Poets of the July Monarchy and the Spirit of Revolution,” *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 51, No. 4, Dec., 1979.

^{xxvii} “Souvenirs d’Algérie”, signed Ph. – F, *Revue sociale*, August 1846, 195-197. Faure wrote a series of letters during 1845 that were published in the *Revue sociale* in 1846; by the end of the run of the journal, it almost exclusively contained reprints of Pierre Leroux’s works from the 1830s (*De l’Humanité, De l’Egalité*, reprints from *Encyclopédie nouvelle*, etc.) and these letters, which suggests the importance of the Algerian outlet for the “problem” of the proletariat in the publishers’ eyes. Faure went into exile in Brussels after the coup d’état of 1851. See Philippe Amédée Faure, Pierre Leroux, *Journal d’un combattant de février*, Jersey, 1859.

^{xxviii} Faure, “Souvenirs d’Algérie, IIIe course: Oran,” *Revue sociale*, mars 1847.

^{xxix} Faure refers to Reynaud’s 1837 article “Colonies” in the *Encyclopédie Nouvelle*, which lays out a socialist vision of colonial expansion. For a detailed discussion, see Andrews, “The Universal Alliance of all Peoples.”

^{xxx} The term was used by the Paris prefect of police Baron Jean-Jacques Baude in 1831. Quoted in Sessions, *By Sword and Plow*, 265. See more generally chapters 4 and 6 for her discussion of this wider dynamic throughout the July Monarchy and Second Republic.

^{xxx} Faure, "Souvenirs d'Algérie: 1ère course: Notre-Dame de Staouëli," *Revue sociale*, septembre 1846. Although Faure does not specify his port of embarkation, Compagnie BAZIN-PERRIER ran service from Marseille to Alger from 1842-1852. The Pharamond was one of seven ships making this passage.

^{xxxii} Ibid.

^{xxxiii} Faure, "Souvenirs d'Algérie, III course, Oran, part 1," *Revue sociale*, decembre, 1846.

^{xxxiv} E.g., Faure's letter from January 1847; "For centuries the social condition of these tribes has not varied."

^{xxxv} Faure, "Souvenirs d'Algérie, IIIe course: Oran, IIe partie, Le Sig," *Revue sociale*, janvier 1847.

^{xxxvi} Faure, "Souvenirs d'Algérie, IIe course, Blidah," *Revue Sociale*, octobre, 46.

^{xxxvii} Sessions, *By Sword and Plow*, 200-207.

^{xxxviii} Tocqueville and Pitts, *Writings*, 203. Pitts, *A Turn to Empire*.

^{xxxix} For details on the connections between metropolitan fears of pauperism and campaigns to settle Algeria, see Sessions, *By Sword and Plow*, Salinas, *Colonies without Colonists*. Concerns about population expansion reversed course in the latter half of the nineteenth century, but during the 1830s and -40s metropolitan writers were particularly concerned about urban pauperism and rural dislocation.

^{xl} The Saint Simonians were the most numerous representatives of socialism in early colonial Algeria, see Marcel Emerit, *Les Saint Simoniens en Algérie*, (Paris, 1941); Osama Abi-Mershed, *Apostles of Modernity*; Prosper Enfantin, *Colonisation d'Algérie* (Paris, 1843); on Fourierist communities in Algeria see see Bernard Desmars, "L'Union agricole d'Afrique: Projet phalanstérien, oeuvre philanthropique ou entreprise capitaliste ?" and Michèle Madonna-Desbazeille, "L'Union agricole d'Afrique: Une communauté fouriériste à Saint-Denis du Sig, Algérie," both in *Cahiers Charles Fourier*, no. 16, 2005; David Prochaska, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870-1920* (London, 2004), 67.

^{xli} There are parallels in other contexts to the virgin land theme in discussions of Algeria. See for example on the Fourierist movement in the US, Guarneri, *The Utopian Alternative: Fourierism in Nineteenth Century America* (Ithaca, 1994); Beecher, *Victor Considerant and the Rise and Fall of French Romantic Socialism* (Berkeley, CA, 2000) sections on Considerant's time in the American southwest, 295-388. In other examples, Désiré Laverdant proposed colonial settlement of Madagascar, and Jules Lechevalier, famously (or infamously) lobbied for colonial settlement of Guiana. Désiré Laverdant, *Colonisation de Madagascar* (Paris, 1844) and Jules Lechevalier, *Note sur la fondation d'une nouvelle colonie dans la Guyane française, ou, Premier aperçu d'un nouveau mode de population et de culture pour l'exploitation des régions tropicales: suivi de plusieurs pièces et documents, etc.* (Paris, 1844).