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ABSTRACT

The heirs of Khayr al-Dīn's secular reformism and the successors of Bashīr Ṣāfir as spokesman for the Tunisian public before French officialdom, the Young Tunisians were a small elite grouped around 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbeh and the weekly Le Tunisien. They advocated major changes in their country's educational, judiciary, fiscal and administrative structures but they were unswervingly loyal to France, espousing only a sentimental, cultural panIslamism and eschewing comparison with Young Turks and Young Egyptians. They had wide support among the growing ranks of French-educated Tunisians and among French liberal politicians but the administration wavered in its attitude from encouragement to hostility, while the settlers hated them with profound suspicion. Although the Constitutional Party (Destour) abandoned the Young Tunisians' policy of constructive gradualism, this theme was revived by the Reform Party and as the cornerstone of Neo-Destour's politique d'étapes, it eventually brought Tunisia to independence; thus justifying the ascription of the Young Tunisians' legacy to Ḥabīb Būrqībah.

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## SOMMAIRE

Héritiers du réformisme laïc de Khayr al-Dīn et successeurs de Bashīr Šafer comme porte-parole de la populace tunisienne devant la bureaucratie française, les Jeunes-Tunisiens étaient une petite élite groupée autour de 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah et de l'hébdomadaire Le Tunisien. Ils voulaient des transformations majeures dans les structures pédagogique, judiciaire, fiscale et administrative de leur pays mais ils restaient toujours fidèles à la France; le panislamisme qu'ils soutenaient n'était qu'un rattachement culturel et sentimental, et ils repoussaient toute comparaison entre eux-mêmes et les Jeunes-Turcs ou les Jeunes-Egyptiens. Ils jouissaient d'un large appui parmi les rangs grandissants des Tunisiens munis d'une formation française et aussi parmi les hommes politiques français de tendance libérale, mais l'attitude du Protectorat à leur égard chancelait entre l'encouragement et l'hostilité. Les colons, pour leur part, haïssaient les Jeunes-Tunisiens et les dignitaires indigènes, politiques et religieux, leur réservaient un soupçon profond. Bien que le Parti Constitutionnel (Destour) ait abandonné la politique jeune-tunisienne de l'évolutionnisme constructif, ce thème, ranimé par le Parti Réformiste, s'est fait la pierre fondamentale de la "politique d'étapes" du Neo-Destour et comme telle a amené la Tunisie à l'indépendance. Ainsi peut-on justifier l'assignation du legs des Jeunes-Tunisiens au président Ḥabīb Būrqībah.

THE YOUNG TUNISIANS

by

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## INTRODUCTION

Virtually every general history of modern Tunisia makes at least a casual reference to the Young Tunisians, a group of secular reformers who emerged from the first generation in the regency to pass through French schools. Different authors have described these youths as an "organized body of nationalists"<sup>1</sup> or as traitors to their own heritage who worked to drown the Tunisian personality in French culture,<sup>2</sup> as a "handful of agitators"<sup>3</sup> or as a meek band of burghers whose spiritual legacy had evaporated in their moral bankruptcy.<sup>4</sup> Some observers have seen them as panIslamic fanatics serving an international conspiracy directed from Istanbul<sup>5</sup> while others have remarked on their freethinking tendencies that were all but indistinguishable from outright apostasy.<sup>6</sup> Hardly any writers have paused, however, to give this most interesting group

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<sup>1</sup>Benjamin Rivlin, "The Tunisian Nationalist Movement: Four Decades of Evolution," Middle East Journal, VI, 2(Spring 1952), p. 167.

<sup>2</sup>M.B. (Maḥmūd Bū'alī), "1908: Francisation, dépersonnalisation, désarabisation," L'Action (Tunis), 2 March 1972, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup>René Millet, France d'Outre-Mer: La Conquête du Maroc; la Question indigène (Algérie et Tunisie) (Paris: Perrin, 1913), p. 228.

<sup>4</sup>Paul Vigné d'Octon, La sueur du burnous (Paris: Editions de la Guerre sociale, 1911), p. 378f.

<sup>5</sup>E.g., Edouard de Warren, "L'émeute du cimetière musulman du Djellaz et les assassinats à Tunis (7, 8 et 9 novembre 1911)," Afrique française, XXII, 1(January 1912), p. 8.

<sup>6</sup>E.g., Charles Géniaux, "Les Jeunes Tunisiens," Revue Politique et Littéraire (Revue Bleue), 5th series, X, 20(14 November 1908), p. 635.

more than cursory attention, and such haste is doubtless the principal cause of the breadth of the spectrum of descriptions, while among the general works which mention the Young Tunisians, by far the most perceptive assessment of their place in their own era and in the sweep of history is that of L. C. Brown's doctoral dissertation.<sup>7</sup> Some scholars have discussed various aspects of the Young Tunisians' attitude and milieu<sup>8</sup> but few, if any, have tried to build on the pioneer studies of Shādhilī Khayr Allāh.<sup>9</sup> This thesis aspires to remedy this deficiency and to sift the valid from the misinformed among the occasional observations of the past through a reappraisal of published references to the Young Tunisians, a close examination of their ideas as expressed principally in the weekly Le Tunisien and an extensive scouring of the pertinent governmental archives in Tunis. Such a concentration of focus will allow a precise discernment of the pragmatic associationism and reforming secularism of the Young Tunisians between the extremes of intransigent nationalism and eager assimilationism or those of rabid religiosity and open agnosticism.

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<sup>7</sup>"Tunisia under the French Protectorate," Harvard University, 1962.

<sup>8</sup>E.g., C.-A. Julien, "Colons français et Jeunes-Tunisiens (1881-1912)," Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer, LIV(1967), 87-150.

<sup>9</sup>(Chedly Khairallah), Le Mouvement évolutionniste tunisien (Notes et Documents), I and II (Tunis: Imprimerie de Tunis, 1934), III (Tunis: Marc Garrot, 1938) and Essai d'Histoire et de Synthèse des mouvements nationalistes tunisiens: le Mouvement "Jeune Tunisien" (Tunis: Bonici, [1956]).

After reviewing the history of the early protectorate period in Tunisia, with an emphasis on the events of most relevance to the investigation at hand, this dissertation first seeks to establish the Young Tunisians' links with their country's earlier reformers, such as Khayr al-Dīn, through common acquaintance with the regency's early journalists and, especially, such individuals as Bashīr Ṣafar and Muḥammad al-Aṣram. There follows a survey of the leading personalities of the movement, whose inner circle of 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah, Ḥasan Qallātī and Muḥammad Nu'mān enunciated a program of gradual social reform designed to bestow upon Tunisian society the supposed benefits of modernity without uprooting it from its Arabic and Islamic heritage. An analysis of the Young Tunisians' policies shows that their major concern was to win for their country's children the right to a scientific education that would prepare them for life in a technological age, but they also sought to rationalize the Tunisian judiciary and to secure a stake for their compatriots in the economic and political affairs of their homeland. Regarding panIslamism as a sentimental bond with other Muslim peoples, the Young Tunisians embraced an essentially secular view of society, leaving religious belief and practice to personal choice and insisting on the absolute equality of all the Bāy's subjects, Jews as well as Muslims. They were, nevertheless, sufficiently loyal to their ancestral culture to refuse to be assimilated into Frenchmen, but tried to use the French presence in Tunisia as a means to facilitate the gentle transition of their own society to full participation in the developing world community. They could thus profess loyalty to

and admiration for the protecting power and its egalitarian ideology, at least until the government abruptly abandoned their cherished policy of association.

The Young Tunisians enjoyed the support of almost all their few French-educated countrymen, and attracted a following among French liberals both in France and in Tunisia. They also aroused vigorous opposition, especially among the settlers, whose antagonism was instrumental in securing their downfall. Their ideas were kept alive during nearly a decade of martial law to provide most of the original program of the Liberal Constitutional Party (Destour) and the platform of Qallātī's Reform Party. Once the bankruptcy of the policy of association had become evident, it was a small step for Ḥabīb Būrqībah to combine the Young Tunisians' program of evolutionary reform with the goal of national independence, which could by then be seen as the essential means to effecting the movement's social and economic objectives. Although the Young Tunisians shared some attitudes with similar groups in Egypt and the Ottoman Empire, they worked pragmatically in the unique context of the French Protectorate and derived their aspirations from their own Tunisian forebears. In their desire to preserve their country's cultural heritage by freeing it from the obsolete accretions of the past and equipping it with the means to sustain itself in a scientific age, the Young Tunisians worked for the social changes they considered most necessary to this process of modernization without seeking an ideological label for themselves. Their secular program of gradual reform, however, made them the link between the pioneers of Khayr al-Dīn's time and the

victorious party of Būrqībah, the middle generation in Tunisia's century of adaptation to the modern world.

All Arabic words in this study, including names, have been transliterated according to the system in use at the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University. Except where another translation is explicitly mentioned, all quotations from other languages have been rendered into English by the author.

## CHAPTER I

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

#### A. Preliminary Developments

While Yūsuf Ṣāhib al-Ṭābi<sup>1</sup> had initiated some administrative reorganization in Tunisia under Hammūdah (1786-1814),<sup>1</sup> it was only during the period following the French invasion of Algeria, and especially in the reign of Aḥmad Bāy (1837-1855) that any real program of modernization was undertaken in the Regency. The major achievement of this period was the opening of the Bārdū Military Academy in 1838, where several of the leaders of the next wave of reformers completed their formal education; the most important of these was General Khayr al-Dīn, who became Prime Minister in 1873 after persuading Muḥammad Bāy to give his subjects the Fundamental Pact of 1857. Besides the founding of the famous Ṣādiqī College (1876) Khayr al-Dīn's government implemented at least a dozen other major reforms,<sup>2</sup> of which the most important were the establishment of the Jam'īyat al-Awqāf to provide the country's pious foundations with an efficient administration, and the launching of a similar organization to supervise the olive orchards (al-Ghābah); as well, he was

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<sup>1</sup>M. Ṣādiq Zamirli (Sadok Zmerli), Figures Tunisiennes: Les Précurseurs (Tunis: Bouslama, [1964]), pp. 9-28.

<sup>2</sup>There is a list of these in M. Fāḍil Ibn 'Ashūr, Tarājim al-A'lām (Tunis: al-Dār al-Tūnisīyah li-l-Nashr, 1970), p. 54. See further discussion in chapter II.



able to improve legal and social conditions for prison inmates and sharecroppers. His principal collaborators were General Ḥusayn, first president of the municipal council of Tunis; Muḥammad Bayram V, founder of Tunisia's first newspaper, and Sālīm Būḥājib, professor at the Zaytūnah Mosque-University, who had accompanied Khayr al-Dīn on a mission to Istanbul in 1871 and who seems to have been interim leader of the reform group on the eve of the French occupation.<sup>3</sup>

The imposition of the Protectorate by the Treaties of Bārdū (1881) and al-Marsā (1883) met no active resistance, but the gradual permeation of the administration by French officialdom to the detriment of the ambitions of the rising number of competent Tunisians possessing a modern education foreshadowed the emergence of popular spokesmen who would try to arrest or reverse this process of encroachment.<sup>4</sup>

The remnants of Khayr al-Dīn's reform movements, grouped around Sālīm Būḥājib and Muḥammad Samūsī, turned to the panIslamic ideas of the secret society al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā, whose leader Muḥammad 'Abduh, visited Tunis for forty days (November 1884 to January 1885), encouraging the reformers to work gradually; he maintained his contacts

<sup>3</sup>Ibn 'Ashūr, Arkān al-Nahḍah al-'Arabīyah bi-Tūnis (Tunis: Maktabat al-Najāḥ, 1381 [1961]), p. 18f.

<sup>4</sup>André Servier criticized the French authorities for allowing matters to develop in this way by encouraging Tunisian education, Le Péril de l'Avenir: Le Nationalisme musulman en Egypte, en Tunisie, en Algérie (Constantine: Boët, 1913), p. 79.

with Būḥājib and others after his departure.<sup>5</sup> That the intellectual revival caused the French authorities some concern is evident from Sanūsī's brief banishment to Qābis (Gabès) in 1885, but he soon returned to the ranks of the civil service in Tunis and joined Sālim Būḥājib and other former associates of Khayr al-Dīn in publishing an unofficial weekly, al-Ḥādirah, under the direction of 'Alī Būshūshah. Among the junior editors of al-Ḥādirah, which first appeared on 2 August 1888, was Būshūshah's fellow-Ṣādiqī, Bashīr Ṣafer,<sup>6</sup> who was soon the leader of a fused elite of Ṣādiqīs and Zaytūnīs, mostly civil servants, working for the modernization of Tunisia's administration.<sup>7</sup> The editors of al-Ḥādirah remained fairly gentle in their criticisms of the Protectorate, but from 1890 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣanādī was publishing the more vocal newspaper, al-Zuhrah.<sup>8</sup>

Ṣafer, Būḥājib and the Ṣādiqī Muḥammad al-Aṣram formed the Kheldūnīyah in 1896, with the blessings of Aṣram's friend, Resident-General Millet.<sup>9</sup> This society, whose first president, Muḥammad Qarawī,

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<sup>5</sup>Ibn 'Ashūr, al-Ḥarakah al-Adabīyah wa-l-Fikrīyah fī Tūnis (Cairo: Dār al-Hanā, 1956), p. 44f.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 49f.

<sup>7</sup>Ibn 'Ashūr, Arkān al-Nahḍah, p. 35.

<sup>8</sup>Ibn 'Ashūr, al-Ḥarakah al-Adabīyah, p. 52.

<sup>9</sup>Ibn 'Ashūr, Tarājim al-A'lām, p. 242f.

was a graduate of the Bārdū Military College and the director of Sādiqī College, encouraged the spread of modern sciences among the students of the Zaytūnah University through lectures, fellowships and a library.<sup>10</sup> By 1900, the two leading figures of the Khaldūnīyah had become responsible for two of Khayr al-Dīn's creations: Ṣafar was president of the Jam'īyat al-Awqāf, and Aṣram was director of the Ghābah. Ṣafar used his position to recruit promising students from his Khaldūnīyah classes into the endowment corporation, with the double objective of keeping some positions of responsibility in Tunisian hands and of attuning the Zaytūnīs to the needs and possibilities for evolving a modern society in the Regency. Meanwhile, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tha'ālibī, a former pupil of Ṣafar's at the Khaldūnīyah had made his polemic debut by publishing the newspaper Sabīl al-Rashād, which was quickly suspended when it became embroiled in religious controversy.<sup>11</sup>

During 1897 Ṣafar had launched a campaign for the extension of education in Tunisia, and Aḥmad Ghattās became the first native member of the Bar of Tunis. On the other hand, Victor de Carnières, a leading settler, attacked the protectorate authorities for the grudging encouragement they had already given to public instruction,

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<sup>10</sup> 'Abd al-Jalīl Zēwush (A. Zaccuche), "La Khaldouniya," Le Tunisien, 31 March 1910.

<sup>11</sup> Shādhilī Khayr Allāh (C.K.), "Le Cheikh Abdelaziz Tealbi," La Voix du Tunisien, édition spéciale, 8 July 1934.

warning that "there is gradually forming a 'Young Tunisian' party which will cause much trouble for future residents and conspire endlessly against the French community;" <sup>12</sup> this is the earliest public use of the term "Young Tunisian". De Carnières feared a panIslamic plot and called attention to the broad coverage of Ottoman events in al-Hādirah; <sup>13</sup> at this time Ṣāliḥ Sharīf, Ṣafer's friend and a member of the government committee appointed to revise the Zaytūneh curriculum, was assiduously studying Turkish, while Ṣafer himself was on friendly terms with the exiled Young Turks living in Tunis. <sup>14</sup> In 1900 a new generation found its voice with the publication of a brochure by 'Abd al-Jalīl Zāwush, <sup>15</sup> arguing that adequate education, as the key to economic subsistence, ought to be provided to all Tunisians, and expressing the author's trust that the French authorities would assure the advancement of the country; at the same time he suggested that the indigenous population should be represented in the Regency's Consultative Conference. On another issue, Ṣafer wrote to Resident-General Pichon to urge

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<sup>12</sup> Tunisie Française, 17 April 1897, quoted in H. Tridon, Comment la France perdra ses colonies (Paris: Editions et Librairie, [1912]), p. 85.

<sup>13</sup> Tunisie Française, 27 May 1899, quoted in Tridon, op. cit., p. 61f.

<sup>14</sup> Ibn 'Āshūr, Tarājim al-A'lām, p. 214.

<sup>15</sup> (Abdeljelil Zaouche), En Tunisie: L'Enseignement des Indigènes (Tunis: Brigol, 1900), 23pp.

that private endowment land should be spared from European settlement lest the Tunisians become a landless peasantry in their own territory.<sup>16</sup> Albin Rozet, a French parliamentarian, excoriated the settlers for their apparent intent to dispossess the Tunisian populace.<sup>17</sup>

Muḥammad 'Abduh spent most of his second visit to Tunis (September 1903) in the company of Sālim Būḥājib's son Khalīl, the husband of Princess Naḡlī of Egypt, but he visited Ṣāfar and Zāwush as well as a great number of religious and political leaders; he expressed strong approval for the modern curriculum of the Khaldūnīyah but apparently refrained from overt political activity.<sup>18</sup> Khalīl's brother, 'Umar Būḥājib, had married the widow of General Ḥusayn, whose daughter in 1903 became the bride of 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah, a Ṣādiqī who had recently formed a study group with the Khaldūnī Ḥādī Qaṣūrī, then employed by the Jam'īyat al-Awqāf.<sup>19</sup> The presidency of this conclave was apparently accorded to Tha'ālibī, who had recently returned to Tunis (after being expelled from Egypt)

<sup>16</sup> Archives Générales Tunisiennes, série F, carton 19, file 28. I am grateful to Arnold H. Green for this reference.

<sup>17</sup> Speech in Chamber of Deputies, reported in Le Journal, 21 April 1902 as reproduced in L'Action (Tunis), 21 October 1971.

<sup>18</sup> Muṣṣif Shannūfī (Moncef Chennoufi), "Les deux séjours de Muḥammad 'Abduh en Tunisie," Cahiers de Tunisie, XVI (1968), 75-79.

<sup>19</sup> Archives Générales Tunisiennes, série E, carton 550, file 30/15, folio 61, document 167.

supposedly to help Armand Destrées launch Le Courrier de Tunisie,<sup>20</sup> a socialist newspaper. In 1904, however, he was condemned by the darībah court for expounding modernist opinions. Meanwhile, Šafar won praise from Le Temps for his masterful exposition of Arab geography at an international geographic conference held in Tunis.<sup>21</sup>

The pace of events quickened during 1905. Destrées founded the Republican Party, while Zāwush and Ḥasan Qallātī (Geullaty, Šafar's son-in-law) contributed to the socialist paper, Le Libéral.<sup>22</sup> Young Tunisians formed athletic, theatrical and musical societies, and in October the Société de Bienfaisance musulmane came into being. Finally on 23 December, Bāsh Ḥānbah, Qallātī, Zāwush and several of their former classmates founded the Šādiqī Alumni Association, choosing as its first president Khayr Allāh Ibn Muṣṭafā whose father had been a protégé of Khayr al-Dīn and director of the Ghābah.<sup>23</sup> Speaking before the society's

<sup>20</sup>"Autobiographie du Cheikh Thaalbi," Centre de Documentation Nationale (Tunis), file A-3-13.

<sup>21</sup>Ibn 'Ashūr, al-Ḥarakah al-Adabīyah, p. 83; cf infra, chapter II, n. 47.

<sup>22</sup>Ettore Rossi, "Il Movimento arabo in Tunisia dopo la Guerra," Oriente Moderno, III, 4(15 September 1923), p. 200; Ibn 'Ashūr, al-Ḥarakah al-Adabīyah, p. 84.

<sup>23</sup>M.S. Zamirī (Zmerlī), Figures Tunisiennes: Les Successeurs (Tunis: Maison Tunisienne de l'Édition, 1967), pp. 283ff. The official names of the society were "L'Association des Anciens Elèves du Collège Šadīki" and "Jam'īyah Qudamā' al-Šādiqīyah".

inaugural meeting, Bāsh Ḥānbah hailed his colleagues as a new bicultural élite whose mission was to acclimatize the masses to the modern world through a program of instruction.<sup>24</sup> Bāsh Ḥānbah left to finish his legal studies in Paris, but the society flourished;<sup>25</sup> the lectures it sponsored were attended by a small group of reformist Zaytūnah professors, including Ṭāhir Ibn 'Āshūr.<sup>26</sup>

When on 24 March 1906 Resident-General Pichon formally opened the new quarters of the takīyah, a hospice operated by the Jam'īyat al-Awqāf for the elderly poor, Ṣāfar took the occasion to air publicly his apprehension about his organization's straitened circumstances and the diminishing possibility for qualified Tunisians to enter the government's service. He made his point forcefully but without offense and complimented the representative of France for the many improvements that the protectorate had brought Tunisia.<sup>27</sup> Aṣram delivered a series of lectures on Tunisian problems to the Marseille Colonial Conference of September 1906, and Zāwush issued a booklet defending private endowments from encroachment and urging the authorities to develop better

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<sup>24</sup>The full text of this speech is in Shādhilī Khayr Allāh (Chedly Khairallah), Essai d'Histoire et de Synthèse des mouvements nationalistes tunisiens: le Mouvement "Jeune Tunisien" (Tunis: Bonici, [1956]), pp. 30-46.

<sup>25</sup>Postcard, 'Umār Būḥājib to 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah, 7 May 1906, AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61.bis, document 42.

<sup>26</sup>Fāḍil Ibn 'Āshūr, al-Ḥarakah al-Adabīyah, p. 88f.

<sup>27</sup>The text of the speech is in Khāyir Allāh, op.cit., pp. 65-68.

educational facilities for the Tunisians.<sup>28</sup> During 1906 Ṣāliḥ Sharīf left Tunisia to work for the panIslamic movement in Istanbul, while several new Arabic newspapers in Tunis rallied to the cause of reform: al-Ṣawāb, edited by Muḥammad Ja'ā'ibī, who had once been a pupil of Ṣāfar's;<sup>29</sup> al-Murshid, directed by Sulaymān Jādawī, soon to be in trouble for his intemperate attacks on certain judicial officials of dubious probity;<sup>30</sup> and al-Taḡaddum, published by Bashīr Fūratī, a friend of Bāsh Ḥānbah's.<sup>31</sup> Late in 1906 Ṣāfar joined Zāwush, Bāsh Ḥānbah, Qallātī and several others in creating le Cercle Tunisien, where political affairs could be discussed in strictly-guarded intimacy.<sup>32</sup> And with Ṣāfar's help Ibn Muṣṭafā opened a reformed Quranic school in Tunis as the year was ending.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>(Zaouche), En Tunisie: La Propriété indigène et la Colonisation (Tunis: Imprimerie rapide, 1906), 36pp; Aṣram (Lasram) and P. de Dianous, Questions tunisiennes: Communications présentées au Congrès colonial de Marseille (5-9 septembre 1906): Extrait du compte rendu officiel du Congrès (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1907), 74+viii pp. V. infra, ch. II, sec. E.

<sup>29</sup>Ibn 'Āshūr, al-Ḥarakah al-Adabīyah, p. 73.

<sup>30</sup>AGT, B550, 30/15, folio 141, document 159.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., folio 270, document 1.

<sup>32</sup>Ṣādiq Zamirī, quoted in Khālīd Qazmīr (Khaled Guezmir). "Contribution à l'étude du mouvement 'Jeune Tunisiens': Le Journal de l'aile radicale de ce mouvement: 'le Tunisien'," La Presse (Tunis), 16 August 1972, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup>L. Carl Brown in C.A. Micaud, ed., Tunisia: the Politics of Modernization (New York: Praeger, 1964), p. 32, referring to an article by Ibn Muṣṭafā in al-Majallah al-Zaytūniyah, March 1939.



## B. The Years of Promise

The decree of 2 February 1907, providing for the participation of sixteen Tunisians in the proceedings of the Consultative Conference won only lukewarm approval from the progressive Tunisians, because it stipulated that these members were to be appointed by the government and not elected by the people. On the other hand, the settlers, who elected thirty-nine members of the Conference, resented this intrusion into an institution that had been their preserve since its inception some sixteen years before.<sup>34</sup> Having argued that the native representatives ought to be fluent in French and familiar with European culture, the Young Tunisians were deeply disappointed in the selection of delegates: most were men from a traditional background, and only one, Zāwush, met the desired criteria.<sup>35</sup> In any case Zāwush gained the confidence of his colleagues and, as secretary of the native section of the Conference, he promised that his compatriots would cooperate on all programs of general benefit and asked that priority be given to expanding and improving education, modernizing the judiciary and tax reform.<sup>36</sup> Of these issues only one was discussed:

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<sup>34</sup>Augustin Bernard, "La Tunisie et les questions tunisiennes," Afrique française, XVII, 12(December 1907) p. 427; the purpose of the Conference was to advise the government but the latter was in no way bound by the resolutions of the Conference.

<sup>35</sup>Le Tunisien, 7 and 14 November 1907.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 14 November 1907. Bernard, op.cit., p. 427f.

coeducation of European and Tunisian children was rejected, although the Conference gave its unanimous assent to a reorganization of the Tunisian normal school.<sup>37</sup> Besides, it refused to endorse a proposal to allow the formation of native labor unions; the reformers' only solace, as Qallātī remarked, lay in the consultative character of the Conference: hopefully, the government would be more favorable to their aspirations.<sup>38</sup> Their hopes were by no means groundless, for on three occasions during the closing weeks of 1907 French ministers publicly committed the Clemenceau administration to a policy of association.<sup>39</sup> While these controversies excited spirits in Tunisia, Bashīr Šafer and Khalīl Būhājib were vacationing in Egypt, where they visited the Khedive on 6 December.<sup>40</sup>

Five days after the announcement of the administration's intention to nominate Tunisians to the Consultative Conference, 'Alī Bāsh Hānbah produced the first number of Le Tunisien, a French language weekly to be operated by Tunisians with the object of expressing the interests of the protected people in the idiom of its protectors. There is a widespread assumption that some sort of Tunisian party was formed at this time: Jacques Guérif<sup>41</sup> and

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<sup>37</sup> Le Tunisien, 5 December 1907.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 30 January 1908.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 19 December 1907.

<sup>41</sup> "L'Évolution du mouvement nationaliste tunisien," Les Temps modernes, 77(March 1952), p. 1549.

André Raymond<sup>42</sup> state that Ṣaḡar and Bāsh Ḥānbah formed the "Young Tunisian Party", to be joined later by Tha'ālibī; 'Allāl al-Fāsi<sup>43</sup> uses the same designation but ascribes leadership only to Bāsh Ḥānbah while Ḥabīb Janḡānī<sup>44</sup> and Charles-André Julien<sup>45</sup> similarly portray Bāsh Ḥānbah as the sole chieftain, but believe the original name of the group to have been the "Evolutionist Party". Rodolfo Gil Benumeya<sup>46</sup> and Charles-Robert Ageron<sup>47</sup> follow the early lead of Ettore Rossi<sup>48</sup> who associates Tha'ālibī with Bāsh Ḥānbah in the party leadership. There is no concrete evidence that a party was ever founded; the police surveillance dispatches refer only to a "Comité Bach-Hamba" and even their reports offer no conclusive evidence that any formal structure

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<sup>42</sup> La Tunisie (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961), p. 60.

<sup>43</sup> Al-Ḥarakāt al-Istiqlālīyah fī al-Maghrib al-'Arabī (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Risālah, 1368/1948), p. 50.

<sup>44</sup> (Jenhani), "Die Nationalpresse Tunesiens," Publizistik, IX, 3 (July-Sept. 1964), p. 248.

<sup>45</sup> "Colons français et Jeunes-Tunisiens (1892-1912)," Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer, LIV (1967), p. 128.

<sup>46</sup> Panorama del Mundo árabe (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1952), p. 46f.

<sup>47</sup> Les Algériens musulmans et la France: 1871-1919 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968), II, 1033.

<sup>48</sup> Loc. cit.

was organized.<sup>49</sup> In short, no party seems to have existed; rather Bāsh Ḥānbah and his colleagues of Le Tunisien represented a spectrum of modernist attitudes that were sufficiently congruent to allow the development of a general "evolutionist movement",<sup>50</sup> the proponents of which acquired and accepted the epithet "Young Tunisian". Ṣāfar may have encouraged Bāsh Ḥānbah and his friends, but he did not write openly for Le Tunisien; in any case his appointment as Governor of Sūsah (Sousse) in June 1908 removed him from the centre of action. As for Tha'ālibī's role, Rossi's observations are based on an interview with the shaykh, whose penchant for exaggerating his own part in history,<sup>51</sup> considered with the lack of any mention of him in Young Tunisian circles before 1909, permits us to give Bāsh Ḥānbah pride of place within the movement. That there were links between the modernist Ṣādiqīs and the advocates of reform in the Zaytūnah University is demonstrated by Le Tunisien's praise of the newly-founded student society led by a professor who had attended Ṣādiqī College,

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<sup>49</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15: "Gens à Surveiller," passim.

<sup>50</sup> Shādhilī Khayr Allāh (Chedly Khairallah) Le Mouvement évolutionniste tunisien (Notes et Documents), I and II (Tunis: Imprimerie de Tunis, 1934), III (Tunis: Marc Garrot, 1938). Le Tunisien claimed to be the organ of a party, 4 May 1911, but never mentioned any structure, officers or membership.

<sup>51</sup> See, for example, his autobiography in the Centre de Documentation Nationale, loc. cit.

Muḥammad Riḍwān.<sup>52</sup>

Ṣafer's "promotion" was regretted by the Arabic press and Le Tunisien;<sup>53</sup> the creation of a new endowments council met with mixed feelings, but there were two Ṣādiqīs (Ḥasan Ibn Barakāt and Khayr Allāh Ibn Muṣṭafá) among its eight members.<sup>54</sup> But momentous as Ṣafer's rustication may have been, the major event of 1908 for the Young Tunisians was the North Africa Congress held in Paris from 6 to 10 October. Le Tunisien ran a notice inviting prospective participants to step forward<sup>55</sup> and seven Tunisians submitted papers: Ṣafer, Aḡram, Ibn Muṣṭafá, Zāwush, Ṣādiq Zemirli, Muḥammad Bulḥūjeh and Tānīc Aswad. Opportunities and conditions in education and employment, judicial reform and the status of the pious endowment were the broad areas of their examination.<sup>56</sup> As neither Ṣafer nor Aḡram attended the congress, Ibn Muṣṭafá and Zāwush led the Tunisian contingent. Without winning all the votes, the Tunisians felt they had gained much from their experience, especially with regard to attracting

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<sup>52</sup> Le Tunisien, 14 February 1907.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 16 July 1908.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 30 July 1909.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> C. Depincé, ed., Congrès de l'Afrique du Nord tenu à Paris du 6 au 10 octobre 1908: Compte rendu des travaux, 2vv. (Paris: Comité d'Organization du Congrès, 1909).

sympathy for their cause in France. While his colleagues were in Paris, Ḥasan Callātī was in Istanbul to investigate the new situation in the Ottoman Empire consequent to the reintroduction of the constitution on 24 July.<sup>57</sup> During this year the government reduced the poll tax (mejba'), made provision for the employment of Tunisians in the post office and on public works and expanded hospital and dispensary services; the Resident-General was duly praised for these signs of benevolence and for the hope of further kindnesses.<sup>58</sup>

The year 1909 was marked by a minor controversy among the Young Tunisians: Bāsh Ḥānbah and Muḥammad Nu'mān criticized the concept of a reformed Quranic school developed by Ibn Muṣṭafā (with Ṣafar's blessing) and insisted that the Franco-Arab school must be given priority in any areas of mixed population.<sup>59</sup> On 8 November appeared the first number of al-Tūnisī; Tha'ālibī joined the publishing team at this juncture, but Bāsh Ḥānbah's preference for a restrained approach prevailed.<sup>60</sup> Most of each issue comprised translations from Le Tunisien, but there was

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<sup>57</sup>Le Tunisien, 15 October 1908.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., 7 January 1909.

<sup>59</sup>See paper by Ibn Muṣṭafā in Depincé, op. cit., II, 552-561; C-A. Julien, op. cit., p. 140; Ibn 'Āshūr, al-Ḥarakah al-Adabīyah, p. 94f; Le Tunisien, 8 articles by Bāsh Ḥānbah, 14 January to 8 April 1909.

<sup>60</sup>See, for example, Bāsh Ḥānbah's article in the first issue, Tha'ālibī's praise of the protectorate, 22 November 1909 and the unsigned welcome addressed to the President of France, 24 March 1911.

usually a short editorial by Tha'ālibī, who kept in step with Bāsh Ḥānbah's publishing policy. Confrontation with the settlers was further embittered by the decisions of the Consultative Conference against fiscal and judicial reform and in favor of the transfer of Tunisian Jews to French judicial status; the Young Tunisians were somewhat comforted by a reassertion of the policy of association by Le Temps on 9 December.<sup>61</sup> On the question of transferral Ibn Muṣṭafá and Bāsh Ḥānbah were in full agreement: the former had opposed the idea when it had been mooted at the North Africa Congress<sup>62</sup> while Bāsh Ḥānbah assailed the proposal in the columns of Le Tunisien<sup>63</sup> and Zāwush fought it in the Conference. When that body carried the resolution for transfer, Aḥmad al-Ṣāfī organized a Muslim rally at the Palmarium in downtown Tunis. There on 19 December an orderly assembly of some ten thousand heard Ṣāfī (a lawyer), Ja'ā'ibī of al-Ṣawāb, a prominent farmer named Jamīlū and the physician Aḥmad al-Sharīf develop the implications of such a development. Bāsh Ḥānbah did not address the gathering because he felt that it ought to consider the whole question of judicial reform.<sup>64</sup> The issue subsided when the

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<sup>61</sup>Le Tunisien, 16 December 1909.

<sup>62</sup>Depincé, op. cit., II, 73f.

<sup>63</sup>Le Tunisien, 25 November 1909.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., 16 December 1909; cf the account of this meeting in Khayr Allāh, Le Mouvement évolutionniste tunisien, III, 13-22.

French government chose to treat Tunisian Jews and Muslims on  
<sup>65</sup>  
 an equal footing.

While the administration temporized with a slight reduction of the poll tax and a concomitant imposition of heavy tithes ('ushūr), the Young Tunisians remonstrated that the financial position of their rural compatriots had deteriorated through the "reform" and the ways in which the tithes were assessed and collected.<sup>66</sup> The only modification of the poll tax acceptable to the settler party would be the cessation of the exemption enjoyed by five cities.<sup>67</sup> The settlers' intransigence led the Resident-General to divide the Consultative Conference into French and Tunisian sections on 27 April 1910, although Zāwush and even several of the French members of the Conference publicly regretted this decision.<sup>68</sup> The government also showed its force by suspending three Arabic newspapers during the year: al-Ṣawāb and al-Muḥḥik in March and al-Zuhrah in October; Le Tunisien

<sup>65</sup> Article in Le Temps, 29 March 1910 reprinted in Le Tunisien, 7 April 1910.

<sup>66</sup> Bāsh Ḥānbah on fiscal reform, Le Tunisien, 3 March 1910; Zāwush on the new tithing system, ibid., 7 April 1910.

<sup>67</sup> Victor de Carnières, "Le Malentendu tunisien," Revue politique et parlementaire, LXIV, 192 (June 1910), p.556.

<sup>68</sup> Le Tunisien, 5 and 19 May 1910.



voiced the Young Tunisians' dismay over these arbitrary interdictions.<sup>69</sup> The ban on al-Zuhrah was soon lifted (on 26 December), shortly after Tayyib Ibn 'Isá, a young Zaytūnī, had begun to publish the weekly al-Mushīr.<sup>70</sup> In Istanbul, meanwhile, a former Ḥanafī qāḍī of Tunis, Ismā'īl al-Ṣafā'ihī had brought together a group of discontented North African expatriates, including Ṣālih and Aḥmad al-Sharīf.<sup>71</sup>

But for the Young Tunisians, the most absorbing episode of 1910 was the students' strike at the Zaytūnah University. Their curriculum had remained static since the partial implementation of Khayr al-Dīn's reforms in 1875, but the government responded to a petition bearing eight hundred of their signatures by the simple tactic of appointing an investigative committee. A month later, on 15 April, the students stopped attending classes. Encouraged by Bāsh Ḥānbah, Zāwush and Tha'ālibī and counselled by Ṣāfī and Qallātī, they next occupied the mosque on 17 April. Bāsh Ḥānbah addressed them there on 18 April, urging calm and moderation and explaining the value of modern sciences. A large crowd demonstrated before the offices of the Minister of the Pen, Tayyib Jallūlī, on 21 April, but dispersed when he promised to see the student delegation the next day. Overnight three students were arrested and when the delegates returned empty-handed on 22

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<sup>69</sup> Le Tunisien, 17 March and 27 October 1910.

<sup>70</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 94, doc. 29 and folio 297, doc. 15.

<sup>71</sup> Bomperd (French Ambassador in Istanbul) to Pichon (Minister of Foreign Affairs), October 1910; AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 15, doc. 12.

April the demonstrators asked Zāwush to take their grievances to the Resident-General. Although Alapetite seemed sympathetic, Jallūlī refused to discuss matters further. When the Bāy arrived in Tunis on 25 April, he was accosted by a throng of students shouting "Reform!" and violence was forestalled only by the quick work of Ja'ā'ibī, Zamirlī and Tha'ālibī. After an amicable conversation with Qallātī and Šāfī, Fleury (Assistant Secretary - General) indicated the government's willingness to cooperate (26 April) and by the next day classes had resumed. On 28 April the first of the requested modifications was promulgated and by 6 May the students felt sufficiently confident to hold a victory celebration. Zamirlī, Zāwush and Ghattās were among the speakers; Bāsh Hānbah, absent from Tunis, was represented by Tha'ālibī, who underlined the cooperation the strike had engendered among the youth of Tunis and stressed the advantages of modern learning.<sup>72</sup>

### C. Climax and Catastrophe

During the early part of 1911, all seemed well for the Young Tunisians and their hopes for the policy of association. President Fallières of France toured the regency in April, and his speeches were taken as a virtual endorsement of the program set forth in the opening issue of Le Tunisien; especially encouraging was Fallières' support for integrated primary

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<sup>72</sup> Le Tunisien, 14 April to 12 May 1910; al-Tūnisī, 9 May 1910. Cf A.H. Green, "The Tunisian Ulama, 1873-1915: Social Structure and Response to Ideological Currents" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1973), pp. 243-7.

education, but it was also pleasant to hear the Resident-General echo the president's commitments.<sup>73</sup> This congenial atmosphere brought Ibn Muṣṭafá, Zāwush and Bāsh Ḥānbah to the banquet (10 May) honoring Élie Fitūsī, a local Jewish leader, who had been named to the Legion of Honor. Bāsh Ḥānbah addressed the gathering, urging cooperation among all inhabitants of Tunisia with the objective of common advancement, and Zāwush praised Fitūsī's efforts in the Consultative Conference on behalf of the entire population.<sup>74</sup> Some of Bāsh Ḥānbah's friends took a less tractable position, however. Tayyib Ibn 'Isá, for example, was reprimanded by the authorities for articles which stressed the Ottoman sultan's place as Khalīfah of all the Muslims and attacked the pageantry that marked the French president's visit.<sup>75</sup> Bāsh Ḥānbah was himself becoming more interested in Ottoman affairs and he obtained a letter of introduction to Ṣāliḥ al-Sharīf expressing his desire to meet various dignitaries in Istanbul and his wife's hope of visiting her father's tomb.<sup>76</sup> While he was in France for a brief visit in late September, Bāsh Ḥānbah received a letter from Ṣādiq Zamirī warning him that one Ḥāshimī Ibn al-Makkī, who was known to be an

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<sup>73</sup> Le Tunisien, 27 April and 4 May 1911.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 18 May 1911.

<sup>75</sup> al-Mushīr, 5 February and 9 April 1911; AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 297, doc. 15.

<sup>76</sup> Muḥammad Būlakhbāsh to Ṣāliḥ Sharīf, Rajab 1329; AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61, doc. 48.

Italian agent, would soon be seeking him in Paris.<sup>77</sup> But Bāsh Ḥānbah seems not to have been troubled by the possibilities of intrigue, and on his return to Tunis he spoke to a cosmopolitan audience in praise of Rouge, a visiting member of the French parliament.<sup>78</sup>

With the Italian invasion of Tripolitania on 29 September 1911, the fragile confidence that had scarcely started to develop between the Young Tunisians and the administration began a rapid erosion that would lead to utter collapse within six months. Italians and Muslims in Tunisia committed themselves instantly to the opposing sides and the peace of Tunis was soon troubled by communal incidents: the police dispersed a large crowd from the street in front of the Cercle Tunisien on 15 October,<sup>79</sup> but little effort was made to restrain the Italian community. Pleading for official neutrality, Bāsh Ḥānbah and Qallātī made contact with the Turkish chief of staff and organized a committee to screen volunteers for the Ottoman army, to collect funds for the Red Crescent, to facilitate the passage of Turkish officers through Tunisia to the front and to supply the Ottoman troops with food

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<sup>77</sup> Zamirī to Bāsh Ḥānbah, 27 September 1911, AGT loc. cit., doc. 45.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., doc. 54.

<sup>79</sup> Tunisie Française, 17 October 1911, quoted in H. Tridon, ed., Les Interpellations tunisiennes: "La Tunisie Française" et le Commissaire du Gouvernement (Tunis: Imprimerie de la Tunisie Française, 1912), p. 12.

and medicine.<sup>80</sup> On 19 October 1911 Bāsh Ḥānbeh and Tha'ālibī launched a semiweekly paper named al-Ittiḥād al-Islāmī (Islamic Union); in the opening editorial Tha'ālibī underlined the brotherhood of Muslims and their universal sorrow over the Italian aggression in Libya, but he hoped that France would remain friendly with the Ottoman Empire. Six numbers of this paper appeared, usually laden with news of the war and with expressions of solidarity with the Muslims of the world, but it never called the French protectorate into question. Similarly al-Tūnisī went no further than to beg France to be true to its republican heritage and to preserve the esteem it enjoyed among Muslims everywhere.<sup>81</sup>

As the tinderbox of public emotion began to sizzle in the heat generated by events in Tripolitania, the French authorities in Tunisia inadvertently allowed a spark from a surveyor's hammer to ignite a flash fire that would inflict lasting damage on the edifice of empire they had designed for their protectorate. In spite of legal uncertainties and Zawush's warning that the sensitivities of the people were raw from the war, the municipal council of Tunis ordered an official survey of the most revered burial ground in the capital, Zallāj cemetery. Many Tunisian Muslims would resent the

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<sup>80</sup> Ibn 'Ashūr, al-Ḥarakah al-Adabīyah, p.100; Zamirī, Figures tunisiennes: les contemporains et les autres (Tunis: Maison tunisienne de l'édition, 1972), p. 118; for contacts with Ottoman officials see Omar Azmi to Bāsh Ḥānbeh, AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61, doc. 79, Bāsh Ḥānbeh to Mahmud Pasha, ibid., doc. 218, Rafid (Kaim Makam of Nālūt) to Bāsh Ḥānbeh, ibid., doc. 59 etc. This folio also contains several letters from volunteers and committees; e.g. doc. 53, 58, 63, 70, 75, 97; cf letter from committee in Zimālah to Zawush, ibid., folio 337, doc. 4.

<sup>81</sup> al-Tūnisī, 7 March 1912; al-Ittiḥād al-Islāmī, 19 October to 6 November 1911.

presence of insouciant unbelievers on holy ground and even more feared that the survey would lead to expropriation of at least part of the cemetery for profane purposes. The council eventually revoked its decision, five days before the date fixed for the work. But this news travelled slowly and on the morning of 7 November a large crowd of Muslims gathered at the barred gates of the graveyard as the survey crew arrived to do its duty. Unable to believe the mayor's assurances that the survey order had been rescinded, the crowd pressed to enter the cemetery; some of the demonstrators exchanged blows with the police and the army was called. Matters continued to escalate: the soldiers were pelted with rocks and the command was given to charge and shoot. The crowd seemed ready to disperse before the army's superior force, but an Italian bystander chose this moment to draw his revolver and dispose of a Tunisian boy of twelve years. There ensued a day and a half of violent exchanges between Muslims and Italians before order could be restored.<sup>82</sup>

Military reinforcements arrived from Algeria and all the Arabic

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Jilānī Yahyá and Muḥammad al-Marzūqī, Ma'rakat al-Zallāj (Tunis: Maktabat al-Manār, 1961); Zāwush, "Apropos des incidents de Tunis," Afrique française, XXII, 3 (March 1912), 100ff; Édouard de Warren, "L'éméute du cimetière musulman du Djellaz et les assassinats à Tunis (7, 8 et 9 novembre 1911)," Afrique française, XXII, 1 (January 1912), 6-11; Depincé, "Revue des Questions coloniales," Revue politique et parlementaire, LXX, 210 (December 1912), 556f; articles by Bāsh Ḥānbah, Nu'mān and Zāwush, Le Tunisien, 13, 16 and 23 November 1911.

newspapers but al-Zuhrah were banned, although the Italian paper L'Unione was allowed to pursue a rather inflammatory editorial policy. A series of decrees in the week following the riot placed the country in a state of siege that would not end for a decade; curfew, police searches and arms checks were rigorously applied to the Tunisians and scarcely at all to Italians. The Young Tunisians, the 'ulamā' and other groups protested their loyalty to the protectorate in the face of allegations from the settler party which depicted the Young Tunisians as the leaders of a careful conspiracy. Since none of the Young Tunisians was charged with any offence, and indeed only Zāwush was called as a witness, we must infer that the Young Tunisians were not involved in the Zallāj incident either as a group or even as individuals.<sup>83</sup> Zāwush sought judicial sanctions against the settler leader de Carnières (who insinuated in his newspaper that Zāwush had led the rioters), with only partial satisfaction.<sup>84</sup> The Resident-General, meanwhile, preparing to return to the regency after a hectic series of

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<sup>83</sup> Yahyá and Marzūqī, op.cit., pp. 34-40; de Warren, op.cit.; Khayr Allāh, Mouvement évolutionniste tunisien, III, 66-81. For the suspicion of a plot, see: Tunisie Française, 8 November 1911; Tridon, Interpellations, p. 19f, and Servier, op.cit., p. 107f. Depincé, RPP, loc.cit., could not accept this suggestion. Cf Le Tunisien, 16 November 1911.

<sup>84</sup> Julien, op.cit., pp 147-149; Khayr Allāh, Mouvement évolutionniste tunisien, III, Annexe, pp 5-14.

interpellations, found some cause to suspect that certain deputies had based their very pertinent questions on material supplied by Bāsh Ḥānbah and his comrades.<sup>85</sup>

During the early weeks of 1912 Bāsh Ḥānbah and his fellows continued to press on the two issues of the Tripolitanian War and the policy of association. Contact was maintained with Ottoman officials,<sup>86</sup> but more care was taken to observe the letter of the law.<sup>87</sup> This stricter observation of the law made it easier for Qallātī to express great indignation on behalf of the Tunisian public when the Italian navy impounded a French vessel suspected of carrying Ottoman officers to Tunis.<sup>88</sup> Le Tunisien took heart from the friendly welcome given Resident-General Alapetite on his arrival in Tunis on 20 February and from Le Temps' strong endorsement of the policy of association and the Tunisian "elite" (17 February),<sup>89</sup> while Zāwush expressed

<sup>85</sup>La Revue du Maghreb: Algérie, Tunisie, Maroc, Tripolitaine: Tribune des revendications des Indigènes, III, 9-12(Sept.- Dec.1918), 149f.

<sup>86</sup>Letter from Bashīr Fūratī to Bāsh Ḥānbah, 11 January 1912, AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61, doc. 89.

<sup>87</sup>Thus a committee in Jammāl complained that it had been told not to collect money for the Turkish army, letter to Bāsh Ḥānbah, 4 February 1912, AGT loc.cit., doc. 98.

<sup>88</sup>Le Tunisien, 25 January 1912.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., 22 and 29 February 1912.



regret for the rough moments Alapetite had experienced during the interpellations.<sup>90</sup> The Chamber of Deputies seemed committed to the principle of association, even though the elections to the Consultative Conference revealed an increasing hostility to such ideas within the settler community.<sup>91</sup> However resentful or fearful the Resident-General may have already been, these elections conclusively tipped the balance away from any inclination he could have had to come to terms with the Young Tunisians; under attack from both sides he chose to join with the stronger and transform the progressives' exultant hopes to bitter irony. "What a disappointment for our detractors," they had said, "to have their formidable campaign of denigration fail so pitifully at the very moment when they thought they had attained their goal!"<sup>92</sup> Before the Ides of March, it was the Young Tunisians who were to see the prize snatched from their triumphant grasp.

The Zallāj riot had begun as a manifestation of popular anxiety over the fate of a cherished cemetery and evolved into a communal fracas. The Tunisians were unhappy about the uneven application of government measures of constraint, and especially

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<sup>90</sup>Le Tunisien, 15 February 1912.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., 7 March 1912.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., 8 February 1912.

about the increasingly insolent manners of the Italian residents towards the indigenous community. Particularly offensive among these Italians were the employees of the tramway company, which had a policy of paying its European personnel more than it paid Muslim workers. When an Italian conductor's negligence caused the death of a Tunisian infant on 8 February 1912, a spontaneous wave of indignation spread the idea of boycott to all sectors of the Muslim population. That the Young Tunisians welcomed this popular initiative is beyond question, but even the police did not suspect Bāsh Ḥānbah or his associates of launching the boycott. They encouraged their compatriots to sustain their effort until some material satisfaction could be obtained for the company's Muslim employees. A committee was formed under the chairmanship of Destrées of the Courrier, with Bāsh Ḥānbah, Ṣāfī, Ḥasan Qallātī and Nu'mān among its members, with the purpose of negotiating with the company, and a list of requirements was printed in Le Tunisien of 15 February: these included restriction of employment to French and Tunisian nationals, equality in wages and opportunities for advancement, and better control over the speed of trams. A delegation led by 'Umar Qallātī met the Resident-General to assure him of the population's support for the boycott committee. The government took the part of the company and promised to improve conditions for the Tunisian workers. The boycott continued, and the government issued an ultimatum.

The members of the committee protested that they could not force the public to ride the trams, and a remark of Bāsh Ḥānbah's forecasting recurring disorder until the natives could enjoy fair treatment was construed as a threat to the administration. At dawn on 13 March 1912 Bāsh Ḥānbah, Nu'mān and Tha'ālibī were arrested, driven by car to Banzart and put on the ferry for France. Ḥasan Qallātī was sent by train to Algeria (his birthplace), Mukhtār Kāhiyah (a relative of the Bāy's) was incarcerated in the palace at Bārdū, while Shādhilī Darghūth and Ṣādiq Zamirli were interned in separate locations in Southern Tunisia.<sup>93</sup>

Bāsh Ḥānbah, Nu'mān and Qallātī were all graduates of French law schools who had worked on various committees for the modernization of Tunisian society and who were the chief editors of and contributors to Le Tunisien; Tha'ālibī was the editor of al-Tūnisī. All had worked to help the Ottomans in the Tripolitanian War and all had figured in the tram boycott. Kāhiyah and Darghūth had sought unsuccessfully to organize a boycott of Mawlid festivities (1 March 1912) among the merchants of Tunis as a protest against French partiality to the Italian cause; they had

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<sup>93</sup> Le Tunisien, 15 February to 7 March 1912; Yaḥyá and Marzūqī, op.cit., pp 171-5; Khayr Allāh, Le Mouvement évolutionniste tunisien, III, 91-113; the government's version of events is in AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 97 (11pp); the meeting of 9 March with Bāsh Ḥānbah's incriminating comment is recorded in ibid., doc. 17 (6pp); the expulsion order, signed by the Bāy is in ibid., folio 61, doc. 113.

also been involved in aiding the Turkish army.<sup>94</sup> Zamirli, Bāsh Hānbah's clerk, had failed in a similar attempt to organize a Mawlid boycott at Qayrawān.<sup>95</sup> The government justified its precipitate action by referring to the existence of a conspiratorial committee and its friends accepted this rationale, although it remained, and remains, unsubstantiated: the most damning item of evidence was Bāsh Hānbah's alleged threat of continuing social disruption.<sup>96</sup> Destrées, Le Temps and Christian Dominguez of Le Phare defended the loyalty of the victims,<sup>97</sup> while Muḥammad Bāsh Hānbah first broke his judicial silence to denounce his brother's expulsion to La Dépêche Algérienne.<sup>98</sup> Zāwush had attended the meetings of 9 and 10 March but, alone among the Young Tunisians, he had expressed a willingness to comply with the government's demand that the boycott end in exchange for the promotion of ten Tunisian tram workers. He tried to persuade Alapetite to implement more of the reforms requested

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<sup>94</sup> AGT., E550, 30/15, folio 40, doc. 1; folio 61, doc. 210f.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., folio 61, doc. 209.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., doc. 113; cf ibid., E550, 30, folio 13, part 3; Tunisie Française, 15 to 18 March 1912; R. Millet, France d'Outre-Mer: La conquête du Maroc; la Question indigène (Algérie et Tunisie) (Paris: Perrin, 1913), p. 228f.

<sup>97</sup> Le Phare, 17 March 1912; Courrier de Tunisie, 14 to 27 March 1912; article from Le Temps, March 1912 reproduced in Revue du Maghreb, I, 7(November 1916), p. 194f.

<sup>98</sup> Statement reproduced in Tunisie Française, 23 March 1912.

by the committee but to no avail; he was similarly unsuccessful in seeking a pardon for the exiles during the week following their banishment.<sup>99</sup> Both the settler party and the majority of the Young Tunisians agreed that the expulsions of 13 March marked the end of the policy of association.<sup>100</sup> Zāwush travelled with Alapetite to Paris, where Bāsh Ḥānbah refused to see him.<sup>101</sup> Thus the last gesture of "association" by the Young Tunisians was the formation, shortly after the beginning of the boycott, of a committee to raise money to buy the French Division of Occupation an airplane: Bāsh Ḥānbah, Zāwush, Darghūth, Ḥasan Qallātī and 'Umar Būḥājib were all members of this group, of which the president was 'Umar Qallātī.<sup>102</sup>

#### D. Hard Times

For some six weeks following the expulsions, their merit was argued in political and journalistic circles. Bāsh Ḥānbah, in a letter to Le Temps, complained of the Resident-General's "regime of terror" and mocked the Bāy for his ready compliance

<sup>99</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 97, p. 10f; statement of Zāwush to Dépêche Algérienne, reproduced in Tunisie Française, 23 March 1912; Khayr Allāh, Le Mouvement évolutionniste tunisien, III, 96-100.

<sup>100</sup> Revue du Maghreb, I, 1 (May 1916), p. 3f; (Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah), Le Peuple Algéro-tunisien et la France (Geneva: Imprimerie Nationale, 1918), p. 122f; J.-L. de Lanessan, La Tunisie, 2nd ed., rev. (Paris: Alcan, 1917), p. 295.

<sup>101</sup> Memorandum by Shādhilī Khayr Allāh in CDN, file A-3-70.

<sup>102</sup> Le Tunisien, 7 March 1912; al-Tūnisī, 11 March 1912.

with the whims of his "protectors".<sup>103</sup> Alapetite wrote to Poincaré, dismissing Bāsh Ḥānbah's grievances as "allegations" of a sort "habitually used by the natives" and a "manifestation of the Arab mentality" that "could not surprise informed minds."<sup>104</sup> Whether or not this type of argument was his habitual means of defence, the Resident seemed content to rest his case on such declarations and on allusions to the trove of conspiratorial correspondence that was supposed to have been found in Bāsh Ḥānbah's office the day of his arrest; had he sifted this material himself, he would have searched in vain for anything more devastating than the material published in Le Tunisien. Nowhere in the entire file does Bāsh Ḥānbah question the validity of the French presence.<sup>105</sup> René Millet, the former Resident-General, replying to Bāsh Ḥānbah on 16 April, concluded that the Tunisian's letter betrayed its author as "a declared adversary of the institutions of the protectorate" through its revelation of Islamic sympathies incompatible (Bāsh Ḥānbah's explanations notwithstanding) with French hegemony. By a flagrantly invalid inference, Millet contended that Bāsh Ḥānbah considered himself an Ottoman subject.<sup>106</sup> Muḥammad Ja'ā'ibī, in a lengthy defence of the exiles, attributed the misunderstanding of

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<sup>103</sup> Le Temps, 9 April 1912.

<sup>104</sup> AGT, E550, 30, folio 13 part 1.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., E550, 30/15, folio 61.

<sup>106</sup> Millet, op.cit., pp 224-7.

the opinions expounded in al-Ittiḥād al-Islāmī to inaccurate translation, denied the existence of a secret committee, argued that there was nothing contradictory in professing loyalty to France while expressing solidarity with Muslims abroad, and insisted on Bāsh Ḥānbah's own commitment to Franco-Muslim friendship.<sup>107</sup>

Convinced that he could obtain no fair hearing in France, Bāsh Ḥānbah eventually moved to Istanbul. "It took the blundering of the Protectorate government to do what all the panIslamic agitation and the manoeuvres of the Young Turks had not achieved: to throw Bāsh Ḥānbah into the arms of [France's] enemies and arouse religious anxiety in the bosom of our peaceful population," observed a French socialist, suggesting that a "Young Tunisian party" emerged from the popular resentment engendered by the banishment.<sup>108</sup> In Istanbul, Bāsh Ḥānbah was able to work in the Justice Ministry, but Tha'ālibī, who had gone to Turkey before him, did not like the jobs available and eventually embarked on a tour of Asia. Nu'mān had travelled with Tha'ālibī to France and Turkey but, because of his lack of fluency in Turkish, he preferred to practice law in Cairo. Qallātī, at first restricted to the village of his birth, was soon permitted to live in Algiers among his friends and relatives, thanks to the intercession of the

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<sup>107</sup> Le Courrier de Tunisie, 20 April 1912.

<sup>108</sup> André Duran-Angliviel, Ce que la Tunisie demande à la France (Paris: Jouve, 1921), p. 34f.

local lawyers' association.<sup>109</sup> Kāhiyah remained in Bārdū palace and Zamirlī stayed at Taṭāwīn, but Darghūth was moved from Madanīn to 'Ayn Darāhim early in May because of his poor health.

Meanwhile, in Tunis, the boycott continued, in spite of the exile of its presumed leaders and the government's official notices declaring its end.<sup>110</sup> On 24 March Zāwush and Ibn Muṣṭafā told the Prime Minister that they were unable to persuade their countrymen to ride the trams, but Manūbī Ibn 'Alī, a livestock wholesaler, offered to pay Muslims to board the carriages.<sup>111</sup> Hādī Ibn Ṭāhir (a Ṣādiqī and a member of the Cercle Tunisien), Muḥammad Fitūrī (a notary with the Jam'iyat al-Awqāf and a friend of Tha'ālibī), Hādī Saba'ī (who had helped Tha'ālibī to write L'Esprit libéral du Coran), Ja'ā'ibī and Shādhilī Qasṭallī were but the most prominent of a host of individuals known to have encouraged the prolongation of the boycott.<sup>112</sup> Qasṭallī and Ja'ā'ibī were warned by the police on 29 April to cool their ardor and by 5 May the boycott was nearing its end.<sup>113</sup> Ṭāhir Ibn 'Isā, the former editor of al-Mushār, and a number of youths planned to join Bāsh Ḥānbah in Istanbul to plan vengeance

<sup>109</sup> Tha'ālibī, autobiography, CDN, loc.cit.; AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 43, 48; ibid., folio 9, doc. 70; Le Libéral, 27 March 1912.

<sup>110</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61, doc. 95.

<sup>111</sup> Tunisie Française, 25 March 1912.

<sup>112</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 13, doc. 2; ibid., folio 32, doc. 1.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., folio 13, doc. 3; Tunisie Française, 5 May 1912.



against the French for the ignominies of the protectorate;<sup>114</sup>  
 on the other hand 'Izz al-Dīn Qallāl addressed the International  
 Law Conference in Paris on 27 May, affirming the loyalty of Tunisians  
 to France and attacking Bāsh Ḥānbah's expulsion as a violation of  
 personal rights.<sup>115</sup>

The month of June focused attention on the trials of  
 seventy-one persons accused of committing various offences during  
 or after the Zallāj riot. On 29 June, thirty-six were acquitted;  
 for the others, sentences ranged from six months' imprisonment  
 through a life term of forced labor to death. Seven men convicted  
 of murder were assigned the supreme penalty.<sup>116</sup> The judicial  
 proceedings sufficiently diverted public attention for the authorities  
 to allow Darghūth to return to Tunis early in July,<sup>117</sup> but  
 Qaṣṭallī, Muḥammad Būrqābah and 'Alī Kāhiyah (whose father was  
 still in confinement) maintained contact with Turkish officials  
 through the summer. By late September Muḥammad Damirjī's barbershop  
 on Boulevard Bāb Manārah had become the meeting place where Zamirli,

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<sup>114</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 50, doc. 27; ibid., E550, 30,  
 folio 13, part 1.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., E550, 30/15, folio 50, doc. 29.

<sup>116</sup> Yahyá and Marzūqī, op.cit., pp 41-153; Afrique française,  
 XXII, 7(July 1912), 277f; Khayr Allāh, Le Mouvement évolutionniste  
tunisien, III, 88f. There had been 72 arrests but one defendant had  
 died before he could be arraigned.

<sup>117</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 40, doc. 49.

recently freed, and Ṣāfī encouraged emigration to Istanbul or Egypt. The Centre Tunisien remained available as a venue for discussion and Sayf al-Dīn Gasztowtt, a French-born propagandist for panIslamic ideas, visited the centre and spoke with Zamirī and Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah during a visit to Tunisia at the end of September.<sup>118</sup> Nu'mān, meanwhile, had appealed to Poincaré for clemency, but the Prime Minister refused the petition on Alapetite's advice.<sup>119</sup> Ḥasan Qallātī, the first of the exiles to return, refused to succeed Bāsh Ḥānbah as president of the Cercle Tunisien but 'Umar Qallātī took the job, while Qaṣṭallī became vice-president and 'Alī Khazmī, secretary.<sup>120</sup>

To mark Raymond Poincaré's recent elevation to the Presidency of the Republic, the Bāy of Tunis granted amnesty to the Young Tunisian exiles in March 1913. Nu'mān returned forthwith: he was honored with a welcoming party at the Cercle Tunisien on 6 April.<sup>121</sup> Tha'ālibī was in southeast Asia when he heard the news, but he too made his way speedily home and his

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<sup>118</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 9, doc., 70; folio 12, doc. 4-7; folio 15, doc. 28.

<sup>119</sup> Nu'mān to Poincaré, 10 September 1912, AGT E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 53; Poincaré to Dobler (Delegate at the Residence General), 14 October 1912, *ibid.*, doc. 52; Poincaré to Alapetite, 25 November 1912, *ibid.*, doc. 49; cf petition from Nu'mān's wife to the Bāy, 18 August 1912, *ibid.*, doc. 51.

<sup>120</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 13, doc. 6.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, folio 1, doc. 42.

arrival in Tunis was celebrated at his residence in Ḥalfawīn on 19 August; Ṣādiq Zamīrlī was among the guests.<sup>122</sup> But 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah, having once served as the scapegoat for an arbitrary régime, demurred from the risk of further vilification and categorically refused to go back to his homeland.<sup>123</sup> He devoted his energy to implementing judicial reforms of the Committee for Union and Progress in the Istanbul area and to organizing the North Africans in the Ottoman capital, among whom was his predecessor as president of the Cercle Tunisien, the physician Aḥmād al-Sharīf.<sup>124</sup> Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah, who had quit the bench shortly after his brother's expulsion, decided to leave Tunisia himself, and by October he was with 'Alī in Istanbul,<sup>125</sup> but neither brother was observed at a grand rally of North Africans organized by Ṣāliḥ al-Sharīf and Ismā'īl Ṣafā'ihī to celebrate Enver's capture of Edirne and to pledge the loyalty of Tunisians to the Khilāfah.<sup>126</sup>

During the summer of 1913 Ḥasan Qallātī, Shādhilī Qaṣṭallī and other Tunisians met regularly at al-Marsā'.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 56, doc. 2.

<sup>123</sup> Tunisie Française, 14 April 1913.

<sup>124</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61, doc. 143f.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., folio 5, doc. 47; Janḥānī, Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah (Tunis: al-Dār al-Tūnisīyah li-l-Nashr, 1968), p. 39f.

<sup>126</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 881, doc. 41.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., folio 13, doc. 11f.

Zamirī visited Bāsh Ḥānbah in Istanbul in August; shortly after his return, Qallātī made the same journey.<sup>128</sup> Ironically, Bāsh Ḥānbah was making his way into the Ottoman administration just when one of Khayr al-Dīn's sons was being condemned for conspiracy and the other two were moving to Tunisia where Ṭāhir, the younger, would one day become the protectorate's minister of justice.<sup>129</sup> The Young Tunisians' links with their sympathizers in France were renewed in late October during the visit of Paul Bruzon, a prominent member of Parisian medical and literary circles and an erstwhile contributor to Le Tunisien; while he and his wife stayed at the Zamirī residence, they met Nu'mān, Qallātī, Ibn Ṭāhir and other members of the group.<sup>130</sup> Zamirī, Tha'libī and others appeared in various parts of Tunis to keep the cause alive; a police report dated 28 November indicates nine locations where Young Tunisians were known to gather for political conversations, from al-Bāb al-Jadīd in the south to Ḥalfawīn in the north, ringing the old quarter and reaching into the modern city at the Café de France and the Cercle Tunisien (then housed on rue d'Allemagne).<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61, doc. 137-139.

<sup>129</sup> The brothers were not well-received by the Young Tunisians; ibid., folio 25, doc. 9; Zamirī, Les Successeurs, pp 69-83, 119-161; Ibn 'Ashūr, Tarājim al-A'lām, pp 247-257.

<sup>130</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 40.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., folio 12, doc. 12.

In January 1914 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbeh was named to the Ottoman Council of State as a member of the legislative section. His wife was in Tunis at this time, visiting her ailing mother; she had been escorted there by her brother-in-law Muḥammad, who spent much of his time meeting with such personalities as Zamīrlī, Nu'mān, Tha'ālibī and the various members of the Qallāti family.<sup>132</sup> Muḥammad left for Istanbul in March, leaving his uncle Muḥammad Būtaghān with the responsibility of bringing 'Alī's wife after her mother's recovery.<sup>133</sup> One person he had not seen during his stay in Tunis was Zāwush, who had given a lecture on preprotectorate Tunisia to the Ṣādiqī Alumni Association of which his brother-in-law Ibn Muṣṭafā was yet president, on 21 February. This address was politically so discreet that even Ibn Muṣṭafā felt obliged to call on the membership of the association for someone to improve on Zāwush's performance.<sup>134</sup> The Cercle Tunisien, which had already moved from premises owned by Zāwush, acquired new facilities on rue d'Epernay, but the club had only about fifteen regular members of whom the most faithful were Ḥasan Qallātī, Zamīrlī and 'Alī Khazmī. There were also frequent meetings at Shādhilī Qaṣṭallī's home in Sūq al-Wazr near

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<sup>132</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 38; folio 5, doc. 42-46; folio 61, doc. 150f.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., folio 61, doc. 160, 163.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., folio 337, doc. 6-8.

the Zaytūnah Mosque, where the same individuals gathered as a dramatic society, and at a house on Boulevard Bāb Banāt.

Tha'ālibī seldom ventured from his own quarter of Ḥalfawīn.<sup>135</sup>

Although he was still in touch with Bāsh Ḥānbah, Tha'ālibī was quoted as having complained that his fellow exile had pocketed much of the proceeds of the subscriptions taken for the Ottoman army two years before; his grievance was more personal than ethical, however, as he had not received what he considered to be his share of the kitty.<sup>136</sup> In spite of his indisposition,

he joined Qallātī, Zamirlī, Nu'mān and several other Young Tunisians for an outing at Aryānah on 22 March.<sup>137</sup> During April the Cercle Tunisien was able to mount a recruiting drive:

Tha'ālibī, Nu'mān and 'Alī Buḥājib began to attend proceedings regularly.<sup>138</sup> Tha'ālibī and Zamirlī were also holding discussions with several junior civil servants and small businessmen in the Sūq al-Akyās, not far from the Qaṣbah.<sup>139</sup> With the return of summer, Ḥasan Qallātī rented meeting rooms in al-Marsá, but Qaṣṭallī and others continued to gather in Ḥalfawīn and Bashīr Fūratī, a former courier for Bāsh Ḥānbah, was the most outspoken

<sup>135</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 5, doc. 38f, 41; folio 13, doc. 15, 18.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., folio 61, doc. 158, 164.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., folio 1, doc. 37.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., folio 1, doc. 35; folio 25, doc. 19f.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., folio 375, doc. 1.

member of the group meeting on Boulevard Bāb Manārah.<sup>140</sup> In July Tha'ālibī and Shādhilī Ibn Ibrāhīm drafted an appeal to the government on behalf of the editors of the Arabic newspapers, still under interdict.<sup>141</sup>

### E. The Young Tunisians in Wartime

Winter brought another round of meetings in the same neighborhood as the year before: such old regulars as Qallātī, Nu'mān, Tha'ālibī, Zamirī, Khazmī, Qasṭallī, Fūratī, Qaṣūrī, Damirjī and 'Alī Būḥājib were joined by journalists like Ja'ā'ibī, Ibn 'Isā, Sulaymān Jādawī and Ṣanādī; by the merchant brothers Jammāl and such younger men as Farḥāt Ibn 'Ayyād and 'Alī 'Abd al-Wahhāb and their brothers. Even Khayr Allāh Ibn Muṣṭafā was seen at some of the gatherings.<sup>142</sup> Besides these openly political discussion groups, there existed the dramatic and literary societies and an artistic fraternity known as al-Shahāmah al-'Arabīyah, the chief officers of which were Ḥusayn Būḥājib (a physician) and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Qabā'ilī (a lawyer).<sup>143</sup> Zāwush was, by this time, beyond the pale, but some

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<sup>140</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 12, doc. 21; folio 13, doc. 20; folio 91, doc. 11.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., folio 293, doc. 8.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., folio 1, doc. 32; folio 12, doc. 24; folio 13, doc. 21; folio 40, doc. 52; folio 61, doc. 166f; folio 93, doc. 51f; folio 133, doc. 5; folio 270, doc. 63; folio 1014, doc. 2.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., folio 499, doc. 1.

contact was maintained with Bāsh Ḥānbah in spite of wartime difficulties.<sup>144</sup> Neither Ḥusayn Jazīrī, who had been among the leaders of the Zaytūnah students' strike of 1910, nor Aḥmad Madanī, who was imprisoned with him in March 1915 for seditious propaganda, was noticed among those in attendance at the various Young Tunisian conclaves.<sup>145</sup>

With the summer of 1915 meetings were resumed in al-Marsá under Qallātī's leadership; most of the same people had been meeting at the Cercle Tunisien: Zamirlī, Nu'mān, Khazmī, Qaṣṭallī, Qaṣūrī, Ṣāliḥ Jammāl, 'Alī Būḥājib and Aḥmad Ibn Nīs were Qallātī's most constant companions. Tha'ālibī and Fūratī occasionally appeared, but they preferred their own coteries in Ḥalfawīn and Bāb al-Manārah respectively; Ja'ā'ibī and Jādawī were often at the Ḥalfawīn meetings. Zamirlī, who had been Qallātī's clerk since their return to Tunis, was in the habit of visiting several of the scattered discussion centres, but there was little cohesion among the various groups. The Cercle Tunisien continued to hold survivors from Bāsh Ḥānbah's closest confederates, while the other gatherings comprised persons more removed from the original image of the Young Tunisian as a bilingual professional with a modern education. However, there was certainly interaction, not only in the peregrinations

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<sup>144</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61, doc. 166.

<sup>145</sup> Cf ibid., folio 58, doc. 1-12.



of Zamirli and Tha 'alibi but also through social functions. For example, at a party held on 25 May 1915 in the home of Bashir Bāsh Ḥānbah (cousin to 'Alī and Muḥammad), each of the five major discussion centres (the Cercle, Ḥalfawīn, Bāb al-Manārah, al-Bāb al-Jadīd and the Qaṣbah area) was<sup>146</sup> well represented.

'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah, meanwhile, was rumored to be visiting Berlin as early as May 1915, on a mission for the Ottoman government with Ṣāliḥ al-Sharīf. During November 1915 these two worthies were thought to be in Egypt with the son of the Algerian patriot 'Abd al-Qādir;<sup>147</sup> as well, Sharīf had sought to mediate between the rival Sa'udī and Rashīdī principalities in Najd.<sup>148</sup> In January 1916 Sharīf and Ṣafā'ihī were in Berlin to establish the Tunisian Independence Committee and to publish a handbook on the abuses of the protectorate which concluded with a claim to full sovereignty for the Tunisian people,<sup>149</sup> but it is uncertain

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<sup>146</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 29f, 95; folio 12, doc. 26f; folio 32, doc. 2; folio 57, doc. 4; folio 65, doc. 4f; folio 68, doc. 12; folio 99, doc. 5; folio 141, doc. 59f; folio 270, doc. 64.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., folio 61, doc. 168, 171.

<sup>148</sup> Ibn 'Ashūr, Tarājim al-A'lām, p.216; Ibn 'Ashūr claimed to own a copy of a letter from Sharīf to Prince 'Abd al-'Azīz.

<sup>149</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 61, doc. 171f; folio 881, doc. 47; Sharīf and Ṣafā'ihī (Scherif and Sefaihi), Tunesien und Algerien: Ein Protest gegen französische Gewaltherrschaft (Berlin: Privatdruck, 1916), 32 pp.

whether either Bāsh Ḥānbah was with them on this occasion. During the same winter, Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah settled in Geneva, where he launched the Revue du Maghreb in May, presenting it as the successor of Le Tunisien in its appeal to North African Muslims to work for their future. "Even if they do not hanker after separation from metropolitan France, they can at least try to obtain some improvement in the regime set over them, applying if necessary to the conference which will meet to draw a new map...." Even at this relatively late date, the protectorate was not directly challenged; indeed, the editor promised his countrymen that the review would "defend their interests with dignity and energy, in full awareness of practical facts and necessities."<sup>150</sup> The younger Bāsh Ḥānbah also attended the German-sponsored Third Conference of Nationalities, held in Lausanne in June 1916, ostensibly as the representative of Algeria and Tunisia. This congress passed a resolution asking for the "autonomy" of all nations ---- a whisper for independence, perhaps, but ambiguous.<sup>151</sup> During the summer

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<sup>150</sup> Revue du Maghreb, I, 1 (May 1916), 4.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., I, 3 (July 1916), 84-91.

Tāhir Khayr al-Dīn visited him and criticized the inconsistency of loyally expecting France to render justice while he attended such gatherings as the Leusanne Conference.<sup>152</sup> It was probably shortly after receiving Khayr al-Dīn's report that Alapetite ordered the destruction of the copies of the Revue du Maghreb that had been intercepted in Tunisia by the military authorities.<sup>153</sup> Meanwhile, Allied intelligence reported that 'Alī Bāsh Hānbah had made several trips to Egypt, but he had always eluded capture.<sup>154</sup>

In Tunis the gatherings continued as before; sympathy ran high for the Ottoman cause, but as the group leaders espoused neither violence nor any overt opposition to France the protectorate authorities made no moves to curtail discussion, being content simply to maintain a close watch. They thus condoned the pattern of barbershops, cafes and other assembly points that served secondarily as

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<sup>152</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 5, doc. 22-24. The apparent date of this letter of Khayr al-Dīn's to the Resident-General, i.e. 1 April 1916, must be discarded because the writer discusses the June conference; as he hopes to go to Paris in mid-August, it is likely that he sent the letter in July.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., folio 5, doc. 31, dated 20 August 1916.

<sup>154</sup> Briand to Alapetite, 26 July 1916; AGT, loc. cit., folio 61, doc. 174.

stations in a primitive communications network which could circulate opinions, information and rumors and so maintain a linkage between the élite of the Cercle Tunisien and the expanding body of the politically aware. By the spring of 1916 Bāb al-Suwayqah had become the sixth hive of conversation. In most instances someone would translate articles from the European press and a general round of commentary would ensue. Halfawīn was dominated by Tha'ālibī, although Zamirī, Nu'mān and Qaṣūrī often visited; Bashīr Fūratī had shifted northward to the area about Bāb al-Suwayqah, and the Jammāl brothers' shop in Sūq al-Bāy was the focus of the Qaṣbah area: Šāliḥ Jammāl was a close friend of Qaṣūrī's and his shop was a favorite stopping place for Qallātī, Nu'mān, Zamirī, Ibn Nīs, Ibn Ṭāhir, Qaṣṭallī and Khazmī. The Bāb al-Manārah sector was led by Damirjī and the brothers Ibn 'Ammār, and at al-Bāb al-Jadīd Farḥat Ibn 'Ayyād and 'Alī 'Abd al-Wahhāb were acquiring increasing prominence. The Cercle Tunisien remained the headquarters where Qallātī received Tha'ālibī and the other ward chieftains. The Cercle's closest links were with Jammāl's shop; indeed, there seems to have been a daily procession across the madīnah between the two locations.<sup>155</sup> Ḥasan Qallātī and 'Alī Būḥājib spent ten days in Algeria during April and May 1916,

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<sup>155</sup>AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 26-28; folio 32, doc. 7f; folio 137, doc. 31; folio 1090, doc. 2.

calling on prominent "Young Algerians" in Algiers and Constantine.<sup>156</sup> Qallātī spent the summer of 1916 at al-Marsá with his usual companions. Tha'libī joined this group more often than previously and besides making the occasional journey to al-Marsá, he frequently met Zamirī, Nu'mān and Khazmī (all three loyal retainers of Qallātī) at Bāb al-Suwayqah.<sup>157</sup>

'Abd al-Jalīl Zāwush, meanwhile, was corresponding with Marius Moutet, a French parliamentarian;<sup>158</sup> neither he nor his brothers were seen at Young Tunisian gatherings, but Zamirī apparently accepted an invitation to attend a dinner offered by Zāwush to honor Maḥmūd Sharīf, an Algerian dignitary, on 22 January 1916.<sup>159</sup> Alienated as they were by Zāwush's excessive confidence in France, the Young Tunisian leaders were yet sufficiently discreet to keep their names from a police circular (dated 6 October 1916) on persons thought to be in contact with German agents; however, 'Abd al-Sattār Bahrī, allegedly the chief spy, was a member of both the Ṣādiqī Alumni Society and the Cercle Tunisien, while among his fellow suspects was the brother of Bashīr Fūratī.<sup>160</sup> The following February

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<sup>156</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 91, doc. 17, 20.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., folio 1, doc. 24f.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., folio 337, doc. 32.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., doc. 31.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., folio 27, doc. 4.

'Alī Khazmī, "current president of the Young Tunisians", was reported to have dispatched Ja'ā'ibī to discourage recruitment into the French army.<sup>161</sup>

On 2 November 1916 Bashīr Ṣafar wrote to the Secretary General of the Tunisian government praising the great benefits he had seen accrue to his country under the protection of France but remarking that much remained to do; the statement was published soon after Ṣafar died on 1 March 1917.<sup>162</sup> At his funeral, Qallātī, Tha'ālibī, Zamirlī, Qaṣṭallī, Ja'ā'ibī and 'Alī Kāhiyah tried to read poetry. Being prevented, they retired to Qaṣṭallī's home, but within a few days, Tha'ālibī was reported to have urged calm following the arrest of several youths who had sung publicly in praise of Germany and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>163</sup> Tha'ālibī, Zamirlī, Nu'mān and a few friends (but not Qallātī) watched another funeral four weeks later, taking measured satisfaction from the passing of Victor de Carnières.<sup>164</sup> Ṣafar's death had ironically furnished the authorities with the chance to destroy the best sliver of hope for a rapprochement between the former exiles and their erstwhile collaborator; few were surprised to learn that Zāwush was the new governor of Sūsah.

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<sup>161</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 93, doc. 30.

<sup>162</sup> "La déclaration de loyalisme de Bechir Ṣfar," Afrique française, XXVII, 3 (March 1917), 107f.

<sup>163</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 9, doc. 66, 69.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., folio 1, doc. 22.

In May 1917, Zamirlī and 'Alī 'Abd al-Wahhāb were among a group believed to be spreading the false rumor that the government was about to conscript a labor force of hungry men. The discussions continued as before, although only at the Cercle Tunisien, Jammāl's store in Sūq al-Bāy, the office rented by Farḥāt 'Ibn 'Ayyād near al-Bāb al-Jadīd and Ḥalfawīn Square; Zamirlī was the only person known to all four places, although several people visited two or even three. Qallātī and Tha'ālibī continued to be the acknowledged leaders, and Nu'mān was identified with the former.<sup>165</sup> The meetings at al-Bāb al-Jadīd and Ḥalfawīn continued through the summer, but the Cercle moved once more to Marsá; although there were occasional sessions at the downtown premises during August, activity there resumed only in late September, when Paul Bruzon visited the Cercle.<sup>166</sup> And lest the security agents delude themselves into believing they were unobserved, one of the Young Tunisians wrote to the Secretary General asking that a certain agent be instructed not to bother him.<sup>167</sup> Another rumor circulating in May described 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah as the paymaster of a small squad of troublemakers who hoped that Tunisia would revert

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<sup>165</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 21; folio 9, doc. 63; folio 21, doc. 45; folio 57, doc. 6f.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., folio 1, doc. 18f; folio 21, doc. 47; folio 57, doc. 8.

<sup>167</sup> Muḥammad Kutubī to Blanc, 1 July 1917, AGT, loc. cit., folio 133, doc. 12.

to Ottoman suzerainty.<sup>168</sup> Of more substance was the story that the Tunisian properties of 'Alī and his brother had been confiscated to punish them for high treason: decrees to this effect were signed by the Bāy on 5 and 12 July 1917.<sup>169</sup> Ṣafā'ihī and Ṣāliḥ Sharīf were similarly dispossessed; the measures met a broad range of resentment in the Tunisian population, some of it evoked by Tha'ālibī, Zamirī and Ja'ā'ibī.<sup>170</sup> That Sharīf and Ṣafā'ihī had qualified for this distinction was confirmed by the publication of the Independence Committee's French-language brochure, replete with denunciations of "foreign tyranny" and ending with a request for assistance from the Central Powers in ridding North Africa of its "oppressor".<sup>171</sup> But the Revue du Maghreb claimed to welcome Clemenceau's return to power as a harbinger of reform; its own desiderata scarcely exceeded Le Tunisien's of ten years before.<sup>172</sup> Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points heightened expectations, but soon the Revue was revealing a certain disenchantment, wondering why none of the French delegates at the Socialist Congress held in London in February 1918 would match Herbert

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<sup>168</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61, doc. 178.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., folio 5, doc. 25; folio 61, doc. 1, 181.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., folio 61, doc. 179, 185; folio 881, doc. 71.

<sup>171</sup> (Ismā'īl Sefaihi et Sa'leh Cherif), Les Doléances des peuples opprimés: la Tunisie et l'Algérie (Lausanne: Librairie Nouvelle, 1917), 24pp; the authors preach a similar line in Bayān Tawāḥḥush Faransā fī al-Qaṭar al-Tūnisī al-Jazā'irī wa-l-Istinjād ilayhi (n.p.n.d.), 21 pp.

<sup>172</sup> Revue du Maghreb, II, 11-12(Nov. - Dec.1917), 161-8; cf Ageron, Les Algériens musulmans et la France, II, 1181f.



Morrison's interest in the rights of peoples under British rule.<sup>173</sup> Finally, about a year after Sharīf and Ṣafā'ihī, Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah declared himself for the independence of Algeria and Tunisia as one state,<sup>174</sup> and before long he was claiming that this had always been the principal ambition of the unified Algero-Tunisian nation.<sup>175</sup> But even in the last issue of the Revue, he clung to Clemenceau's promise that any delegation coming to the peace conference with its aspirations could expect a hearing; perhaps the martyred people of North Africa were to get justice at last.<sup>176</sup>

Throughout the last year of the war, stories circulating in Tunis portended the imminent return of 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah and Ṣafā'ihī to their homeland at the head of a victorious Muslim army that was supposed to land in Tripolitania from German war-ships. The earliest version of this plan envisaged a republic<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>173</sup>Revue du Maghreb, III, 3-4 (March-April 1918), 38-40.

<sup>174</sup>Ibid., III, 5-6 (May-June 1918), 65f; cf M. Bāsh Ḥānbah, Le Peuple algéro-tunisien et la France, p. 142.

<sup>175</sup>Revue du Maghreb, III, 7-8 (July-August 1918), 97-99.

<sup>176</sup>Ibid., III, 9-12 (Sept.-Dec. 1918), 143-145.

<sup>177</sup>AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 881, doc. 89, dated 29 September 1917.

but the more developed scheme placed the Pāy's cousin Ḥabīb on the throne.<sup>178</sup> Ja'ā'ibī was presumably in touch with Bāsh Ḥānbah through an intermediary in the Netherlands and an actress named Mahrazīyah who conveniently died before her house could be raided.<sup>179</sup> But nothing has yet come to light to substantiate any hypothesis of the existence of a coherent plan for the invasion of North Africa by the Central Powers at a time when Allied armies were advancing in Syria, Iraq and Macedonia. In the absence of firm evidence, we must limit our assessment of 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah's role in Ottoman strategy to that of an interlocutor with North African prisoners of war.<sup>180</sup> One report was certainly false: Bāsh Ḥānbah could not have led a delegation to the Versailles peace conference because he died on 30 October 1918, before the Germans had signed an armistice.<sup>181</sup> Two months later, Ṣafā'ihī was also dead.<sup>182</sup>

In Tunis, meanwhile, the political discussions continued; in early 1918 there were still five major groupings:

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<sup>178</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61, doc. 189f; folio 881, doc. 93.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., folio 61, doc. 186-188.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Zamirli, Les Successeurs, p. 66f.

<sup>181</sup> See AGT, loc. cit., doc. 191.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., folio 881, doc. 94.

the members of the Cercle Tunisien in the modern city were the same people who gathered of an evening at Qasṭallī's home and who visited Jammāl's shop: Qallātī, Zamirī, Nu'mān and Khazmī were the most regular. Ḥalfawīn was still Tha'ālibī's base, and Damirjī yet rallied the faithful at al-Bāb al-Jadīd. 'Alī 'Abd al-Wahhāb passed his time between al-Bāb al-Jadīd and Bāb al-Manārah, where Farḥāt Ibn 'Ayyād was increasingly prominent. The groups from Bāb Banāt and Bāb al-Suwayqah were converging in a notary's office on Nahj Bāb Sa'dūn: Bashīr Fūratī was the best-known participant at this location.<sup>183</sup> A transitory aberration in the pattern was a series of rendezvous involving Qasṭallī and 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Zāwush on the premises of the latter's brother 'Abd al-Jalīl.<sup>184</sup> Qallātī once more took the Cercle to al-Marsā for the summer, and again Zamirī travelled to town to visit the other centres;<sup>185</sup> during October activity recommenced at the Cercle's offices and maintained its pace at al-Bāb al-Jadīd, Bāb al-Manārah and Ḥalfawīn.<sup>186</sup> Early in the summer

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<sup>183</sup>AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 9; folio 12, doc. 40, 43; folio 21, doc. 50, 57; folio 270, doc. 96.

<sup>184</sup>Ibid., folio 337, doc. 41.

<sup>185</sup>Ibid., folio 1, doc. 7; folio 12, doc. 45f.

<sup>186</sup>Ibid., folio 1, doc. 6; folio 12, doc. 48; folio 13, doc. 54; folio 21, doc. 66.

a somewhat subversive play of Hādī Qaṣūrī's entitled The Ignorant General was performed at Sūsah, unhindered by the ban on theatrical presentations in effect at Tunis,<sup>187</sup> where the patriots' chief ventures beyond conversation were the insults hurled at a group of laborers who had recently returned from the battlefield (Zamirlī and Damirjī led the spectacle) and a collective letter of condolence sent to Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah after 'Alī's death.<sup>188</sup>

#### F. After the Armistice

On 2 January 1919 Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah, Ṣāliḥ al-Sharīf, two other Tunisians and three Algerians sent a telegram to President Wilson coaxing him to help the single Algero-Tunisian people to recover control of its destiny;<sup>189</sup> little came of this initiative. The armistice contained no provision for the lifting of the state of emergency in Tunisia, and the round of meetings continued with Qallātī, Tha'ālibī, Nu'mān and Zamirlī ever in the forefront. A group of would-be journalists, Jādawī,

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<sup>187</sup>AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 52, doc. 25.

<sup>188</sup>Ibid., folio 12, doc. 49; folio 61, doc. 196.

<sup>189</sup>Revue du Maghreb, III, 9-12 (Sept.-Dec. 1918), 138-140.

Ja'ā'ibī, Fūratī and Shādhilī Mūralī among them, petitioned Flandin, the new Resident-General, for permission to publish, but without success, while Baḥrī, Qaṣūrī and Muḥammad Būrqībah supported the efforts of Sharīf Hintātī to organize the Tunisian civil servants in quest of better pay and conditions.<sup>190</sup> Qallātī became less active, but Zamirlī and Tha'ālibī were almost everywhere, ranging from Ibn 'Ayyād's quarters near al-Bāb al-Jadīd to suburban Aryānah; Qallātī and Nu'mān returned to their summer residences at al-Marsā. More was afoot than the wartime discussions, however, for although a police raid on the Cercle Tunisien proved fruitless, the once-Young Tunisians were quietly adopting a loose organization and Aḥmad Saqqā, a lawyer, had by March taken rooms in Paris as representative of the "Tunisian Party".<sup>191</sup> By summer's end, he had been joined by Tha'ālibī, whose mission it was to gain internal autonomy and the reimplementation of Khayr al-Dīn's constitution;

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<sup>190</sup>AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 5, 12; folio 12, doc. 50f; folio 13, doc. 56; folio 21, doc. 68f; folio 27, doc. 8f; folio 48, doc. 11; folio 52, doc. 29; folio 137, doc. 73-75; folio 141, doc. 26-31; folio 270, doc. 118; folio 544, doc. 2.

<sup>191</sup>Ibid., folio 1, doc. 3f, 13; folio 52, doc. 32; folio 1014, doc. 22; "Rapport du Colonel Baron dans l'Affaire Abdelaziz Thaâlbī: 1921" (Centre de Documentation Nationale, Tunis, file A-3-13), p. 13.

the shaykh had left Tunis with the blessings of both Qallātī and the Bāy.<sup>192</sup>

In Paris, Tha'ālibī lobbied for the constitution with uneven success: the French socialists suspected him of wishing to reestablish beylical autocracy.<sup>193</sup> Zamirī, Qastallī and others of his sponsors elicited very little response when they asked Tha'ālibī what he was doing, but by year's end they had a veiled answer in La Tunisie Martyre, an ostensibly anonymous work of Tha'ālibī and Saqqā that somewhat overreached the common program, not so much in substance as in the exigent defiance of its phrasing. In Tunis, Qallātī, Nu'mān and Zamirī were cooperating with local socialists and submitting articles to Avenir Social, but they urged their representative in Paris to broaden his scope of contact among various French parties.<sup>194</sup> As the "party" was as yet rather amorphous, it was possible for Qallātī and Nu'mān to address a socialist convention in Tunis praising the benefits of the protectorate.<sup>195</sup> Nobody in Tunis

<sup>192</sup> Baron, op. cit., p. 24f; Tha'ālibī, autobiography, CDN, A-3-13, p. 8; Šafī, preface to Duran-Angliviel, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>193</sup> Tha'ālibī to Zamirī, 17 September 1919, quoted in Baron, op. cit., p. 49.

<sup>194</sup> Baron, op. cit., pp. 25-36; AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 2; folio 93, doc. 9.

<sup>195</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 128.

was willing to endorse la Tunisie Martyre, but Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah was increasingly disappointed with the patriots' (even Tha'ālibī's) tendency to compromise; he moved to Berlin, where he would die in December 1920, out of touch and out of sympathy with his erstwhile comrades. Ṣālīb Sharīf, similarly bypassed and disillusioned, had died in Switzerland nine months earlier.<sup>196</sup> Zāwush, at the opposite pole, made his last sally as a polemicist in a vigorous defence of private religious endowments.<sup>197</sup>

Ḥasan Qallātī and 'Abd al-Jalīl Zāwush endured each other's presence through a meeting of the Khaldunīyah Society in January 1920; Zāwush refused to succeed Aṣram as president and Qallātī was elected.<sup>198</sup> Meanwhile the patriots were working on a set of petitions to be presented to the Bāy, the Resident General and the French government, but two tendencies were evident at a meeting on 1 February: a "moderate" or "associationist" group, led by Qallātī, which called for the formulation of precise requests that could conceivably be granted, and a "radical" team gathered around Muḥammad Riyāḥī, demanding total independence. The former seemed more powerful for the moment and Qallātī won much support for his suggestion that a special delegation be

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<sup>196</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 5, doc. 6; Baron, op. cit., pp 38-40; Ibn 'Ashūr, Tarājim al-A'lām, p. 216f.

<sup>197</sup> (Abdeljelil Zaouche), En Tunisie: la Question des terres et l'Agriculture tunisienne (Tunis: Société anonyme de l'Imprimerie Rapide, 1919), 29pp.

<sup>198</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 337, doc. 44.

sent to Paris.<sup>199</sup>

By mid-March, the first formal Tunisian political party had come into being, with Aḥmad Ṣāfī as its first Secretary General; The 'alibī had indicated his approval of the party's organization and program in a letter to Ferḥāt Ibn 'Ayyād.<sup>200</sup> Seeking "to deliver Tunisia from the yoke of slavery," the Tunisian Liberal Constitutional Party (al-Ḥizb al-Ḥurr al-Dustūrī al-Tūnisī) opened its lists to all who would swear to uphold its program of eight essential reforms: the creation of a deliberative assembly comprising both French and Tunisian representatives and controlling the budget and its own agenda; the responsibility of the government to this legislature; the separation of executive, judicial and legislative powers; the admission of qualified Tunisians to all ranks of the civil service; the provision of equal salaries for the same work; the convening of elected municipal councils in every town in the regency; the opening of public land to purchase by Tunisians on an equal footing with settlers, and the introduction of freedom of the press, of assembly and of association.<sup>201</sup> As Flendin had lifted the ban

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<sup>199</sup>Baron, op. cit., p. 41f; cf article by Nu'mān in Avenir social, 12 February 1920, AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 133.

<sup>200</sup>Baron, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>201</sup>"Rodd Belek" (Charles de Monchicourt), "La Tunisie après la Guerre," Afrique française, XXV, 9-10 (Sept.- Oct. 1920), 281; Rossi, op. cit., p. 202. There is a variant version in Renseignements Coloniaux, XXV, 6bis (June 1925), 222f.



on Arabic newspapers on 1 February, the new party could give its manifesto wide circulation. However, it was not implicated in the peaceful demonstrations conducted by Mīralī and other editors to protest the British occupation of Istanbul.<sup>202</sup>

Qallātī, Zamīrlī, Nu'mān and Shādhilī Darghūth, the four victims of 1912 still active and still in Tunis, joined 'Alī Kāhiyah and Muṣṭafā Ṣāfer, the sons of famous fathers, on a committee with Ṣāfī, Saqqā, Ibn 'Ayyād and several other patriots in drafting the petitions that would present the agreed program to the authorities. Ṣāfī led the five-man delegation which left for Paris on 6 June.<sup>203</sup>

In Paris, Ṣāfī and his colleagues were able to present their eightfold petition to the president of the Chamber of Deputies and to visit a senior official in the ministry of foreign affairs. They published their program in several metropolitan newspapers but they were not warmly received by the government. Qallātī attributed this check to the delegates' naiveté and the 'ālibī's having persuaded them to expend their energies on frustrating Flandin's loan application; he was especially disappointed in Ṣāfī's lack of leadership.<sup>204</sup> Meanwhile, in Tunis,

<sup>202</sup> Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 57f; AGT, *loc. cit.*, folio 297, doc. 27-30; folio 414, doc. 23-26.

<sup>203</sup> AGT, *loc. cit.*, folio 1, doc. 92; folio 79, doc. 12.

<sup>204</sup> de Monchicourt, *op. cit.*, p. 280f; Ṣāfī, preface to Duran-Angliviel, *loc. cit.*; Qallātī, article in *Tunis Socialiste*, 28 August 1921.

the Centre Tunisien and Demirjī's barbershop were the foci of discussion and dissemination of news from France. Shaykh Ṣādiq Nīfar led a large delegation to the Bāy's palace asking for the reintroduction of the constitution; the several civil servants in the group were rewarded with three suspensions and a committee was quickly formed to raise money for their support.<sup>205</sup> Fearing a conspiracy, the Tunisian government raided the homes of Tha'ālibī, Riyāḥī, Ja'ā'ibī, Ibn 'Ayyād and others of the more outspoken Tunisians. Tha'ālibī was brought home from Paris under arrest; his departure for Tunis coincided with Ṣāfi's dispatch of a telegram to Mīralī announcing that the foreign minister had received the delegates in Paris.<sup>206</sup>

Ibn 'Ayyād, Mu'mān, 'Alī 'Abd al-Wahhāb and some others organized a series of meetings to protest Tha'ālibī's imprisonment and to bewail the delegation's bad luck; Ṣāfi launched the monthly magazine al-Fajr to publicize the party's program.<sup>207</sup> By late August contention was rife between the returned delegates and the members of the Cercle Tunisien: large sums of the subscriptions raised to finance the delegation in Paris had gone astray and

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<sup>205</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 89; folio 12, doc. 57f; folio 48, doc. 14f; folio 52, doc. 6; folio 99, doc. 8.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., folio 79, doc. 17f; Baron, op. cit. p. 1f.

<sup>207</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 81, 85f; folio 9, doc. 45; folio 21, doc. 77-80; folio 79, doc. 20, 32f.

suspensions were broadcast. This ill-feeling and the lack of accomplishment on the part of the Paris group estranged Qallātī and Nu'mān from Šāfī and before long Qallātī had enunciated a new reform policy to be pursued in a spirit of cooperation rather than confrontation with the French and which eventually provided the platform of the Reform Party.<sup>208</sup> Appearances were maintained for a time, however, and Šāfī and Nīfar both sat with Qallātī and Nu'mān on the board of a printinghouse bought by Qallātī.<sup>209</sup> Farḡāt Ibn 'Ayyād left Tunis on 27 October to act as the Party's lobbyist in Paris,<sup>210</sup> and a second delegation left for France on 22 December: among the eight members of this group were Qallātī and Saqqā.<sup>211</sup>

This second delegation presented the same program to the personalities of Paris as had its predecessor, except that universal compulsory primary education was added to the desiderata; the delegation (without Saqqā) returned to Tunis on 4 February 1921.<sup>212</sup> A series of explanatory lectures by the delegates could not conceal

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<sup>208</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 83; folio 93, doc. 2; article by Qallātī in Tunis Socialiste, 28 August 1921; Zamirli, les Contemporains, p. 121.

<sup>209</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 78.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., folio 1014, doc. 30.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., folio 1, doc. 76.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., folio 44, doc. 9; Duran-Angliviel, op. cit., p. 44.

the growing divergence between the uncompromising constitutionalists led by Ṣāfi and the moderate reformers who followed Qallātī; Qaṣṭallī led a smaller group which also criticized the intransigents.<sup>213</sup> The December delegation was, however, generally credited for obtaining an end to the state of siege that had endured since the aftermath of the Zallāj riots of November 1911,<sup>214</sup> and Ṣāfi managed to congratulate the government on the creation of a justice ministry: the first step towards realization of the Constitutionalists' program.<sup>215</sup> Tha'ālibī resumed his political activity as soon as he left prison on 17 May, although Qallātī remained somewhat aloof.<sup>216</sup> The military investigator had found no cause to accuse Tha'ālibī or the Constitutionalists of any conspiracy.<sup>217</sup>

By mid-June the party had definitely split into the Tha'ālibī-Ṣāfi Constitutionalists and the Qallātī-Nu'mān Reformers. Among the former were Ibn 'Īsā, Jādawī, Ja'ā'ibī, Mūralī, Riyāḥī

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<sup>213</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 66f; folio 13, doc. 57; folio 44, doc. 11, 15, 17-19; folio 79, doc. 35.

<sup>214</sup> France, Ministère des Colonies, "Revue de la Presse musulmane: Compte-rendu analytique" (Archives d'Outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence), 30 April 1921, p. 14.

<sup>215</sup> Open letter to Resident General Saint, Dépêche Tunisienne, 7 May 1921.

<sup>216</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 9, doc. 33-42.

<sup>217</sup> Baron, op. cit., p. 61.

and the Kāhiyas; Qasṭallī, Zamirlī and Khazmī rallied to Qallātī but Khazmī soon moved to Morocco, while Nu'mān flirted with the Communists.<sup>218</sup> By August, Nu'mān had written a pamphlet against Tha'ālibī's "sterile" hard line and complained publicly that Tha'ālibī was misusing party funds. In this suspicion he was joined by Shaykh Nīfar and much of the public, but the party was able to collect the funds to keep Ibn 'Ayyād in Paris. Qallātī published his own criticism of Ṣāfī and Tha'ālibī in Tunis Socialiste and neither Qallātī nor Nu'mān responded to conciliatory gestures of Tha'ālibī's.<sup>219</sup> Nu'mān, Ṣāfī and Qallātī exchanged further verbal volleys during September, with each side claiming to be true to the original manifesto and accusing the other of deviation; Nu'mān described Tha'ālibī as self-serving and a blasphemer.<sup>220</sup> During October and November rival deputations toured the regency seeking support for their factions and a December attempt to heal the breach was fruitless.<sup>221</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 64f; folio 9, doc. 29-31; folio 52, doc. 28; folio 93, doc. 1; folio 297, doc. 63, 78.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., folio 1, doc. 60-63, 115-118; folio 52, doc. 32; folio 1014, doc. 58.

<sup>220</sup> Ṣāfī in Courrier de Tunisie, 9 September 1921, Nu'mān, ibid., 10 September 1921. Qallātī (Guellety) Tunis Socialiste, 25 September 1921.

<sup>221</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 3, doc. 11; folio 44, doc. 25-33; folio 79, doc. 59-69; folio 2409, doc. 2.

This stalemate persisted through most of 1922, but the Constitutional Party itself fell victim to further dissension and the Communist Party gave its support to the Reformers. The Constitutionalist press then ran a six-month campaign against the Communists before calling a truce in June, after the Communist Party had been officially banned in Tunisia.<sup>222</sup> Several Jews joined the Constitutional Party, which held the support of the provincial nationalists except in Sūsah where Ḥassūnah 'Ayyāshī led a strong Reformist section; Zamirī, the Reformer, jousted with the Constitutionalist Shādhilī Khaznadār for the sympathies of the ruling family.<sup>223</sup> Tayyib Ibn 'Isā and Shādhilī Darghūth led a group opposing Tha'ālibī within the Constitutional Party and Farḥāt Ibn 'Ayyād, long unhappy with the sporadic nature of his communications with Tunis and especially with the irregularity of his receipt of his stipend, returned to the regency in October to join this group in forming the "Independent Constitutional Party".<sup>224</sup> Two prominent Constitutionlists, Hādī Qaṣūrī and Muḥammad Ṭalīlī, were dismissed from the Jam'īyat al-Awqāf after their implication

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<sup>222</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 6, doc. 40; folio 79, doc. 72-75; folio 2128, doc. 12.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., folio 9, doc. 1, 7; folio 44, doc. 36; folio 1014, doc. 95; folio 2413, doc. 6.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., folio 40, doc. 74; folio 1014, doc. 103-110.

in embezzlement of its funds; this was symptomatic of the cavalier financial practices of the party's leadership: Muslim Benevolent Society funds found their way into party coffers, while these were themselves in a state of incessant depletion. Only Tha'ālibī found no cause to question this perpetual dearth of funds.<sup>225</sup>

Although the administrative reforms of 13 July 1922 greatly altered the Tunisian political environment and partly met the wishes of the various movements, the local politicians had become too engrossed in their own rivalries to respond to the changing circumstances around them. Tha'ālibī, frustrated by the suspicions of his own partisans, left Tunisia in 1923 and the Constitutional Party stagnated; Ṣāfī, its secretary general, acquired some fine property near Faḥs, apparently with party funds.<sup>226</sup> Repudiated by the electors in 1926, Qallātī also withdrew from political activity and the field was left open for a younger generation to rally the nationalist movement to the New Constitutional Party, formed by Ḥabīb Būrqībah in

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<sup>225</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 52, doc. 38; folio 79, doc. 106, 120; folio 141, doc. 7.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., folio 79, doc. 130.

March 1933. After Tha'ālibī's return in 1937, a futile attempt was made to reunite the nationalist movement, but Būrqībah was firmly in control and for two decades he guided his followers through a policy of stages to the achievement of national independence. Šāfī died in July 1937 and Tha'ālibī in October 1944, but Qallātī and Zamirī lived to see the end of the protectorate and the reassertion of the dignity of the Tunisian people, half a century after they had participated in the first concerted promotion of their countrymen's right to social and material advancement.



## CHAPTER II

### THE FORERUNNERS OF "YOUNG TUNISIA"

#### A. Preprotectorate Reformers

The first concerted effort to adapt the Tunisian society and policy to the exigencies of the modern world was undertaken by Ahmad Bāy, who reigned from 1837 to 1855, and his minister Mustafā Ṣāhib al-Tābi', who, evoking his famous predecessor Ibn Khaldūn, devised a governmental program modelled on the work of Muḥammad 'Alī in Egypt and paralleling contemporary developments in the Ottoman Tanzīmāt. Slavery was abolished, finances were reorganized and a naval arsenal was opened, but the keystone of the Tunisian reform structure was the Military Academy opened at Bārdū in 1838, where the most influential personality was the professor of Arabic, Maḥmūd Qabādū (d.1871), who supervised the translation of textbooks and reference works into Arabic and urged the reabsorption of mathematical and medical science into the mainstream of Islamic culture. Qabādū also taught at the Zaytūnah Mosque-University and his students there, notably Muḥammad Bayram V and Sālim Būḥājib, joined with such prominent graduates of the Military Academy as those two Circassians, the future generals Ḥusayn and Khayr al-Dīn,

in furthering the cause of modernization.<sup>1</sup> Of all these, Khayr al-Dīn gained the quickest grasp and deepest understanding of the country's situation, and he was soon the Bāy's expert advisor on European affairs and the son-in-law of Prime Minister Muṣṭafá Khaznadār. Having accompanied the Bāy to Paris in 1846, he spent four years in the French capital conducting litigation for his sovereign. Shortly after Khayr al-Dīn's return to Tunis, Aḥmad Bāy died in 1855; his successor, Muḥammad Bāy, appointed the general as minister of marine in January 1857. In this position he was able to lead the successful attempt to persuade the Bāy to promulgate his fundamental pact ('ahd al-amān) nine months later; this document guaranteed religious and personal freedom to all inhabitants of Tunisia.<sup>2</sup>

These provisions were confirmed by the new Bāy, Ṣādiq, in 1861, in the first official constitution (dustūr) in the Islamic world, but the public vigilance necessary to uphold such a charter dissipated quickly and the document became simply a

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<sup>1</sup> Shādhilī Khayr Allāh (Chedly Khaïrallah), Essai d'Histoire et de Synthèse des mouvements nationalistes tunisiens: le Mouvement "Jeune-Tunisien" (Tunis: Bonici, [1956]), pp 12-19; Munjī Shamlī, Khayr al-Dīn Basha (Tunis: al-Dār al-Tūnisīyah li-l-Nashr, 1968), p. 11f; Arnold H. Green, "Political Attitudes and Activities of the Islamic Ulama in the Liberal Age: Tunisia as an Exceptional Case," American Political Science Association 1972 Annual Convention, Washington, D.C., Panel on Religion and Political Development, 7 September 1972, p. 29 n. 76, and the sources given in the two latter works. See also Green, "The Tunisian Ulama, 1873-1915: Social Structure and Response to Ideological Currents," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1973), ch. 5, and C.C. Harber, "Reforms in Tunisia, 1855-1878," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1971).

<sup>2</sup> Shamlī, op.cit., pp 12-18; Revue du Maghreb, II, 1 and 2 (Jan.-Feb. 1917), 1; M. Faḍīl Ibn 'Ashūr, Tarājim al-A'lām (Tunis: Dār al-Tūnisīyah li-l-Nashr, 1970), pp 47-50.

cherished memory among patriotic Tunisians.<sup>3</sup> Khayr al-Dīn had meanwhile fulfilled the solemn responsibility of securing Ṣādiq's investiture from Istanbul and become the first vice-president of the Grand Council (al-majlis al-akbar); he became president of the council on the death of his predecessor, Muṣṭafá Ṣāhib al-Ṭābi'. Embarrassed by the dichotomy between the interests of the public and those of his father-in-law, he resigned from the council presidency and his ministry to devote himself to contemplation and the writing of his philosophy of government, Aqwām al-Masālik fī Ma'rifat al-Ḥwāl al-Mamālik;<sup>4</sup> he also found time to serve as ambassador to Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, the Netherlands and Belgium. In 1868 he reluctantly agreed to serve as president of the international commission established by the British, French, Italian and Tunisian governments to supervise the servicing of the Tunisian debt; although Khaznadār retained nominal leadership of the ministry, effective authority passed to Khayr al-Dīn in his new role as "minister-supervisor" (wazīr mubāshir). The two men

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<sup>3</sup>Revue du Maghreb, II, 1 and 2 (Jan.-Feb. 1917), 2; cf remarks by Zawush in Le Tunisien, 27 August 1908.

<sup>4</sup>The first part of this work has been edited with a commentary by Munṣif Shannūfī, (Tunis: al-Dār al-Tūnisīyah li-l-Nashr, 1972); cf L.C. Brown's translation and commentary, The Surest Path: The Political Treatise of a Nineteenth-Century Muslim Statesman (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1967).

continued to disagree, however, and Khayr al-Dīn was able to secure his own appointment as Prime Minister in October 1873.<sup>5</sup>

Most of Khayr al-Dīn's projects and achievements were to find their echo in the programs of later reformers. He made good beginnings at a rationalization of the regency's judicial and penal systems and sought to modernize both the general administration and the municipal government of Tunis. In agriculture, he introduced new sharecropping regulations and founded the Ghābah. His institution of the Jam'īyat al-Awqāf to safeguard pious endowments of a public character reaped extensive benefit for the population through the efficient organization it provided under the competent supervision of Muḥammad Bayram V. And although he effected some alteration in the structure and curriculum of the Zaytūnah Mosque University, Khayr al-Dīn believed that the task of educating leaders for a modern Tunisia would have to be entrusted to a new establishment. The Military Academy had been abandoned at the time of Aḥmad's death, but its alumnus Khayr al-Dīn used it as a model for the school he founded in the Bāy's honor, al-Ṣādiqīyah or Ṣādiqī College, in 1875. All these measures, like his earlier work on the financial commission and his 1871 mission to secure the sultan's affirmation of sovereignty over Tunisia, were conceived

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<sup>5</sup> Ibn 'Āshūr, Tarājim al-A'lām, pp 50-54; Shamlī, op. cit. pp 18-24.

principally to forestall European encroachment. Throughout his ministry Khayr al-Dīn had to combat the venality of his father-in-law's partisans, notably the Minister of Marine, Ibn Ismā'īl, and his discouragement grew with the realization that Ṣādiq Bāy did not share his zeal for reform and honest government. Dismissed in June 1877, Khayr al-Dīn was saved from the Bāy's importunings by an invitation from Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd to serve him in Istanbul. Arriving in the Ottoman capital in October 1878, he began a new career as a minister, prime minister and counsellor at the Sublime Porte.<sup>6</sup> Neither fanatic nor xenophobe, Khayr al-Dīn had worked to awaken his fellow-Muslims to the need to absorb modern techniques from Europe in order to restore Islamic society to its former strength; scientific progress offers intelligent encouragement to agriculture, industry and commerce, which are the "natural consequences of justice and freedom---these two qualities which have become second nature for Europeans" while the Muslim world was slipping into "bigotry and obscurantism."<sup>7</sup> As a friend of

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<sup>6</sup> Ibn 'Ashūr, Tarājim al-A'lām, pp 54-58; Shamlī, op. cit., pp 25-30; Khayr Allāh, Essai, p. 9; Bashīr Ṣāfar (Béchir Sfar), Assistance Publique musulmane en Tunisie (Tunis: Imprimerie rapide, 1896), p. 24.

<sup>7</sup> Khayr al-Dīn, quoted in Khayr Allāh, Essai, pp 20-23; cf L. Carl Brown, "Tunisia under the French Protectorate: A History of Ideological Change" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p. 9f; André Servier, Le Pêril de L'Avenir: Le Nationalisme musulman en Egypte, en Tunisie, en Algérie (Constantine: Boët, 1913), p. 67.

the Young Tunisians would later observe, Khayr al-Dīn "thought as a philosopher, acted as a reformer and conducted himself as a statesman: he looked ahead."<sup>8</sup>

General Muḥammad Ḥusayn, Khayr al-Dīn's former classmate and his companion on the 1871 mission to Istanbul, had helped to write the 'ahd al-amān and served as the first president of the municipality of Tunis (1275/1858). In 1277/1860 he was among the first members of the Bāy's Grand Council. Ḥusayn played an important part in launching the Ṣādiqīyah and in 1290/1873 he resigned his municipal office and went to Livorno as the Bāy's representative in the settlement of the estate of a Tunisian judge who had absconded with governmental funds. Except for short visits to Tunis, he remained in Italy until he died at Florence in 1304/1887; 'Umar Būḥājib took his body to Istanbul, where Khayr al-Dīn arranged its burial.<sup>9</sup>

Muḥammad Bayrem V was one of the few religious scholars who supported Khayr al-Dīn's program; he assisted the general with the editing of Aqwām al-Masālik and he moved to Egypt shortly after

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<sup>8</sup>Gaston Valran, Dépêche Coloniale, 1 July 1907; article reproduced in Le Tunisien, 11 July 1907.

<sup>9</sup>Ibn 'Ashūr, Tarājim al-A'lām, pp 23-31; Zamirli (M.S. Zuerli), Figures Tunisiennes: Les Précurseurs (Tunis: Bouslama, [1964]), pp 31-40.

Khayr al-Dīn's final departure for Istanbul. During the reform ministry he had helped set the curriculum for the Ṣādiqīyah, served as first president of the Jam'īyat al-Awqāf and as first director of the national bank, managed the printing office and founded a hospital. In Egypt he became friends with Muḥammad 'Abduh, whom he encouraged to visit Tunis; he also visited Midhat Pasha in Bayrut and many of the Tunisians who had moved to Istanbul at the inception of the French Protectorate. He was Tunisia's link with al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā, but his relationship with 'Abduh was one of mutual respect befitting the honor each had gained as a reformer in his own country.<sup>10</sup> Bayram's own protégé, Muḥammad Sanūsī had edited the official journal (al-Rā'id al-Tūnisī) under his supervision, and resigned his editorship of al-Rā'id when the French arrived. After seeing Ḥusayn in Italy and Khayr al-Dīn in Istanbul, Sanūsī visited Syria, Egypt and Hijaz in 1882, then returned to Tunis to rally opposition to the protectorate. A brief period of rustication persuaded him of the futility of open opposition, but he quietly coordinated 'Abduh's visit to Tunis in late 1884. He later accepted various appointments within the public service, most notably as a judge, and helped to found the

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<sup>10</sup> Ibn 'Ashūr, Arkān al-Nahḍah al-'Arabīyah bi-Tūnis (Tunis: Maktabat al-Najāh, 1381 [1961]), pp 22-28; Munṣif Shannūfī, "Maṣādir 'an Riḥlatay al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh ilā Tūnis (6 Disambar 1884, 4 Jānfi 1885 wa 9-24 Sabtambar 1903)," Hawliyat al-Jāmi'ah al-Tūnisīyah, III (1966), 75-78; *ibid.*, "Les deux séjours de Muḥammad 'Abduh en Tunisie," Cahiers de Tunisie, XVI (1968), 61-63; Zamirli, Les Précurseurs, pp 93-102.

moderate newspaper al-Hāḍirah; he died in 1900.<sup>11</sup>

Bayram's partner in assisting Khayr al-Dīn with the preparation of Aqwām al-Masālik was Sālim Būḥājib, another former pupil of Maḥmūd Qabādū. The first secretary of the municipality of Tunis, Būḥājib accompanied Khayr al-Dīn and Ḥusayn on their visit to Istanbul in 1871 and he went with the latter to Italy in 1873, but he returned home shortly before the proclamation of the protectorate and helped Sanūsī to entertain 'Abduh. Without forsaking the cause of reform (he was one of the founders of the Khaldūniyah), he never overtly opposed the new regime and he was the Mōlikī muftī of Tunis from 1905 until his appointment as Shaykh al-Islām in 1919; he died in 1925.<sup>12</sup> By deciding to remain in Tunisia and by continuing to work for reform, Būḥājib charted a middle course between emigration, favored by Bayram and others, and outright collaboration with the country's new masters. Among the multitude who chose the latter option, three were of outstanding importance. Muḥammad Bū'attūr, one of the authors of the 'ahd al-emān, and Tunisia's first minister of finance, served the Protectorate as Prime Minister for

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<sup>11</sup>Ibn 'Ashūr, Arkān al-Nahḍah, pp 26-31; Tarājim al-A'lām, pp 117-127.

<sup>12</sup>Ibn 'Ashūr, Arkān al-Nahḍah, p. 19; Tarājim al-A'lām, pp 221-233; Zamirli, Les Précurseurs, pp 83-90.



over twenty years. Muḥammad Jallūlī, hand-picked by Khayr al-Dīn as first president of the mixed commission, became Minister of the Pen in 1882 and when Bū'aṭṭūr died in 1907, Jallūlī succeeded his mentor as Prime Minister; he died in office the following year. Finally, Yūsuf Ja'īt, who had been Khayr al-Dīn's secretary, was one of the signatories of the protectorate convention in 1883 and spent several years as Jallūlī's deputy, finally succeeding him as Minister of the Pen.<sup>13</sup>

B. The Friends of Muḥammad 'Abduh and the First Tunisian Journalists

During 1884 and 1885 the peripatetic propagandist Jamāl al-Dīn ("al-Afghānī") and his Egyptian adept Muḥammad 'Abduh had formed, in Paris, the fraternal association of al-'Urweh al-Wuthqā with the principal objective of regenerating Islamic society through religious reform. Among the several Tunisians who had joined its ranks was Muḥammad Sanūsī, who persuaded 'Abduh to visit Tunis. Accordingly, the Egyptian shaykh spent most of December 1884 as Sanūsī's guest, meeting many socially prominent Tunisians and exchanging ideas with the religious scholars at Zaytūnah; he vigorously urged the cause of Islamic reform, underlining the similar character of the problems facing Muslim societies everywhere,

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<sup>13</sup>For the emigrants, see Green, "Political Attitudes," p. 35, n. 88; for Bū'aṭṭūr see Ibn 'Ashūr, Tarājim al-A'lām, pp 141-151; for Jallūlī, see ibid., pp 155-160; for Ja'īt, see ibid., pp 174-184.

and sailed from Tunis in early January 1885, leaving a coterie of devoted disciples.<sup>14</sup> These friends of 'Abduh were drafted to lead the delegation which in April 1885 persuaded the Bāy to reverse a governmental decision altering the regulations concerning cemeteries and the reorganization of municipal councils; the Protectorate officials countermanded the Bāy, however, and Sanūsī spent three months in prison for his part in the episode.<sup>15</sup> Thereafter, the Tunisian reformers were more circumspect, preferring their civil service jobs and the rationale of "working from within the system" to any overt attempt to change their political environment, but they kept in touch with 'Abduh<sup>16</sup> until he was able to return to Tunis in September 1903.

During his second stay in Tunis, 'Abduh was the guest of Sālim Būhājib's son, Khalīl, who had married the Egyptian princess Naḡlī. He met various Muslim religious leaders, several French officials and such advocates of measured social change as Bashīr Ṣaḡar and 'Abd al-Jalīl Zāwush; as well, he visited both

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<sup>14</sup>Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, *al-Rihlah al-Hijāziyah*, quoted in Shannūfī, "Maṣādir," p. 84; the passage is partially translated in "Les Deux Séjours," p. 65; cf. M. al-Faḍīl Ibn 'Ashūr, *al-Ḥarakah al-adabiyah wa-l-fikriyah fī Tūnis* (Cairo: Dār al-Hanā, 1956), p. 43f and A.H. Green, "The Tunisian Ulama," ch. 6 and 7.

<sup>15</sup>Ibn 'Ashūr, *al-Ḥarakah*, p. 44; Shannūfī cites letters from 'Abduh referring to these events, "Maṣādir," p. 89f; "Les Deux Séjours," p. 68.

<sup>16</sup>Ibn 'Ashūr, *al-Ḥarakah*, p. 44f; Shannūfī, "Maṣādir," pp 89-91.

Zaytūnah and the Khaldūnīyah.<sup>17</sup> Throughout these meetings he refrained from political discussion, preferring to expend his efforts encouraging the religious reformers and those who were trying to improve the education of Tunisian Muslims.<sup>18</sup> His real impact was thus confined to religious circles; the influence of his Syrian disciple Rashīd Riḍā, however, extended further among the more secular reformers in Tunis, for Bashīr Ṣafar, Hādī Saba'ī and Shādhilī Darghūth each contributed material to al-Manār and conducted private correspondence with its editor.<sup>19</sup> 'Abduh's most enduring advice to his Tunisian friends lay in his stress upon the need for modern education and the possibility of cooperation with the protectorate authorities in the interests of social progress,<sup>20</sup> but he also urged his coreligionists to learn at least one European language.<sup>21</sup> The Young Tunisians would assuredly adhere to these formulations but Khayr Allāh has correctly observed that they could have learned them from such early Tunisian reformers as Qabādū, who was preaching reform before Afghānī;<sup>22</sup> it is also quite possible

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<sup>17</sup>Shannūfī, "Les Deux Séjours," pp 75-78, based on contemporary accounts in al-Ḥādirah.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., pp 77-79; "Maṣādir," p. 100.

<sup>19</sup>Shannūfī, "Maṣādir," p. 93; "Les Deux Séjours," p. 72; "Alā'ic Rashīd Riḍā, Ṣāhib majallat al-Manār, ma'a al-Tūnisīyīn, 1898-1935," Hawliyyat al-Jāmi'ah al-Tūnisīyah, IV (1967, p. 121, n.2).

<sup>20</sup>'Alī Murād (Ali Merad), "L'Enseignement politique de Muḥammad 'Abduh aux Algériens (1903)," Orient, 28 (4th quarter 1963), pp 103-105.

<sup>21</sup>R. Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Manār, 1931), I, 104f; quoted in M. Kerr, Islamic Reform: The Political and Legal Theories of Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1966), p. 154.

<sup>22</sup>Khayr Allāh, Essai, p. 19.

that Qabādū's example might have been obscured by the trauma of occupation had 'Abduh and Riḍā not sustained the hopes of their Tunisian associates.

With the establishment of the protectorate, al-Rā'id al-Tūnisī became the mouthpiece of the new regime and it was not until 1888 that independent journalism in Arabic appeared in Tunis. On 2 August of that year 'Alī Būshūshah (a Banzarti landowner and Ṣādiqī who had been among those who had met with 'Abduh)<sup>23</sup> launched the weekly al-Hāqirah, with the active support of Sanūsī, Sālim Būhājib, Bashīr Ṣafar and other "moderates" who hoped to work with the French to improve the lot of their fellow Tunisians, and eventually to finish the reform program begun by Khayr al-Dīn.<sup>24</sup> Such an attitude must have pleased the French officials, for al-Hāqirah managed to stay in print for over twenty years, until the general ban on Arabic newspapers was imposed in 1911.<sup>25</sup> Criticized in some quarters for being too servile,<sup>26</sup> al-Hāqirah nevertheless

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<sup>23</sup>For a biography of Būshūshah (1859-1917) see Ṣādiq Zamirī (Ṣadok Zzerlī), Figures tunisiennes: les Successeurs (Tunis: Maison tunisienne de l'Édition, 1967), pp 31-42.

<sup>24</sup>Ibn 'Āshūr, al-Harakah, pp 49-53.

<sup>25</sup>For indications of French support for al-Hāqirah, see Khayr Allāh, Essai, p. 7; Green, "Political Attitudes," p. 39, and Shannūfī, "Maṣadir," p. 91f, "Les Deux Séjours," p. 69f.

<sup>26</sup>See account in Ibn 'Āshūr, al-Harakah, p. 50.

sought to persuade the authorities to respect local religious and legal traditions, to improve the quality of instruction in Tunisia's schools and to protect Tunisian agriculture and industry.<sup>27</sup>

In July 1890, 'Abd al-Rahmān Ṣanādī began publishing the daily al-Zuhrah, which was rather more critical of the protectorate than al-Hādirah, and thus won a wide following in spite of periodic suspensions of its licence; from 1904 the editor of this newspaper was Hādī Saba'ī.<sup>28</sup> Both al-Zuhrah and al-Ṣawāb, published by Muḥammad Ja'ā'ibī, showed strong sympathies with the ideas of PanIslamism, but al-Ṣawāb was more concerned than al-Zuhrah with the cause of religious reform as it was expounded by 'Abduh.<sup>29</sup> The exertions of these journalists served to sustain and sharpen public interest in the policies of the government and in the efforts of the reformers and their partisans to protect the interests and reassert the rights of the indigenous population.

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<sup>27</sup>Program from al-Hādirah's editorial welcoming Resident-General Millet to Tunis (1894), summarized by Khālīd Qazmīr (Khaled Guezmir), in La Presse (Tunis), 12 August 1972, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup>AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 94, doc. 122 and passim; cf Ibn 'Ashūr, al-Ḥarakah, p. 72 and Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ al-Mahdī, Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfat al-'Arabīyah wa Taṭawwurihā bi-l-Bilād al-Tūnisīyah (Tunis: Ma'had 'Alī Bash Ḥanbah, 1965), p. 7.

<sup>29</sup>Cf Ibn 'Ashūr, al-Ḥarakah, p. 73.

C. The Khaldūnīyah and the Ṣādiqī Alumni Association

When two of the leading contributors to al-Ḥaḍīrah, Sālīm Būḥājib and Bashīr Ṣafer, joined with Muḥammad Aṣram in founding the Khaldūnīyah in December 1896, most of their support came from the growing class of French-educated Tunisians, whose collective aspiration it was to be the link between their "protected" countrymen and "protecting" power whose culture they had so deeply imbibed. Few of the 'ulamā' followed Būḥājib in his quest for modernity, but the society won firm support from Resident-General Millet; indeed there is strong evidence that the original idea for the inception of such a society to promote modern learning among the Zaytūnīs emanated from the French officials of the protectorate.<sup>30</sup> The Khaldūnīyah's main purpose was "to organize courses and lectures, particularly about history, geography, French, political economy, physics, chemistry" and other modern subjects.<sup>31</sup> Its founders hoped it would broaden the Zaytūnīs' awareness of the contemporary world and so effect the desired rapprochement between Tunisian and French culture. In their references to the founding of the Khaldūnīyah and other new societies, Aṣram and Ṣafer did not fail

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<sup>30</sup> Ibn 'Ashūr, al-Ḥarakah, p. 54f; Arkān al-Nahḍah, p. 19f; Green, "Political Attitudes," p. 39.

<sup>31</sup> Shannūfī, "Maṣādir," p. 92, citing article 2 of the Khaldūnīyah's bylaws; cf. "Les Deux Séjours," p. 71.

to invoke the salutary models that France and its progressive  
<sup>32</sup>thinkers had supplied. Besides Muḥammad Qarawī (the president;  
 director of Ṣādiqī College), Aṣram (first vice-president) and  
 Ṣafar, the Khaldūnīyah's first executive committee included  
 Khalīl Būḥājib (second vice-president), Aḥmad Ghaṭṭās, Muḥammad  
 Ridwān (both secretaries) and Khayr Allāh Ibn Muṣṭafā.<sup>33</sup>

The Khaldūnīyah's lectures attracted sufficient interest  
 among the Zaytūnīs to justify the founders' hopes of initiating a  
 social transition; as well the society was able to assemble an  
 excellent library, whose collection was open to the general public.  
 The premises of the Khaldūnīyah became the rallying ground of  
 reformers from Zaytūnah and Ṣādiqī College; Ṣafar sought to  
 strengthen this new alliance by introducing promising Zaytūnīs into  
 the Jam'īyat al-Awqāf.<sup>34</sup> In their lectures Ṣafar and Sālim Būḥājib  
 encouraged their students to press for the revision of the Zaytūnah's

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<sup>32</sup>Ṣafar, "Rapport sur les Sociétés indigènes en Tunisie,"  
 dated 18 October 1904, in Protectorat Français: Gouvernement  
 Tunisien, Rapports sur la Mutualité en Tunisie (Tunis: Imprimerie  
 Française, 1905), p. 25; Aṣram in (M. Lacram and P. de Dianous),  
Questions Tunisiennes: Communications présentées au Congrès colonial  
 de Marseille (5-9 septembre 1906); Extrait du compte rendu officiel  
 du Congrès (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1907), p. 27.

<sup>33</sup>Shannūfī, "Les Deux Séjours," p. 71 n. 38.

<sup>34</sup>'Abd al-Jalīl Zāwush (A. Zaouche), "La Khaldounia,"  
Le Tunisien, 31 March 1910; Ibn 'Ashūr, Tarājim al-A'lām, p. 203f.

curriculum. Both served on the committee formed to this end in May 1898, and their endeavor was rewarded by the broadening of the mosque-university's program to include history, geography, mathematics, physics and chemistry.<sup>35</sup> The Khaldūnīyah was the first private society formed by Tunisians and thus provided an example for several similar groups that appeared soon after its formation: credit unions, musical associations and benevolent fellowships.<sup>36</sup> Politically, the most important of these new groupings was the Ṣādiqī Alumni Association of which Khayr Allāh Ibn Muṣṭafá was the president. Among this group's objectives was the acclimatization of Tunisian society to "the indispensable notions of modern sciences"<sup>37</sup> by such means as public lectures on subjects like "French and Islamic history, judicial and economic questions, public health" and applied arts.<sup>38</sup> The major figures in the Alumni Association were the lawyer 'Alī Bāsh Ḥēnbah, who was soon to found Le Tunisien as a vehicle for expressing Tunisian aspirations to the French, and the merchant 'Abd al-Jalīl

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<sup>35</sup> Ibn 'Āshūr, al-Ḥarakah, p. 55f; Shannūfī, "Maṣṣadīr," p. 92, "Les Deux Séjours," p. 71.

<sup>36</sup> Ṣafar, "Rapport," p. 26f. L. Carl Brown, "Tunisia under the French Protectorate," p. 40; Ibn 'Āshūr, al-Ḥarakah, p. 54.

<sup>37</sup> Charles-André Julien, "Colons français et Jeunes Tunisiens (1882-1912)," Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer, LIV(1967), p. 121.

<sup>38</sup> François Bernard, "L'évolution des indigènes en Tunisie," Questions diplomatiques et coloniales, XXIV, 254 (16 Sept. 1907), p. 366.



Zāwush, whose enterprise fathered the regency's first cooperatives.<sup>39</sup>

D. Bashīr Ṣāfar (ca 1865-1917)

Born in Tunis to a military family of Turkish origin, Bashīr Ṣāfar was among the first students at Ṣādiqī College. There he so excelled in his work that he attracted the benevolent attention of Prime Minister Khayr al-Dīn, at whose table he became a frequent guest. He was appointed leader of the élite group of Ṣādiqī graduates who were sent to continue their studies in France in 1881. During his year in Paris Ṣāfar formed many friendships with Turks and Egyptians; however, the imposition of the French protectorate in Tunis foreshadowed the curtailment of the study tour, and in July 1882 the program was discontinued. After leading a futile protest delegation before the protectorate officials, Ṣāfar accepted the new situation and entered the civil service, quickly rising to become director of the bureau of accounts in 1889; as well, he taught in and supervised the primary division of Ṣādiqī College.<sup>40</sup> He attached himself to the cluster of Khayr al-Dīn's former associates and joined Sanūsī and Būshūshah in

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.; cf Charles Génieux, "Les Jeunes Tunisiens," *Revue Politique et Littéraire (Revue Bleue)*, 5th series, X, 20 (14 November 1908), p. 636 (article reproduced in *Le Tunisien*, 10 December 1908).

<sup>40</sup> Ibn 'Ashūr, *Tarājim al-A'lām*, pp 198-202, *Arkān al-Nahḍah*, p. 34f; Zamirli, *Successeurs*, pp 15-20, reproduced from *Ibla*, XIV (1951), pp 101-103. Ṣāfar seems to have been born on 1 Shawwāl, in either 1280 (10 March 1864), as Ibn 'Ashūr asserts, or 1281 (27 February 1865) as Zamirli believes; the figure 1856 in *Successeurs* is a misprint.

editing al-Ḥādirah; his articles won broad acclaim for both content (history, geography, politics and social science) and style.<sup>41</sup>

Not content simply to be among the founding directors of the Khaldūnīyah, Ṣafer conducted several courses in the new institution on the same topics which he had been treating in al-Ḥādirah, and with more visible effect, for he soon attracted a large following among the Zaytūnīs; he sought, with some success, to turn this popularity to good effect by working to bring traditionally-trained Tunisians into the company of the graduates of Ṣādiqī College, and he encouraged the student movement that won a revision of the Zaytūnah's curriculum in 1898.<sup>42</sup> His concern for modern education prompted him to launch a vigorous campaign to publicize the need for adequate schooling among the Muslims of Tunisia,<sup>43</sup> and his appointment to the Jam'īyat al-Awqāf in 1896 was shortly followed by the publication of his pamphlet decrying the neglectful state into which public assistance had fallen under the protectorate: hospitals serving the native population and such institutions as the travellers' resthouse suffered woefully from the

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<sup>41</sup> Ibn 'Āshūr, Arkān, p. 36, Tarājim, p. 202; Shannūfī, "Maṣādir," p. 91f, "Les Deux Séjours," p. 69f; Zamirī, Successeurs, p. 23, Ibla (1951), p. 105.

<sup>42</sup> Ibn 'Āshūr, Arkān, p. 35f, al-Ḥarakah, p. 56.

<sup>43</sup> Ibn 'Āshūr, al-Ḥarakah, p. 83.

depletion of their endowments.<sup>44</sup> He became director of the Jam'īyah in 1899 and for most of a decade he fought to arrest the erosion of his countrymen's already dwindling stake in their homeland with such candor and acumen that the predatory settlers were obliged to relinquish their demands for the absorption of endowed lands into the open real estate market.<sup>45</sup>

Şafer met Muḥammad 'Abduh in Tunis in 1903 and corresponded regularly with Rashīd Riḍā.<sup>46</sup> A few months after 'Abduh's visit, Şafer attended the convention of the Paris Commercial Geography Society, which was held in Tunis, and impressed his colleagues with a description of Arabic writing on geography from Mas'ūdī to Ibn Wardī al-Ḥalabī and an account of the teaching of geography in Şādiqī College and the Khaldūnīyah.<sup>47</sup> On another tack, he wrote a dignified rebuttal to the thesis of one Mr. Arkelian, who had discoursed before the Congress of Orientalists on the fanaticism of Muslims: in his response, Şafer outlined the classic legal principles protecting the non-Muslims in an Islamic society

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<sup>44</sup>(Béchir Sfar), Assistance publique musulmane en Tunisie (Tunis: Imprimerie rapide, 1896), 37pp.

<sup>45</sup>Ibn 'Ashūr, Tarājim, p. 204; Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbal, "Un deuil," Revue du Maghreb, II, 3-4 (March-April 1917), p. 37; cf supra, chapter I, n. 16.

<sup>46</sup>Shannūfī, "Les Deux Séjours," p. 77 (citing al-Ḥādirah of 15 September 1903), "Alā'iq," p. 121, n. 2.

<sup>47</sup>(Béchir Sfar), La Géographie chez les Arabes: Communication faite au XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès de Géographie Commerciale (Tunis: Société Anonyme de l'Imprimerie Rapide, 1904), 24 pp; reprinted in Revue de la Section tunisienne de la Société de Géographie commerciale de Paris, VIII (1922), pp 173-204. Cf supra, chapter I, n. 21.

and compared the contemporary persecutions of Ottomans in exile with the Spanish Inquisition and the St. Bartholomew's Day incident.<sup>48</sup> But he was in no way becoming implacably hostile to his country's foreign masters; indeed, in his famous address to Resident-General Pichon at the opening of the Takīyah on 24 March 1906, he professed his appeal for a more forthcoming attitude on the part of the protectorate by remarking that the hospice itself represented a "happy meeting of Islamic and French traditions on the fair field of charity and good works."<sup>49</sup> He assured Pichon of the loyalty and gratitude of his people and ventured only to suggest that this gratitude "would be much more lively if, in assuaging misery, our government would seriously consider means to forestalling it," such as more vocational, commercial and agricultural training for the native populace, effective protection of the Tunisian labor force, the resuscitation of local industries through adjustment of the customs tariff, and the preservation of indigenous property rights.<sup>50</sup>

Although he had left the Jaw'īyah to become governor of Sūsah (Sousse) a few months before the "North Africa Congress"

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<sup>48</sup>"L'Islam tolérant," Dépêche tunisienne, 4 May 1905, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup>Text of speech, Khayr Allāh, ibid., p. 66.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 67f. Cf. Julien, "Colons français et Juifs Tunisiens," p. 122f.

gathered in Paris from 6 to 10 October 1908, Šafer was able to send a paper on endowments for the consideration of the delegates. He concluded his study with six proposals, asking the congress to endorse the maintenance and consolidation of endowments, the preservation of the Jam'īyah's administrative autonomy, the continued requirement of the prior consent of the beneficiaries to the alienation of any endowment, the participation of indigenes in the acquisition of real estate, the establishment of a commission to examine the sales of important endowments and the training of Tunisian farmers in modern agriculture.<sup>51</sup> Thereafter he busied himself with providing sound government to his assigned province until his untimely death, following surgery, on 1 March 1917. He had contracted his zeal for his compatriots' welfare at the table of Khayr al-Dīn<sup>52</sup> and throughout his career he had sought to further their material and cultural interests, both by urging them to acquire the intellectual and mechanical apparatus of modern civilization and by patiently coaxing their masters. He entertained no thought of France's withdrawal, for he had seen the maladministration of the years preceding the inception of the protectorate; he was resolutely confident that

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<sup>51</sup> Report and resolutions in Charles Derincé, ed., Congrès de l'Afrique du Nord tenu à Paris du 6 au 10 Octobre 1908: Compte rendu des travaux (Paris: Comité d'organisation du Congrès, 1909), II, 315-404; summary, with text of resolutions in Khayr Allāh, Ennahd, pp. 110-116.

<sup>52</sup> For Šafer's personal tribute to Khayr al-Dīn, see Assistance publique..., p. 24 n.1.

French progressives would curb the depredations of the retailers and bestow the benefits of the Enlightenment upon the Muslims of Tunisia.<sup>53</sup>

Khayr Allāh has hailed Šafer as the "uncontested leader of the Young Tunisian group,"<sup>54</sup> but he seems never to have apprehended a following in the manner such an exaltation implies; Jean Raynaud's portrayal of Šafer as the "animator of the revolt"<sup>55</sup> is much more accurate. He gave the Young Tunisians ideas and encouragement but rather than include him in their brotherhood, they set him on a pedestal and revered him as a father and elder statesman. He could be remembered long after they had played their brief scene on the stage of Tunisian history, for Habib Pārquibah himself would pay homage to the memory of this "rare Tunisian" who could "inspire a small pride in the hearts of our countrymen."<sup>56</sup>

#### E. Muhammad Agram (1866-1925)<sup>57</sup>

Agram came from an old family of clerics and a reformer

<sup>53</sup> Of his praise of France in *La Génération*, p. 34 (Paris, p. 204); "La Déclaration de loyauté de Bechir Šafer," *Revue Tunisienne*, XXVII, 3 (March 1917), p. 197<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>55</sup> Inquired of a sociologie du nationalisme tunisien, by L.J. Ducloux, ed., *Les Nationalismes arabes* (Paris: Éditions nationale des sciences politiques, 1946), p. 60.

<sup>56</sup> Quoted in Jean Lucoture, *Génération et le France* (Paris: Le Cerf, 1961), p. 111; Julien, "Colonie Algérienne et France," p. 119 n.4.

<sup>57</sup> Biographical in Emirli, *Revue*, no. 25, 26, pp. 111-112, 113-114, in 1926-27. A full-length portrait of Agram in 1925, *Revue Tunisienne*, p. 111. Agram was born in 1866 in the village of Agram, near the town of Sousse, Tunisia. He was a member of the French Consulate in Tunis and a member of the French Chamber of Deputies.

in Qayrawān and was among the first boys enrolled in the Madīnī College, as a result of pressure exerted on his brother by Khayr al-Dīn. He also studied at Zaytūnah and he was among the second delegation of students sent to Paris for further study. With the curtailment of the study program he taught briefly before entering the directorate of agriculture under Paul Bourde. His friendship with Bourde seems to have been instrumental in securing the government's cooperation in the founding of both al-Hādīrah and the Khaldūniyah. In 1893 Agras became director of the Ghābah (the organization founded by Khayr al-Dīn to oversee the care of the olive orchards)<sup>58</sup> and three years later he was among the first officers and lecturers of the Khaldūniyah; in 1899, he became President of this society. His loyalty to the protectorate won him knighthood in the Legion of Honor.<sup>59</sup> Through common friendship with Bourde, Agras had become acquainted with Resident General René Millot, who later became one of the organizers of the colonial congress held in Marseille from 5 to 9 September 1906. It was doubtless Millot's influence that secured Agras's participation in the congress; the only other Tunisian to attend was the Qasī Lawyer Ḥassūnah al-'Ayyāshī.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Order of Appointment dated 26 Rabi' al-Thānī 1310/11 June 1893, ACT, 1550, 30/15, folio 223 ("Lacras"), doc. 5.

<sup>59</sup> Note from Director-General of Agriculture to Secretary-General of the Tunisian Government, 24 July 1905, in ACT, loc. cit., doc. 25.

<sup>60</sup> Ibn 'Ashūr's suggestion (al-Hādīrah, p. 27) that Sa'fūr disapproved of Agras's presence at such a gathering seems hardly plausible in the context of Sa'fūr's own Franco-philia.

At the Marseille Congress, Agram presented eleven projects and collaborated on two others.<sup>61</sup> His major objectives were educational: vocational and agricultural education to allow native Tunisians to acquire modern techniques, the bilingual co-education of natives and settlers to dispel prejudice and promote a community of interest, improved normal education to equip Tunisian teachers as the guides of a modern generation, free and compulsory primary education to extend the human resources of Tunisian society, and admission of Tunisians to secondary schools to increase the numbers of Tunisians in professional life.<sup>62</sup> Next in importance among his desiderata were the opening of more governmental positions at all levels from laborer to director, to qualified Tunisians,<sup>63</sup> the creation of a range police force,<sup>64</sup> the inception of credit unions for Tunisian farmers,<sup>65</sup> the extension of medical assistance to all Tunisians,<sup>66</sup> the codification and preservation of Islamic law,<sup>67</sup> and the continued protection of private enterprises.<sup>68</sup> Outlining the

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<sup>61</sup> Agram and de Dianois, Questions Tunisiennes, passim.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., pp. 13-15, 22-25, 30, 35, 40.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., pp. 30, 35, 50.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., pp. 62-65.



religious conservatives of the *Raytuni* family, he united the reformers (whom he linked with 'Abdoh) and their French-educated but still devout coreligionists who hoped to reestablish Arab society on an equal footing with Europe through the restoration of pristine Islam.<sup>69</sup> He was almost vehement in his advocacy of the suppression of the mystic confraternities.<sup>70</sup> Insisting that the Tunisians who had attained to modern learning remained firmly loyal to France, Agron claimed that such loyalty deserved a more just regime than the protectorate had afforded.<sup>71</sup> He enumerated the various cultural groups that his younger compatriots had initiated<sup>72</sup> and touted their generation as an intercultural bridge that the government should encourage to participate in its campaign of intellectual emancipation.<sup>73</sup> One useful contribution these youths could consider was the publication of a French-language newspaper to explain the needs and hopes of the Tunisian populace to interested citizens of the protector republic.<sup>74</sup>

With the printing of Agron's modernized-phrased reports in 1907, he won the further distinction of the Order of the Legion of

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<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 66-68.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 15, 60.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Honor, and Villot's Flattening reference to Questions d'industrialisation was collected by the editor of the Revue de l'Industrie.<sup>75</sup> The appearance of Le Tunisien from 7 February 1907 was an answer to Agron's desire for a French-language newspaper under Tunisian direction and one of the editors of this journal credits Agron with an active but anonymous role in editing the column.<sup>76</sup> Like his friend Jafer, Agron was invited to submit a report to the North Africa Conference held in Paris in October 1908 but he too was prevented from attending the gathering.<sup>77</sup> He left the civil service for rather obscure reasons at the end of 1909<sup>78</sup> and returned to teaching: among his pupils during this period was Habib Būrqīlāh.<sup>79</sup> He was again elected president of the Khaldūnīyah in 1915<sup>80</sup> and seems to have played a minor role in the Madaniyyah.

<sup>75</sup>Quoted in Le Tunisien, 21 February 1907.

<sup>76</sup>Ensilī, Souvenirs, p. 96.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 96; for the task of Agron in regard to higher education, see Dejoudé, Congrès; there is a story in Le R. A. I., Essai, pp. 132-133.

<sup>78</sup>In a letter to 'Allī Būrqīlāh dated 27 October 1909, he complains of unjust rumors about his wife, AYT, WTT, vol. 5, folio 225, doc. 30. In Wahār, Tarīkh, v. 241, Agron is the victim of slanders, but Ensilī is directly alluded to. In any case, Agron was awarded a pension by a decree of 31 March 1910: Director of Agriculture to Secretary General, 20 January 1910; AYT, Ess. cit., doc. 28.

<sup>79</sup>Ensilī, Souvenirs, p. 98.

<sup>80</sup>In Wahār, Tarīkh, v. 245.

of the immediate past are still in occupying key positions of leadership.<sup>81</sup>

F. Mīr al-Furqān

Besides Šafer and Aḡra, a small number of other Tunisians sought to further the cause of a modern Tunisia under the aegis of the protectorate. One of these was Ṣalīb Šarīf (1868-1934),<sup>82</sup> a brilliant professor at Kytūnah and a friend of Šafer's. He was eventually attracted to pan-Islamism, learned Turkish and in 1906 moved to Istanbul to devote his energies to that cause. He later met Riḍā, preached holy war in Tripolitania and worked for the Central Powers during the First World War. Another was Ibrā'īl Šafā'ihī who won the confidence of the French authorities and became Ḥanafī qāḍī of Tunis in 1905; he, too, moved to Istanbul and ultimately worked with Šarīf against the Allies.<sup>83</sup> Muḥammad Wartatūnī (1875-1950),<sup>84</sup> who studied under Šafer at the Khaldūnīyah

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<sup>81</sup>Of AGT, 1950, 30/15, folio 224, doc. 34; folio 337, doc. 40.

<sup>82</sup>Biography in Ibn 'Ashūr, Tarāḥīḥ, pp 207-217.

<sup>83</sup>Green, "Political Attitudes," p. 40 n. 105.

<sup>84</sup>Biography in Ibn 'Ashūr, Tarāḥīḥ, pp 225-226.

and worked for the *Jam'iyat al-Awqāf* also worked for the revival of Tunisian culture but never associated himself with the Young Tunisians. Another friend of Zafar's who remained aloof from Būsh Hūnah was Muḥammad Balḫūjah (ca. 1870-1945)<sup>85</sup> who was the government printer from 1901 to 1914 and held various civil service positions until he became governor of Bizert in 1934. Finally we should recall Muḥammad Sirawī (b. 1847), the first president of the Khaldūniyah, who was the chief archivist and had been director of the Fūdiqī College.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Biographies in Ibn 'Aṣṣūr, *Tarāiḫ*, pp. 391-396 and Zahirī, *Successors*, pp. 163-172; again, these authors disagree on the year of birth.

<sup>86</sup> Klayr Allāh, *Maḥad*, p. 26.

## CHAPTER III

### YOUNG TUNISIAN PERSONALITIES

Among the first generation of Tunisians to be raised under the protectorate, the Young Tunisians were that group which sought through concerted action to win a place for their countrymen in the public and economic life of their homeland without (at least initially) questioning the legitimacy of the French hegemony. Only such a definition can give coherence to our understanding of the movement as more than a vague wave of individuals with similar aspirations. Most Young Tunisians had joined in the social and educational programs of the *Khaldūniyyah* and the more prominent of them were also among the founders of the *Fādiqī* Alumni Association. Many had studied in France and virtually all were fluent in French. That they could afford the expense of such an education underlines their generally upper middle class background: the publicly known members of *Le Tunisien* were lawyers, physicians, pharmacists and the like, but it is probable that they had several silent sympathizers within the civil service. They shared the hope that Tunisian society could experience a needed social transformation through the acquisition by their compatriots of European technological and administrative skills and they tended to regard the protectorate as a convenient medium for conveying these techniques to Tunisia. Their ideas are more closely examined in the next chapter.

While it is unlikely that any formal "Young Tunisian" party ever existed, the progressive elite found its authenticity in *Le Tunisien*,

and the editor of this weekly, 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah, was generally acknowledged as the chief proponent of a group consensus. The only Young Tunisian organization was the Cercle Tunisien, more of a club than a political party, which operated a small suite of reading rooms and a meeting hall; the membership of the Cercle was drawn from the supporters of Le Tunisien and its program, and it is likely that most of the policies enunciated in the newspaper had first been discussed in the intimacy of the Cercle. Bāsh Ḥānbah could thus write with some confidence of support on the various issues of the day, such as schooling and the Zaytūnah students' strike of 1910. Special committees formed to consider specific problems, such as naturalization or the Tripolitanian War.<sup>1</sup> The government's allegation that Bāsh Ḥānbah was exploiting the tram boycott of 1912 as the first phase of a subversive program was belied by the boycott's long duration after Bāsh Ḥānbah's exile. The draconian measures of 13 March 1912 nevertheless spelled the end of Young Tunisian hopes for cooperation with the authorities. Neither Bāsh Ḥānbah nor his former colleagues could ever rekindle their former admiration for and confidence in France, and as the

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<sup>1</sup>Note, for example, the anonymous letter (signed "'Alī") [Ibn Jabārah?] to Tayyib Ibn Ra'īs, describing a series of visits to provincial personalities (including Bashīr Šafar), seeking material support for the Ottoman cause; AGT, F550, 30/15, folio 337, doc. 1-3.

movement drifted through the long years of martial law it spawned a number of divergent splinters, each with some claim to the Young Tunisian heritage. Leaving our evaluation of these pretensions for the moment, we turn now to a consideration of the personalities who most influenced the movement.

#### A. The Exiles and Prisoners of 1912

##### 1. 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah (1878-1918)<sup>2</sup>

'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah's father was an officer of Turkish origin who had been much impressed by the reform program of General Khayr al-Dīn;<sup>3</sup> the family owned a house on the fashionable Street of the Pasha. At Ṣādiqī College, 'Alī excelled in French and Arabic, winning a **silver** medal for a study of Jocelyn and Lamartine; after two years studying customary and Islamic Law at the Zaytūnah, during which period he also worked for the Khaldūnīyah, he accepted a minor position in the civil service. Within a year he had resigned to administer the finances of Ṣādiqī College and in 1905

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<sup>2</sup>Biographies in Zamirli, *Les Successeurs*, pp 43-67; *Revue du Maghreb*, III, 9-12 (Sept.-Dec. 1918), 146ff (by 'Alī's brother Muḥammad), and M.A. Kammūn in *Le Journal* (Tunis: Institut Ali Bāsh Hamba, 1964), p. 3. Although Zamirli sets 'Alī's birth in 1876 and Kammūn, as well as Ḥabīb Janḥānī, Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah (Tunis: al-Dar al-Tūnisīyah li-l-Nashr, 1968), p. 21, says he was born in 1879, I have preferred the date given by his brother.

<sup>3</sup>al-Ḥādī al-Madani, "al-Qaḍī al-Mukāfih Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah," *al-Qaḍā' wa-l-Tachrī'* (Tunis: Wizārat al-'Adl), XIII, 6 (June 1971/Rabi' II 1391), 605.

he was one of the chief founders of the Ṣādiqī Alumni Association. He then spent a year in France and in July 1906 he received his law degree from the University of Paris. His youthful vigor and his independence from the civil service allowed him to assume the leadership of the emerging bicultural élite; evidence of the general acceptance of his primacy is to be found in the testimony of his associates<sup>4</sup> and in his appointment as director of Le Tunisien.

From February 1907 to March 1912, this newspaper was Bāsh Ḥānbah's main preoccupation as he filled its columns with cogent arguments in favor of the various facets of the Young Tunisian program, presenting them in a polite yet straightforward style. But he also opened a law practice<sup>5</sup> and found time for a brief liaison with a girl from Budapest, Zita Varnosky,<sup>6</sup> before he married Mariannina-Farīdah Ḥusayn, whose father had been Khayr al-Dīn's collaborator; her Italian mother having remarried, Bāsh Ḥānbah's wife was the step-daughter of Dr. 'Umar Būḥājib.<sup>7</sup> He was especially interested in educational questions, from the need for universal elementary education in French and Arabic,<sup>8</sup> and the

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<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Zamirī, Les Successeurs, p. 49; postcard from 'Umar Būḥājib to 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah, 7 May 1906, AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61, doc. 42; cf an undated letter to Bāsh Ḥānbah from Muḥammad Jundi of 'Annābah, Algeria, AGT, loc. cit., folio 61 bis, doc. 199.

<sup>5</sup> Among his clients was an English missionary who had married a Tunisien, one Mrs Qamātī of Nābul, AGT, loc. cit., folio 61 bis, doc. 422, 425.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., doc. 452, 453, 471-475 (notes from Zita to 'Alī).

<sup>7</sup> Engagement announcement in Le Tunisien, 27 August 1908.

<sup>8</sup> See his series of 8 articles in Le Tunisien, 14 January to 8 April 1909.



importance of Šādiqī College in developing indigenous leadership<sup>9</sup> to the reforms demanded by the Zaytūnah students during the spring of 1910, when he was one of the lawyers retained by the striking students.<sup>10</sup> He expended much energy in the cause of the policy of association, and he tried, with some success, to win support for this policy among French-educated Algerians, such as Šādiq Dandān of 'Annāba;<sup>11</sup> he was even the chairman of a committee established to arrange a conference for natives of Algeria and Tunisia.<sup>12</sup> Throughout this period Bāsh Ḥānbah was a member of the executive committees of the Khaldūnīyah and the Šādiqī Alumni Association, and for some time he was also on the executives of the regional Alliance Française<sup>13</sup> and the Tunisian Tuberculosis Society.<sup>14</sup> He was a prominent patron of Tunisian drama<sup>15</sup> and a keen gymnast, joining both a local sports club and the French Gymnastic Society.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Open letter to Resident-General Alapetite, Le Tunisien, 22 April 1909.

<sup>10</sup> "A l'Université arabe," Le Tunisien, 21 April to 12 May 1910. The other lawyers serving the students were Ḥasan Qallāṭī, Aḥmad Šāfī, Muḥammad 'Abdallī and Muḥammad 'Annābī.

<sup>11</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61 bis, doc. 188, 190, 200f. Cf C.-R. Ageron, Les Algériens Musulmans et la France: 1871-1919 (Paris: P.U.F., 1968), II, 1043.

<sup>12</sup> al-Tūnisī, 12 June 1911.

<sup>13</sup> Le Tunisien, 10 November 1910.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 24 November 1910.

<sup>15</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61, doc. 177.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., doc. 27f, 374.

After the Zallāj incident of 7 November 1911, Bāsh Ḥānbah visited France to try to rally support for the policy of association. This expedition met with only limited success and soon Bāsh Ḥānbah was back in Tunisia, arousing public sympathy for the Tripolitaniens, whose province had been invaded by Italy, and soliciting contributions in money and supplies for the Ottoman troops.<sup>17</sup> Then the inception of the tram boycott in February 1912 afforded him an opportunity of direct action on behalf of the Tunisian employees of the tramway company. He joined the committee over which Destrées of the Courrier de Tunisie presided, and doubtless shared in the preparation of that body's recommendations to the authorities; he was also a member of several delegations that met with governmental officials and company officers. He acted quite openly and he never sought to usurp Destrées' leadership, but he saw himself simply as the people's advocate with no power to coerce his compatriots into riding the trams. The substantive accusation against him, that he led an occult committee, is based on his refusal to order an end to a boycott he had neither initiated nor directed, and a misinterpretation of his prediction (at a meeting in the office of the Minister of the Pen on 9 March) that troubles would persist as long as the natives were denied a voice in their own governance. Even then,

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<sup>17</sup> See references above, Ch. I, n. 80. Bāsh Ḥānbah described his role in helping the Ottomans in a letter to Le Temps, 9 April 1912; cf. Qallātī to Tawfīq al-Sharqī (in Arabic), undated letter in which Bāsh Ḥānbah is designated as chairman of the Ottoman aid committee: AGT, loc. cit., doc. 41.

he took pains to underline the firmness of his (and his colleagues') loyalty to France.<sup>18</sup> The authorities were not to be deterred, however, and early in the morning of 13 March, Bāsh Ḥānbah was on his way to exile, without trial and apparently without warning, for he left a portfolio of some forty clients' cases pending in the various courts of Tunis.<sup>19</sup>

Bāsh Ḥānbah went first to Paris, but within a week of his expulsion he was at Aix, vainly seeking a hearing before a French court, where he was sure he could establish his innocence.<sup>20</sup> He spent most of 1912 in Paris, still hoping to clear his name.<sup>21</sup> During his stay there, he apparently edited a magazine, La France Islamique,<sup>22</sup> and urged a delegation of Algerians to remain faithful to Islam, especially in the matter of personal legal status.<sup>23</sup> Eventually, he despaired of winning his exculpation, but without it he refused to return to Tunis when an amnesty was awarded in March 1913, because he did not wish to expose himself to further arbitrary injury from

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<sup>18</sup>Government version of tramway boycott, AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 97; Minister of the Pen's version of 9 March meeting, ibid., doc. 17; cf Bāsh Ḥānbah's attempt at clarification of the issues, "Mise au Point," Le Tunisien, 7 March 1912; "Young Tunisian" accounts of the boycott are in Khayr Allāh, Le Mouvement Evolutionniste Tunisien, III, 92-96, and Revue du Maghreb, III, 9-12 (Sept.-Dec. 1918), p. 150f.

<sup>19</sup>See sworn statements by the policemen sent to arrest Bāsh Ḥānbah and to search his premises, AGT, loc. cit., folio 61, doc. 232f; case file, ibid., doc. 234f. Alapetite's rationale for the expulsion is in AGT, E550, 30, folio 13, part 1.

<sup>20</sup>Courrier de Tunisie, 19 March 1912.

<sup>21</sup>See, for example, his long letter to Le Temps, 9 April 1912.

<sup>22</sup>Zamirī, Les Successeurs, p. 62.

<sup>23</sup>AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61, doc. 124-8.

the protectorate authorities.<sup>24</sup> Instead, Bāsh Ḥānbah settled in Istanbul, where he was appointed Assistant Inspector General in the Ottoman Ministry of Justice.<sup>25</sup> By January 1914 he was a State Councillor, and through World War I he remained in the Ottoman service, presumably contributing to the Central Powers' propaganda effort in North Africa. At various times he was reported in Berlin or Cairo, and the police believed him to be still in contact with his sympathizers in Tunis as late as July 1918,<sup>26</sup> while two months later the streets buzzed with the popular anticipation of Bāsh Ḥānbah's imminent return (at the head of an army of North Africans recruited from among the prisoners taken by the Central Powers) to proclaim Tunisia's independence under Prince Ḥabīb.<sup>27</sup> By then, of course, the war was almost over, and on 30 October 1918 the Ottoman government signed an armistice with the Allies at Mudros; on the same day, 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah died of influenza in Istanbul.<sup>28</sup>

As long as he was in Tunisia publishing Le Tunisien, 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah remained firmly committed to a policy of association

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., doc. 119, 134; Revue du Maghreb, III, 9-12 (Sept.-Dec. 1918), p. 151; cf La Tunisie Française, 14 April 1913.

<sup>25</sup> Tunisie Française, 22 November 1913; cf police report, AGT, loc. cit., doc. 135.

<sup>26</sup> AGT, loc. cit., doc. 188.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., doc. 189.

<sup>28</sup> Zamirī, Les Successeurs, p. 67; Revue du Maghreb, III, 9-12 (Sept.-Dec. 1918), p. 140 says he died on 31 October and the French police in Tunis believed the date of his death to be 29 October; AGT, loc. cit., doc. 194.

that would bring social and technical progress to his countrymen under the aegis of a benevolent France. Even when he felt it necessary to confront the authorities with blunt argument, he did so in the conviction that their democratic heritage would compel them to tolerate criticism and engage in productive dialogue. But his sudden exile and the subsequent frustration of his quest for a fair trial persuaded him that his confidence had been misplaced. His insistence on remaining abroad after the amnesty of 1913, however, was effectively an abdication of leadership, and the Young Tunisians eventually learned to live without him. His death was, in a sense, rather timely, as it saved him from involvement in the postwar factionalism of his erstwhile comrades and allowed his memory to become gilded by the wistfulness of those who hankered for the lost optimism of the evolutionary movement and the wishfulness of others who chose to venerate Bāsh Ḥānbah as a hero in a national struggle against foreign oppression.

## 2. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tha'ālibī (1876-1944)<sup>29</sup>

Descendants of a famous Algerian mystic, the Tha'ālibīs moved to Tunis from Bijāyah a few years before the birth of 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was given a thorough religious education climaxed by

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<sup>29</sup> Although many writers have placed his birth in 1875 or earlier, Tha'ālibī gives his date of birth as 15 Sha'bān 1293, i.e. 5 September 1876: "Autobiographie du Cheikh Thaalbi," Centre de Documentation Nationale (Tunis), file A-3-13.

classes at the Zaytūnah Mosque-University under such reformist shaykhs as Sālim Būhājib. While still a student, Tha'ālibī edited Sabīl al-Rashād during its brief existence.<sup>30</sup> He then spent several years visiting Istanbul and Cairo (where he spent some time in 'Abduh's circle); he was expelled from Egypt in 1902 and, back in Tunis, he provoked such controversy with his criticism of the behavior of local mystics that in 1904 he was indicted for the capital offense of heresy. The French authorities intervened, however, and he was sentenced only to two months' imprisonment.<sup>31</sup> Tha'ālibī attended Ṣafar's lectures at the Khaldūniyah and collaborated with Hādī Saba'ī and César Ibn al-'Aṭṭār in preparing a volume on Islam for their French socialist friends; Tha'ālibī furnished most of the ideas, while his colleagues contributed their facility in the French language.<sup>32</sup> Tha'ālibī's apparent difficulty with French casts some doubt over the importance he would ascribe to himself in the founding of Destrées' Republican Party in 1905,<sup>33</sup> but he was named the editor

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<sup>30</sup>Nine numbers appeared from December 1895 to early 1897: M. Shannūfī, "Maṣādir," p. 93, n.54; "Deux Séjours," p. 73, n.43.

<sup>31</sup>Green, "The Tunisian Ulama," pp 209ff; cf Khayr Allāh, "Le Cheikh Abdelaziz Taalbi," La Voix du Tunisien, special number, 8 July 1934.

<sup>32</sup>César Benattar, el-Hadi Sebei and Abdelaziz Ettéalbi, L'Esprit libéral du Coran (Paris: Leroux, 1905); the book is dedicated to Jean Jaurès. Cf Ibn 'Ashūr, Arkān, p.45, al-Ḥarakah, p.84.

<sup>33</sup>Ettore Rossi, "Il Movimento arabo in Tunisia dopo la Guerra," Oriente Moderno, III, 4 (15 September 1923), p. 200; the article is based on an interview with Tha'ālibī.

of al-Tūnisī and, with the help of Ṣādiq Samirī, he issued this paper as a collection of articles translated from Le Tunisien, although he sometimes included an original contribution.

During the unrest at Zaytūnah in the spring of 1910, Tha'ālibī lent his energy to the reformers and he represented Bāsh Ḥānbah at their victory meeting of 6 May, pledging Le Tunisien to continued support for the students' efforts and urging the benefits of cooperation and modern learning.<sup>34</sup> A year later, shortly after the birth of his son Ḥamīd al-Dīn, Tha'ālibī gave a public lecture on the work of Ibn Khaldūn, stressing his subject's interest in building a strong Maghribi state.<sup>35</sup> On 25 May 1911, Tha'ālibī was one of two speakers at the celebration of Khayr Allāh Ibn Muṣṭafā's becoming a knight in the French Legion of Honor. Tha'ālibī's integration with the Young Tunisians was further underlined by his election to the executive council of the Dramatic Society ("al-Aḍab") and his participation in Bāsh Ḥānbah's committee planning a North African indigene conference.<sup>36</sup> His role in the short-lived al-Ittiḥād al-Islāmī was more visible than his editorship of al-Tūnisī, for several articles in the pan-Islamic paper are attributed to him;<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Le Tunisien, 12 May 1910; al-Tūnisī, 9 May 1910; cf supra, ch. I, n. 72.

<sup>35</sup> Le Tunisien, 18 May 1911; al-Tūnisī, 29 May 1911.

<sup>36</sup> Le Tunisien, 1 June 1911; al-Tūnisī, 12 June 1911.

<sup>37</sup> Cf supra, ch. I, n. 81.

both publications were banned after the Zallāj incident of 7 November. Presumably, Tha'ālibī was involved in the tram boycott, for he joined Bāsh Ḥānbeh on the dawn journey to Banzart and exile on 13 March 1912; however, a French sympathizer claimed that Tha'ālibī had encouraged compatriots to ride the trams.<sup>38</sup>

When it became obvious that the deportees would find no legal recourse in France, Tha'ālibī moved to Istanbul, where he worked briefly as an inspector of libraries before embarking on his tour of Asia. He eventually reached Shanghai before learning of his amnesty and returning to Tunis, where he gave a party for over a hundred guests on 19 August 1913.<sup>39</sup> He quickly resumed his political activity, meeting several times within his first month in the city with Zamirī and other Young Tunisians, both in his own home at Ḥalfawīn and at their summer homes in al-Marsá,<sup>40</sup> but his travels had apparently left him without money, for by late September we find him with his wife and their several children in al-Karam (a seaside suburb of Tunis), living on donations from wellwishers.<sup>41</sup> For most of the following winter, Tha'ālibī was the pivot of a group that met

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<sup>38</sup>A. Destrées in Le Courrier de Tunisie, 23 March 1912, AGT, E550, 30, folio 13, part 3.

<sup>39</sup>Cf supra, ch. I, n. 122; AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 56, doc. 2; Tha'ālibī's "autobiography" (CDN, loc. cit.) gives a list of the speeches he supposedly delivered during his voyage.

<sup>40</sup>AGT, loc. cit., folio 25, doc. 7f.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., folio 56, doc. 3.



regularly in the maqḥá al-Ḥājj in Ḥalfawīn. On 17 January 1914 he lunched with Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānshah,<sup>42</sup> and, although he did not often visit the Cercle Tunisien, Tha'ālibī continued to see Qallātī and Nu'mān; for example, on the picnic at Aryānah on 22 March or in intimate discussions at Qallātī's office.<sup>43</sup> During the summer of 1914, Tha'ālibī was often seen at small gatherings in the Sūq al-Aqyās, and he was occasionally observed at other meeting places, but he had no paying job and was thought to be living on the charity of his associates and presents from his father.<sup>44</sup> He wrote an appeal to French authorities and parliamentarians, pleading for an end to the ban on Arabic newspapers,<sup>45</sup> but the outbreak of war in August doomed this proposal to indefinite deferment.

Through the war Tha'ālibī continued to attract a following to Ḥalfawīn Square, and he was sometimes observed at meetings in other parts of Tunis, but his erstwhile colleagues at Le Tunisien seldom visited Ḥalfawīn. To see them Tha'ālibī had to go to the Cercle or Qallātī's office, or even to Qallātī's summer rendezvous in al-Marsá. In his own quarter, the police reported several

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<sup>42</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 5, doc. 42; folio 57, doc. 3; folio 61, doc. 148.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., folio 1, doc. 36f; folio 5, doc. 38.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., folio 61, doc. 164; folio 375, doc. 1.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., folio 293, doc. 8; this petition was translated into French by Shādhilī Ibn Ibrāhīm.

centres of unrest where Tha'ālibī was seldom if ever present.<sup>46</sup> Although he was prominent in fomenting the discontent that swept Tunis over the confiscation of the property of the Bāsh Ḥānbah brothers and the others accused of treason in 1917,<sup>47</sup> Tha'ālibī was hardly the recognized leader of any nationalist movement during the First World War. He was, rather, one of the several petty chieftains of the small kaffeeklatsche that collected in the various sections of Tunis to discuss politics without proceeding to any organization or formulating any program. With the close of hostilities and the convening of the Versailles Peace Conference, however, Tha'ālibī began to appear more often at the Cercle Tunisien,<sup>48</sup> and in July 1919 he joined Aḥmad Saqqā in representing the amorphous "Tunisian Party" in Paris.<sup>49</sup>

On his arrival in France, Tha'ālibī sought to develop the contacts Saqqā had established with the socialist party and the Human Rights League. As well, he joined (or initiated) a number of

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<sup>46</sup> Cf supra, ch. I; the meetings in Ḥalfawīn are noted in AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 27.

<sup>47</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 61, doc. 185 (copy in folio 5, doc. 17); cf Janḥānī, Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah, p. 47.

<sup>48</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 13, doc. 56; folio 25, doc. 30; folio 137, doc. 73-75; folio 1014, doc. 22.

<sup>49</sup> "Rapport du Colonel Baron ..." (Centre de Documentation Nationale, Tunis, file A-3-13), p. 26; Shādhilī Khayr Allāh, "Le Cheikh Abdelaziz Tealbi," La Voix du Tunisien (spec. ed.) 8 July 1934. Cf Tha'ālibī, "Autobiographie," (CDN, A-3-13), p. 8.

small societies interested in Tunisian affairs.<sup>50</sup> But his associates in Tunis were skeptical of his increasing dependence on the socialists (who were only lukewarm towards Tha'ālibī in any case) and their misgivings were disastrously realized in the elections of October.<sup>51</sup> Tha'ālibī's next gambit was the publication of La Tunisie martyre, his vigorous indictment of the protectorate, apparently calculated to arouse Tunisians to a more vocal (and active) assertion of their claims and to win sympathy for the nationalist cause in France; however, the sharpness of its attack alarmed many of its readers in both countries: Zamīrlī criticized its "exaggerations" and hinted that it might have been at the root of a number of recent acts of violence, while 'Alī Kāhiyah stated baldly that Tha'ālibī's description of the protectorate was contrary to fact.<sup>52</sup> Tha'ālibī was nevertheless consulted during the formation of the Liberal Constitutional Party, and many of his suggestions became part of the official program,<sup>53</sup> even though there was a growing uneasiness over his conduct of both political and financial aspects of his mission. This diminution of confidence was the

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<sup>50</sup> He was, for example, the founding president of the Paris Tunisian Students' Society and a member of the French Oriental Society; plans to form a Franco-Tunisian "friendship society" collapsed after Tha'ālibī's arrest. Baron, op. cit., p. 32.

<sup>51</sup> Baron, op. cit., p. 34; cf supra, ch. I.

<sup>52</sup> Zamīrlī to Tha'ālibī, 12 January 1920 and Kāhiyah to Tha'ālibī, 28 January 1920, quoted in Baron, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>53</sup> Tha'ālibī to Farḥāt Ibn 'Ayyād, 18 March 1920, cited in Baron, op. cit., p. 42.

principal motivation for the dispatch of a new delegation to Paris in June 1920,<sup>54</sup> but once in Paris the delegates (except Bashīr 'Akkāshah) accepted Tha'ālibī's leadership until his arrest on 31 July removed him from circulation.

The military investigator absolved Tha'ālibī and his co-defendants from all suspicion of a plot against the protectorate, but failure to secure the requisite permission before publishing La Tunisie martyre rendered both Tha'ālibī and Saqqā (who had translated Tha'ālibī's draft into French) liable to indefinite prison terms.<sup>55</sup> In spite of a few demonstrations on his behalf, Tha'ālibī was not released until May 1921.<sup>56</sup> Within a month, he was the recognized leader of the more doctrinaire "constitutionalist" group opposed by Qallātī's "reformists",<sup>57</sup> but once again his financial probity was widely questioned, by some supporters as well as by his adversaries.<sup>58</sup> Tha'ālibī claimed that his audience with the Resident-General indicated the government's recognition of his party as the voice of the people; although his opponents' "defection" annoyed him

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<sup>54</sup> Tha'ālibī to Nu'mān, May 1920, AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 1; ibid., folio 79, doc. 7; Qallātī, "La Question Tunisienne," Tunis socialiste, 28 May 1921; Khayr Allāh, "Le Cheikh Abdelaziz Tassbi," La Voix du Tunisien, 8 July 1937. Baron's investigation of the party's finances were inconclusive: op. cit., p. 51f.

<sup>55</sup> Baron, op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>56</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 9, doc. 38-42; folio 44, doc. 21.

<sup>57</sup> Cf supra, ch. I, n. 218 and references there.

<sup>58</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 63.

greatly, he found some comfort in the apparent preponderance of his following.<sup>59</sup> He suffered a further disappointment when the Communist Party's Tunis cell refused to admit him to its meeting on 18 December.<sup>60</sup> Although he remained the nominal chief of the Constitutional Party, his authority was gradually eroded by a continuing series of financial embarrassments,<sup>61</sup> while the responsibilities of leadership fell to Aḥmad Ṣāfī. In July 1937 Tha'ālibī left Tunisia voluntarily, not to return until 1937, after Ḥabīb Būrqībah's New Constitutional Party had attained primacy in the national movement.

Būrqībah and several of his closest companions visited Tha'ālibī on 3 August 1937 to negotiate the fusion of their organizations but nothing was achieved. Tha'ālibī rallied his old journalist friends but the lingering public suspicion of his venality was revived by his opponents, who retained the sympathies of the masses. By October the two parties were in open conflict, and when Būrqībah went on trial in June 1938 Tha'ālibī testified for the prosecution.<sup>62</sup> This apparent treachery snapped the last thread of

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, doc. 60, 114f.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, folio 1986, doc. 20.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, folio 40, doc. 74; folio 79, doc. 86, 94, 96-100; folio 1014, doc. 98. Cf *supra*, ch. I, n. 225 and references there.

<sup>62</sup> See articles by Tha'ālibī in *al-Irādah*, 4 August and 3 October 1937, the police report of 13 September 1937 and the excerpts from Tha'ālibī's testimony before the Permanent Military Tribunal, 29 June 1938, Centre de Documentation Nationale (Tunis), files A-3-13 and A-3-53.

Tha'ālibī's fraying reputation, although he continued to wear the cloak of leadership, as we can infer from his telegrams to the British and American commanders in Tunis congratulating them for their victory in North Africa and his message to President Roosevelt in support of the deposed Muṣṣif Bāy (20 May 1943). He died on 1 October 1944.<sup>63</sup>

The most generous appraiser of Tha'ālibī's role in Tunisian history has been Fāḍil Ibn 'Aṣhūr, who depicts the shaykh as a great orator and religious reformer, who hoped to blend Islamic zeal with the modernist attitudes of Bāsh Ḥānbah and his fellow Ṣādiqīs.<sup>64</sup> Even Ibn 'Aṣhūr does not ascribe prominence to Tha'ālibī before the First World War, while others have questioned Tha'ālibī's claims to have led the nationalist movement at any stage, decrying his avarice and duplicity along with what they considered his lack of realism.<sup>65</sup> Indeed, the evidence at hand suggests that Tha'ālibī's popularity peaked with his release from prison in May 1920 and fell off rather sharply, almost reaching the vanishing point by the time of his departure from Tunisia in

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<sup>63</sup>CDN, file A-3-13.

<sup>64</sup>Arkān al-Nahḍah, pp 45-47; al-Ḥarakah al-edabīyah, pp 119-122. Cf Tha'ālibī's autobiography, CDN, loc. cit., p. 1f.

<sup>65</sup>See, for example, Nu'mān's article in the Courrier de Tunisie, 10 September 1921: AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 113.

July 1923. He was never really in tune with the French-educated Young Tunisians and he was thus in no position to inherit Bāsh Ḥūnbeh's mantle;<sup>66</sup> nor could he come to terms with Būrcībāh's resurgent modernism. Tha'ālibī's status as a Young Tunisian derives simply from his brief association with al-Tūnisi and his banishment with Bāsh Ḥūnbeh and Mu'mān in March 1912, and is, therefore, of an extremely tenuous nature. He represented the false hope that the essentially secular program advocated by Le Tunisien could be merged with the contemporary pressure for a religious reawakening. This aspiration was realized only fleetingly, during the Zaytūnah students' strike of 1910; thereafter the two currents again diverged. Tha'ālibī's greatest failure was his inability to win the confidence of his compatriots who had received a modern education, but this difficulty could have resulted as much from his reputation for profligacy as from any ideological scruples.

### 3. Ḥasan Qallātī (1880-1966)<sup>67</sup>

Ḥasan Qallātī was born near Algiers and retained Algerian nationality all his life, even though he was scarcely a year old

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<sup>66</sup> Cf. L.C. Brown, "Tunisia under the French Protectorate: A History of Ideological Change" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1962), p. 44f.

<sup>67</sup> Biographies in Zamirī, Figures Tunisiennes: les contemporains et les autres (Tunis: Maison tunisienne de l'édition, 1972), pp 113-124, and M. Ṣalīḥ al-Mahdī, Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfah al-'Arabīyah bi-Tūnis, reproduced in Yaḥyā and Marzuqī, Ma'rakat al-Zallāj (Tunis: Maktabat al-Manār, 1961), p. 177f.

when his father ('Alī by name) accepted a position at Sūsah under the newly imposed protectorate. The family later moved to Tunis, where 'Alī Qallātī was among the founders of the Khaldūnīyah. Hasan won his baccalaureate from Lycée Carnot in 1898 and a law degree from the University of Toulouse in 1902. Admitted to the bar at Tunis in 1904, he encouraged several local law students, most notably 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah and 'Abd al-Jalīl Zāwush. He wrote several articles for the local socialist paper, le Libéral, defending the rights of Tunisians and seeking the support of sympathetic Frenchmen,<sup>68</sup> and he was among the first members of the Ṣādiqī Alumni Association. Qallātī married Ḥabībah, the daughter of Bashīr Ṣāfar.<sup>69</sup>

As one of Bāsh Ḥānbah's keenest lieutenants in the publishing of Le Tunisien, Qallātī contributed a series of twenty-four articles on the archaic and confused predicament of the Tunisian judiciary concluding with an outline of needed reforms.<sup>70</sup> He also wrote a sharp criticism of the negative attitude of the Consultative Conference<sup>71</sup> and, after visiting Istanbul in September 1908, he extolled the Ottoman Empire's multiracial society and pleaded for

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<sup>68</sup> Ibn 'Ashūr, al-Ḥarakah al-Adabīyah, p. 84.

<sup>69</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 267, doc. 31.

<sup>70</sup> "Nassah," "Le Justice Tunisienne," Le Tunisien, 4 April 1907 to 3 December 1908. These articles were later translated in various issues of al-Tūnisī.

<sup>71</sup> Le Tunisien, 5 December 1907.



more intermingling among settlers and indigenes in Tunisia.<sup>72</sup>

Elected to the executive committee of the Khaldūnīyah on 31 December 1909 and reelected in January and November 1911,<sup>73</sup> he was one of the team of lawyers who assisted the Zaytūnah students during their strike in the spring of 1910.<sup>74</sup> He served on the council of the Tunisian Tuberculosis Society<sup>75</sup> and as president of the dramatic society "al-Adab";<sup>76</sup> he was, in addition, a member of Bāsh Ḥānbah's committee for a North African Youth Conference<sup>77</sup> and helped Bāsh Ḥānbah to organize support for the Ottoman cause in the Tripolitanian War.<sup>78</sup> Busy as he must have been, he found time to excoriate the local Chambers of Agriculture for their hostility to Tunisians<sup>79</sup> and to needle the settler chieftain de Carnières for his erroneous assumption that Qallātī had once refused the chance to become a French citizen.<sup>80</sup> Again, during the tramway boycott, he was Bāsh Ḥānbah's closest confidant;<sup>81</sup> he

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<sup>72</sup>Le Tunisien, 15 October 1908.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., 6 January 1910; 12 January and 16 November 1911; al-Tūnisī, 3 January 1910 and 9 January 1911.

<sup>74</sup>'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah, "Dar El-Bey et les Etudiants," Le Tunisien, 28 April 1910.

<sup>75</sup>Le Tunisien, 24 November 1910.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., 1 June 1911.

<sup>77</sup>al-Tūnisī, 12 June 1911.

<sup>78</sup>Zamirlī, les Contemporains, p. 118.

<sup>79</sup>"Deux Vœux," Le Tunisien, 14 December 1911.

<sup>80</sup>Le Tunisien, 9 December 1909 and 14 December 1911.

<sup>81</sup>AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 97; Khayr Allāh, Le Mouvement évolutionniste tunisien, III, 92-94.

was accordingly expelled from the Regency on the same day as his comrade, but because of his Algerian status Qallātī was put on the morning train for the west. He was briefly restricted to his native town of Qaṣr al-Bukhārī, until influential friends were able to secure permission for him to live in Algiers.<sup>82</sup>

The first of the four exiles to return to Tunis, Qallātī probably arrived there in September 1912; he was certainly present to decline the presidency of the Cercle Tunisien on 30 November.<sup>83</sup> Despite this refusal he soon became the focus of the Cercle's activity, both in Tunis and at his summer home in al-Marsá, and he resumed his activity in the dramatic society. In September 1913 he visited the Bāsh Ḥānbah brothers in Istanbul, and a month later he was reported to have bought a large portion of Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah's library;<sup>84</sup> he also saw Muḥammad frequently during the latter's visit to Tunis from January to March 1914.<sup>85</sup> Qallātī spent the war years practising law and meeting almost daily with his friends at the Cercle or in his own office to discuss current events; each summer the group moved its venue to al-Marsá. During April and May 1916,

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<sup>82</sup>Le Libéral, 27 March 1912, AGT, E550, 30, folio 13, part 3.

<sup>83</sup>AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 13, doc. 6; Zamirī, Les Contemporains, p. 119.

<sup>84</sup>AGT, loc. cit., folio 5, doc. 47; folio 61, doc. 137f.

<sup>85</sup>Cf supra, ch. I, notes 132 and 135 and references there.

Qallātī visited relatives and prominent Young Algerians in Constantine and Algiers.<sup>86</sup> He continued to participate in political discussions, but was conspicuously absent from the potentially inflammatory gathering on the day of de Carnières' funeral.<sup>87</sup> The round of meetings extended into early 1919, while in April and May Qallātī was again in Algeria;<sup>88</sup> in May he contributed fifty francs to a fund for striking tramway employees in Tunis.<sup>89</sup>

Following the police raid on the Cercle's premises (19 May), Qallātī urged his comrades to avoid meeting until after the end of Ramaḍān, when it would be possible to reassemble at al-Marsá; but his advice was only partially heeded.<sup>90</sup> Although Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah's letters urging a drive for complete independence were read aloud at his summer residence, Qallātī remained true to the gradualism of Le Tunisien, publishing articles to this effect in the socialist Avenir social<sup>91</sup> and opposing violence in a speech to the Tunis section of the French socialist

<sup>86</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 91, doc. 17-20.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., folio 1, doc. 22; Qallātī was of course present at his father-in-law's funeral; Ibid., folio 9, doc. 69.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., folio 91, doc. 24, 26.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., folio 6, doc. 33.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., folio 1, doc. 3.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., folio 25, doc. 31; Baron, op. cit., p. 56; Zamirli, Les Contemporains, p. 121.

party on 30 November.<sup>92</sup> He and his friends similarly refused to sign a declaration of loyalty to the Ottoman dynasty circulated by Bashīr Farshīshī,<sup>93</sup> and criticized the intemperate tone and misleading presentation of Tha'ālibī's Tunisie martyre.

In January 1920 Qallātī became the president of the Khaldūnīyah, but political questions yet preoccupied his attention. At the meeting of 1 February, convened to prepare a petition for submission to the French government, he cautioned against excessive demands that could jeopardize chances for any progress at all, but he concurred in a request for a constitution and a Tunisian legislature with proportional communal representation.<sup>94</sup> He later tried unsuccessfully to persuade the petitioners to consult with the Tunisian authorities before embarking for France.<sup>95</sup> Unhappy with this delegation's lack of accomplishment, Qallātī assembled a new team under the nominal leadership of André Duran-Angleviel, which left Tunis on 22 December 1920 to meet the new Resident-General, Lucien Saint, and other officials in Paris and to attend the Socialist Congress at Tours.<sup>96</sup> On his return journey, Qallātī stopped in Italy to escort

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<sup>92</sup>AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 128.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., folio 68, doc. 46.

<sup>94</sup>Baron, op. cit., p. 41.

<sup>95</sup>AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 92; folio 20, doc. 3.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., folio 1, doc. 76.

the widow and daughter of 'Alī Bāsh Ḥanbah home to Tunis.<sup>97</sup>

On 18 February 1921, Qallātī and his chief supporters formed the Renaissance Printing Company to administer the press he had bought four months previously. This enterprise published the weekly Burhān as a mouthpiece for the gradualist dissidents from the Constitutionalists' intransigence.<sup>98</sup> Qallātī discouraged several of his prominent acquaintances from seeing Tha'ālibī and briefly attached himself to Nu'mān's Moderate Party<sup>99</sup> while he engaged Ṣāfī in journalistic debate.<sup>100</sup> When Qallātī constituted the Reform Party (Ḥizb al-Iṣlāḥ) Tha'ālibī and Ṣāfī persuaded some newsvendors to boycott Burhān and forced Qallātī to resign from the presidency of al-Adab, but Qallātī continued to attract support both in Tunis and in Sūsah.<sup>101</sup> In 1923 he expanded his propaganda effort with the launching of a daily, al-Nahḍah and in December 1924 he circulated a pamphlet which distinguished his party from the constitutionalists in these terms: "we know we

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., folio 61, doc. 200. They reached their destination on 19 January 1921.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., folio 1, doc. 69. Cf M. Ṣāliḥ al-Mahīdī, Ta'rīkh al-Ṣiḥāfah al-'Arabīyah wa Taṭawwurihā bi-l-Bilād al-Tūnisīyah (Tunis: Ma'had 'Alī Bāsh Ḥanbah, 1965), p. 11 and 'Umar Ibn Qafṣīyah, Adwa' 'alā Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfah al-Tūnisīyah: 1860-1970 (Tunis: Dār Būslamah, 1972), p. 26.

<sup>99</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 62, 64; folio 9, doc. 36; the party's Arabic name was Ḥizb al-I'tidāl.

<sup>100</sup> V. supra, ch. I, nn 208, 220 and references there.

<sup>101</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 111f; folio 44, doc. 26; folio 79, doc. 69; folio 223, doc. 34.

live in a protectorate and they think they live in a country where their party is very powerful."<sup>102</sup> His adversaries, Ṣāfī and Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Qalībī, were able to secure Qallātī's humiliating defeat in the Grand Council elections of 1926 and the Reform Party disbanded itself; thenceforth Qallātī was content to limit his political involvement to the pages of al-Nahḍah which ceased publication only in the summer of 1954. Qallātī supported Būrqībah's program for independence and had the satisfaction of passing his last years in an independent Tunisia;<sup>103</sup> he died on 27 November 1966.

With their common background in the Ṣādiqīyah, their common vocation as lawyers, their common avocation as journalists and their common interest in the welfare of the Tunisian people, 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah and Ḥasan Qallātī had collaborated in publishing Le Tunisien with its double appeal for domestic reforms and the policy of association. After their banishment in 1912, Qallātī opted to accept the renewed challenge implicit in amnesty and to return to the struggle for justice in Tunisia. He was thus the truest of the Young Tunisians to their original aspirations and he lived to see his positions vindicated. Bāsh Ḥānbah died in exile, but Qallātī was never expelled a second time, and the defiant posture of Tha'ālibī and Ṣāfī was eventually superseded by Būrqībah's persistent but flexible gradualism which ultimately secured Tunisia's independence.

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<sup>102</sup> Balāgh ilá Mufakkirī al-Ummah aw al-Da'wah ilá al-Iṣlāḥ; copy in CDN, file A-4-73.

<sup>103</sup> Ibn Qafṣīyah, loc. cit.; Zamirī, les Contemporains, p. 122f.

4. Muḥammad b. 'Alī Nu'mān (1875-?)<sup>104</sup>

Born in Tunis to a family of modest origins from northern Tunisia, Muḥammad Nu'mān was among the first students enrolled at 'Alawī College. After his graduation he taught in elementary schools while reading law; he studied in France for two years at the expense of the Directorate of Instruction and was admitted to the bar at Tunis in July 1908. At the same time he launched a journalistic career, publishing his arguments for a Tunisian constitution and judicial reform in Le Courrier de Tunisie and Le Tunisien. He supported Bāsh Ḥānbah in his criticisms of Khayr Allāh's reformed kuttāb and joined Ṣafī's campaign to prevent Tunisian Jews from adopting French citizenship. During the Tripolitanian War Nu'mān was sharply critical of the preferential treatment the French authorities accorded to Italian vessels and commissaries to the detriment of Ottoman logistics.<sup>105</sup> A member of the committee formed to represent the Tunisian public during the tramway boycott in February 1912 he was most forceful in his attacks on the company's "hostility" and his repugnance against the humiliation of his people.<sup>106</sup> His reward for this patriotic zeal was, of course, banishment and on 13 March he was sent to France with Tha'alibī and Bāsh Ḥānbah.

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See various police biographies in AGT, loc. cit., folio 1; brief biography in Mahīdī, Ta'rīkh al-Ṣiḥāfah al-'Arabīyah, reproduced in Yahyá and Marzūqī, op. cit., p. 177 and CDN, file A-4-74.

<sup>105</sup>"La Neutralité," Le Tunisien, 30 November 1911.

<sup>106</sup>Khayr Allāh, Le Mouvement évolutionniste tunisien, III, 92; AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 17.

After wandering between Istanbul and Marseille, all the while vainly seeking a pardon, Nu'mān went to Egypt where he secured admission to the bar and was seeking a partnership in March 1913 when, learning of his amnesty, he quickly returned to Tunis; by 7 April he was at the Cercle recounting his adventures.<sup>107</sup> Unrepentant, he urged his friends to boycott European businesses<sup>108</sup> and was in regular attendance at the Cercle's daily discussions. He continued to attend these gatherings throughout the war, and found time to appear at other patriotic conclaves as far afield as Halfawīn and Aryānah; he also joined Qallātī's summer sessions at al-Marsá. In March 1917 he was among the unruly spectators as de Carnières' funeral left the Tunis Cathedral.<sup>109</sup> During 1919 he helped to muster domestic support for the representations that were being made in Paris, but he betrayed some uncertainty about Tha'ālibī's ability in his letter of 14 September to Saqqā.<sup>110</sup> Several of his articles were printed in l'Avenir social between September 1919 and April 1920, advocating such social and political changes as abandoning of the veil, higher pay for civil servants and an end to arbitrary arrest. But, true to the Young Tunisians' original policy of association, he opposed violence, and at the socialist conference in November 1919, he followed Qallātī to the podium to pay tribute to the benefits his

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<sup>107</sup> AGT, loc. cit., doc. 42-53.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., doc. 36.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., doc. 22.

<sup>110</sup> Baron, op. cit., p. 13.



country had derived from French overrule.<sup>111</sup> A few weeks later, he warned his compatriots against romantic imprecision, begging them to adopt reasonable objectives that had some chance of bringing an early improvement to their countrymen's situation.<sup>112</sup>

Whatever his misgivings, Nu'mān seems to have been Tha'ālibī's main correspondent in Tunis during this period, and it was he who arranged the collection of funds to cover Tha'ālibī's expenses in Paris; he was also instrumental in organizing the despatch of Ṣāfī's delegation in June 1920 and in drafting the petition the delegates were to submit to the French government.<sup>113</sup> He corresponded with the delegation and met frequently with the faithful in Tunis, and on 17 August he had an article printed in al-Zuhrah which, Tha'ālibī's arrest notwithstanding, predicted success for the Paris mission. Nu'mān and Ṣāliḥ Ibn Yahyá were the supposed leaders of the campaign for Tha'ālibī's release but Nu'mān joined Qallātī's new printing house and disagreed publicly with Tha'ālibī's partisan, Muḥammad al-Ja'ā'ibī, on the unfulfilled need for judicial reform.<sup>114</sup> While Tha'ālibī's group insisted on demanding a constitution and other objectives that were obviously beyond reach, the more pragmatic

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<sup>111</sup> L'Avenir social, 7 December 1919; AGT, loc. cit., doc. 128. Some of Nu'mān's articles are assembled in this file, doc. 121-136.

<sup>112</sup> L'Avenir social, 12 February 1920; AGT, loc. cit., doc. 133.

<sup>113</sup> AGT, loc. cit., doc. 1, 14, 92, 94.

<sup>114</sup> L'Avenir social, 3 February 1921; AGT, loc. cit., doc. 101.

position of seeking gradual reform was identified with the socialist Qallātī and his reform group, which called for the supposedly more attainable goals of universal suffrage and compulsory education.<sup>115</sup>

Nu'mān, who had recently joined the "Tunisian" Communist Party in the forlorn hope of rallying its rather doctrinaire French membership to the evolutionary cause, continued to support Qallātī and after briefly trying to form a Moderate Party (Ḥizb al-I'tidāl),<sup>116</sup> he was among the first to enlist in Qallātī's Reform Party. He wrote a series of attacks on the constitutionalists in Lisān al-Sha'b, accusing Tha'ālibī of subverting the national cause to his personal interest.<sup>117</sup> Spurning Tha'ālibī's invitation to a reconciliation meeting,<sup>118</sup> Nu'mān issued a pamphlet suggesting that Tha'ālibī was ineffective, wasteful and dishonest in his administration of his party's affairs.<sup>119</sup> The Constitutionalists replied in kind, and Nu'mān lost a suit against Sulaymān Jādawī for defamation.<sup>120</sup> Meanwhile, Nu'mān drifted away from the Communists and was apparently expelled from their party for supporting Qallātī's friends of the Tunis Socialiste.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>AGT, loc. cit., doc. 65, 72.

<sup>116</sup>V. supra, n. 95 and references there.

<sup>117</sup>AGT, loc. cit., doc. 61-63.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid., doc. 114f.

<sup>119</sup>Kalimat al-Haqq li-l-Sha'b (Maṭba'at al-Nahḍah), 8pp; AGT, loc. cit., doc. 118; cf Nu'mān's letter in Le Courrier de Tunisie, 10 September 1921, AGT, loc. cit., doc. 113.

<sup>120</sup>AGT, loc. cit., doc. 16; the case was heard at the Darībah on 30 November 1921.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid., doc. 103.

Thereafter, Nu'mān worked more closely with the socialists and with the incipient Tunisian labor congress founded by Dr Muḥammad 'Alī. When Ḥābib Būrqībah opened his breach with the leadership of the constitutionalists with the launching of the daily Action tunisienne, Nu'mān was among his first editors; he was later editor-in-chief of al-Zuhrah. As well, he defended members of the New Constitutional Party in various civil and military courtrooms; most notably, he took the case of Būrqībah and the other persons arrested following the demonstrations of 9 April 1938. Nu'mān's endorsement of Būrqībah's policy of militant flexibility doubtless derived from the Young Tunisians' watchful pragmatism. In 1938, as in 1912, Nu'mān was willing to risk his personal welfare for the cause of his people, and it is reasonable to infer that his acceptance of Būrqībah's leadership followed rationally from a recognition of the New Constitutionalists as the ideological heirs of 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah and his other colleagues of Le Tunisien.

##### 5. Ṣādiq Zamirlī (ca 1880- )

Like 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah, Muḥammad Ṣādiq Zamirlī was born to an aristocratic family of Turkish extraction. A notary's son, he first attained prominence by presenting a brief urging better education for Muslim girls to the North Africa Congress of October

1908.<sup>122</sup> A few weeks later he was elected to the executive committee of the Ṣādiqī Alumni Association, with the Bāsh Ḥānbah brothers and Muḥammād Aṣram,<sup>123</sup> and on 21 January 1909 Le Tunisien ran his first article on current events in the Islamic world; this column became an irregular feature of both French and Arabic editions of the paper. During the Zaytūnah students' strike he addressed the meeting of 6 May 1910, calling for closer contacts between Tunisians with traditional and modern educations, and he was one of the sixty guests at the students' banquet the following week.<sup>124</sup> For the next two years, Zamirī worked for Bāsh Ḥānbah at Le Tunisien, writing obituaries and even representing the paper at important funerals;<sup>125</sup> he also reported such events as Tha'ālibī's public lecture on Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>126</sup> Meanwhile, in May 1911 he was elected to the executive of the dramatic society (al-Adab).<sup>127</sup>

Zamirī's panIslamic sentiments, which had already been revealed in his columns in Le Tunisien, impelled him to an active part in Bāsh Ḥānbah's projects to aid the Ottoman cause. He wrote

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<sup>122</sup> C. Depincé, ed., Congrès de l'Afrique du Nord tenu à Paris du 6 au 10 Octobre 1908: Compte rendu des travaux, 2vv (Paris: Comité d'Organisation du Congrès, 1909), II, 289f; summary of speech with resolutions in Khayr Allāh, Essai d'Histoire et de Synthèse des mouvements nationalistes tunisiens: le Mouvement "Jeune Tunisien" (Tunis, Bonici, [1956]), pp 145f, 149.

<sup>123</sup> Le Tunisien, 29 October 1908; he was reelected in October 1909 and November 1910: ibid., 14 October 1909 and 10 November 1910.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 12 and 19 May 1910.

<sup>125</sup> For example, the funeral of Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm at Qayrawān, Le Tunisien, 23 February 1911; cf ibid., 19 January and 23 November 1911.

<sup>126</sup> Le Tunisien, 18 May and 8 June 1911; al-Tūnisī, 29 May 1911.

<sup>127</sup> Le Tunisien, 1 June 1911.

a wishful article about a revival of Islam in a modernist context,<sup>128</sup> and he tried (unsuccessfully) to persuade the merchants of Qayrawān to forego mawlid celebrations to demonstrate their solidarity with the Muslims who were fighting the infidel in Libya.<sup>129</sup> His efforts won him Bāsh Ḥānbah's praise as well as a recommendation for the editorship of the Arabic version of l'islam, an Algerian newspaper with the same viewpoint as Le Tunisien,<sup>130</sup> but they had also brought him to the attention of the police, so that on 13 March 1912, as his patron boarded the Marseille ferry, Zamirli was on his way to internment at Taḡawīn in southern Tunisia.

By September, he was back in Tunis, officially suspected of encouraging emigration to Ottoman territory,<sup>131</sup> and in April 1913 a police report included Zamirli's name in a list of prominent Ottoman sympathizers;<sup>132</sup> four months later he was among the guests at Tha'ālibī's homecoming party. By then he had become Qallātī's secretary and the most notorious and ubiquitous of the critics of the protectorate, visiting regularly all the centres of discontent from Halfawīn to al-Bāb al-Jadīd.<sup>133</sup> He met often with Muḥammad Bāsh

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<sup>128</sup>

Ibid., 21 December 1911.

<sup>129</sup> Confidential report of the governor of Qayrawān to the Secretary-General of the Tunisian Government, 1 March 1912; AGT, loc. cit., folio 61, doc. 209; French translation, ibid., doc. 93.

<sup>130</sup> Draft of letter from Bāsh Ḥānbah to Ṣādiq Dandān, AGT, loc. cit., folio 61 bis, doc. 108.

<sup>131</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 13, doc. 7.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., folio 270, doc. 31.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., folio 12, doc. 11; folio 25, doc. 7; folio 56, doc. 2; folio 61, doc. 139.

Ḥānbah during the latter's visit to Tunis in early 1914 and continued to flit from the Cercle Tunisien and Qallātī's office to the various meeting places, including Tha'ālibī's headquarters on Ḥalfawīn Square. He sustained this intense round through the war, with the Centre as the focus of his activity; he also attended Qallātī's summer soirées in al-Marsá and the funerals of de Carnières and Bashīr Ṣafar. With Tha'ālibī and Ja'ā'ibī, Zamirlī raised a swell of popular discontent following the confiscation of the Bāsh Ḥānbah brothers' property; on the other hand, only Zamirlī of these three was a member of Qallātī's committee to send a message of condolence to Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah on his brother's death.<sup>134</sup>

During the early months of 1919 Zamirlī tended the Cercle's correspondence and helped the striking tramway employees. For a change, he spent the summer at Ḥammām al-Inf,<sup>135</sup> but he still spread propaganda on behalf of Tha'ālibī's mission to Paris,<sup>136</sup> in spite of his misgivings about Tha'ālibī's practical accomplishments.<sup>137</sup> He also helped Qallātī draft articles for l'Avenir social. Alarmed by the extreme position of La Tunisie martyre,<sup>138</sup> Zamirlī presumably

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., folio 61, doc. 185, 196.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., folio 204, doc. 7.

<sup>136</sup> Baron, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>137</sup> Zamirlī to Tha'ālibī, 1 December 1919, cited in Baron, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>138</sup> Zamirlī to Tha'ālibī, 12 January 1920, quoted in Baron, op. cit., p. 8.

supported Qallātī's policy of requesting what could be reasonably expected from the authorities; he certainly endorsed Qallātī's counsel that the document to be submitted in Paris should be shown to the protectorate officials in Tunis, and he helped to vet and circulate the petition.<sup>139</sup> After their open break with Tha'ālibī, Zamirī accompanied Qallātī on his tour of the Sāhil in late October 1921, and in November Zamirī went alone to Qayrawān but returned empty-handed. He visited Qayrawān again a year later with the same discouraging result.<sup>140</sup>

Zamirī then withdrew from the national movement to collaborate with Muḥammad Būrqībah in editing an Arabic anthology of Aḥmad Riḍā's literary works<sup>141</sup> and to become the confidant of the Protectorate's Justice Minister, Ṭāhir Khayr al-Dīn. Later Zamirī was chief of protocol during the short reign of Munṣif Bāy and he continued as a senior civil servant till the end of the protectorate.<sup>142</sup> He published many short biographies of prominent Tunisians and after his retirement he collected several of these into three volumes. The panIslamic and nationalist fervor of his youth seems to have been subdued by the disappointments of the Versailles era and Zamirī remained a docile functionary throughout Būrqībah's long struggle for Tunisian independence.

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<sup>139</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 14, 92; folio 20, doc. 3.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., folio 79, doc. 125; folio 297, doc. 78; folio 2413, doc. 6.

<sup>141</sup> M.S. Mahīdī, Ta'rīkh al-Tibā'ah wa-l-Nashr bi-Tūnis (Tunis: Ma'had 'Alī Bāsh Ḥanbah, 1965), p. 23f.

<sup>142</sup> Khayr Allāh, Essai, p. 147.

## 6. Shādhilī Darghūth (1860-?)

A tailor and landowner of Turkish origin and sometime correspondent with al-Manār,<sup>143</sup> Shādhilī Darghūth was a member of the Khaldūnīyah's executive committee<sup>144</sup> and the author of a history of taxation in Tunisia which ended in an urgent appeal for fiscal reform.<sup>145</sup> He was a member of 'Umar Qallātī's committee to coordinate the tramway boycott and of the group formed under Destrées to negotiate with the company and the government,<sup>146</sup> and in the meeting with the Minister of the Pen on 9 March 1912 he was sharply critical of the company's bad faith and intransigence.<sup>147</sup> This attitude earned him the wrath of the authorities and four days later he accompanied Zamirli to confinement in the south. The arid climate affected him adversely so in May he was moved to 'Ayn Darāhim in the hills near the Algerian border, and on 4 July the Bāy ordered his release.<sup>148</sup> Darghūth did not attend many of the wartime conclaves, but he donated money to the striking tramway employees in May 1919<sup>149</sup> and a year later he was present at the

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<sup>143</sup> Shannūfī, "Alā'iq Rashīd Riḍā, ṣāhib majallat al-Manār, ma'a al-Tūnisīyīn, 1898-1935," Hawliyat al-Jami'ah al-Tūnisīyah, IV (1967), p. 121, n. 2.

<sup>144</sup> Le Tunisien, 2 January 1908, 7 January 1909, 6 January 1910 and 12 January 1911.

<sup>145</sup> Risālat al-Shakwā al-Ahliyah min Kathrat al-Darā'ib wa-l-Ṣantimat al-Idafiyyah, 55pp, cited in Yahyā and Marzuqī, op. cit., pp 13-15; Le Tunisien congratulated the author, 10 November 1910.

<sup>146</sup> al-Tūnisī, 18 February 1912; Khayr Allāh, Le Mouvement évolutionniste tunisien, III, 92.

<sup>147</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 17 (copy in folio 40, doc. 4).

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., folio 40, doc. 11-49.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., folio 6, doc. 33.



gathering which discussed petitions and the sending of a delegation to Paris.<sup>150</sup> Initially a supporter of the constitutionalists, he eventually despaired of Tha'ālibī's sincerity and by May 1922 he was part of a dissident faction led by Tayyib Ibn 'Isā.<sup>151</sup> Although he supported many of the Young Tunisians' policies and even worked and suffered with them, Darghūth's age and background set him apart from the liberal professionals of modern education who provided the movement's leadership, and his role in Young Tunisia was supportive and, on the whole, peripheral.

#### 7. Mukhtār Kāhiyah

Mukhtār Kāhiyah was the host of the banquet of 13 May 1910, celebrating the success of the Zaytūnah students' strike,<sup>152</sup> but he was not publicly involved in the events that culminated in the exile of Bāsh Ḥānbah and his friends. However, Kāhiyah was arrested later the same day and incarcerated in the Bārdū Palace, a "privilege" reserved for kinsmen of the Bāy. He was pardoned and released on 29 July 1912 and during the war he occasionally attended political meetings at the home of 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Izz al-Dīn in al-Karam, where he sometimes saw Zamirī. In the summer of 1919 he was the apparent leader of a discussion group that met in a cafe on Boulevard Bāb al-Manārah.<sup>153</sup> Whatever reasons the authorities may have had for punishing Mukhtār Kāhiyah with the Young Tunisians, his contacts with them were few and tenuous.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid., doc. 34; copy in ibid., folio 1, doc. 92.

<sup>152</sup>Le Tunisien, 19 May 1910.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid., folio 40, doc. 74.

<sup>153</sup>AGT, loc. cit., folio 6, doc. 9, 16, 29.

B. The Vanguard1. 'Abd al-Jalīl Zāwush (1873-1947)<sup>154</sup>

Born in Tunis to a bourgeois family of Turkish background, Zāwush was given a French education, from the Lycée St. Charles (Lycée Carnot) to the Faculty of Law at the University of Paris. Shortly after his return to Tunis in 1900 he abandoned his law practice and founded a flour mill which was to serve as an example and training ground for Tunisians interested in modern commercial methods. In the same year he published his tract urging better native education and requesting Tunisian representation on the regency's Consultative Council.<sup>155</sup> Muḥammad 'Abduh visited Zāwush's mill on 16 September 1903 and the following evening he was Zāwush's guest at dinner.<sup>156</sup> Zāwush protested against the settlers' demeaning attitude towards the indigènes and, like Ḥasan Qallātī, he wrote for the local socialist newspaper, Le Libéral.<sup>157</sup> He was also one of the founders of the Cercle Tunisien. Early in 1906 he printed a defence of private endowment lands,<sup>158</sup> and in September of that year he

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<sup>154</sup> Biography in Zamīrlī (Zmerli), Les Successeurs, pp 205-230, reprinted from Ibla, X (1947), 195-208. Cf L.C. Brown, "Tunisia under the French Protectorate," pp 50ff.

<sup>155</sup> (Abdeljelil Zaouche), En Tunisie: l'Enseignement des Indigènes (Tunis: Brigol, 1900), 23pp.

<sup>156</sup> M. Shannūfī, "Les Deux Séjours de Muḥammad 'Abduh en Tunisie," Cahiers de Tunisie, XVI (1968), 77f, based on al-Ḥādirah, 22 September 1903.

<sup>157</sup> Ibn 'Ashūr, al-Ḥarakah al-Adabīyah, p. 84; cf (Zaouche), "Moins que les cafres," Dépêche Tunisienne, 25 April 1905.

<sup>158</sup> En Tunisie: La Propriété indigène et la Colonisation (Tunis: S.A. de l'Imprimerie Rapide), 34pp.

organized shoemakers' and grocers' cooperatives in Tunis;<sup>159</sup> on Christmas Day Le Temps carried his letter describing panIslamism as a fraternal sentiment lacking any political undertones and assuring France of the loyalty of all Tunisians.<sup>160</sup>

All through Le Tunisien's five years of publication Zāwush, with Bāsh Ḥānbah and Qallātī, kept its presses stoked with articles arguing various aspects of the cherished policy of association, respectfully (if sometimes indignantly) coaxing the government to improve the indigenes' social, economic and political conditions. Shortly after the paper's inception, Zāwush described his cooperative schemes to a French quarterly.<sup>161</sup> Meanwhile, the decree of 2 February 1907 providing for the appointment of sixteen Tunisians to the Consultative Conference partly fulfilled the Young Tunisians' hope for elected representatives, but when the government announced its selection their aspirations received a severe setback: Zāwush and the urban Jew, Élie Fitūsī, were to sit with fourteen of their countrymen who were poorly educated even by traditional standards and most of whom were incapable of following debates in French. Although Bāsh Ḥānbah urged him to refuse to participate in such an inadequate delegation,<sup>162</sup> Zāwush apparently preferred crumbs to an

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<sup>159</sup> For a discussion of the early Tunisian cooperative movement, see Khayr Allāh, Essai, pp 54-61.

<sup>160</sup> "Le Panislamisme et les Musulmans du Nord de l'Afrique," Le Temps, 25 December 1906, p. 3f.

<sup>161</sup> "Essai de sociétés coopératives en Tunisie," Revue du Monde musulman, I, 4 (April, 1907) 487-500.

<sup>162</sup> See text of an unprinted editorial for Le Tunisien expressing Bāsh Ḥānbah's regret at Zāwush's decision, Khayr Allāh, Essai, p. 100.

empty plate and took his place, promising his French colleagues to be frank but constructive.<sup>163</sup> The other Tunisians elected Zāwush to be their secretary, but refused to vote with him for the admission of indigenes to membership in the regency's trade unions and left him to defend their constituents' interests single-handed. His virtuoso performance won praise from his comrades at Le Tunisien who had so recently tried to dissuade him from entering the chamber,<sup>164</sup> and he was chosen as the speaker at the paper's anniversary banquet (22 February 1908).<sup>165</sup>

In May 1908, Zāwush published yet another article on education, arguing that only the Franco-Arabic school offered the possibility of equal educational opportunity for all the children in Tunisia and calling for improvements in the quality of Arabic instruction.<sup>166</sup> A few months later, Zāwush took the Young Turks' revolution as his cue to suggest the revival of the long-dormant Tunisian constitution, but he had to qualify his proposal with a reaffirmation of loyalty to the protectorate.<sup>167</sup>

<sup>163</sup>Text of speech, Le Tunisien, 14 November 1907.

<sup>164</sup>Le Tunisien, 5 and 12 December 1907.

<sup>165</sup>Ibid., 27 February 1908.

<sup>166</sup>"En Tunisie: Les Indigènes et l'Instruction," Revue politique et parlementaire, LVI, 167 (May 1908), 271-283, reprinted in Le Tunisien, 28 May and 4 and 11 June 1908.

<sup>167</sup>"La Tunisie et la Constitution," Le Tunisien, 27 August 1908; "Expliquons-nous!" ibid., 10 September 1908. Cf Bash Ḥanbah's article on the constitution, ibid., 24 September 1908.

At the North Africa Congress in October 1908, Zāwush led his compatriots in opposing a plan for a special penal code for indigenes, insisting that education was the best antidote to crime, and so prevented the adoption of the offending resolution.<sup>168</sup> He and Ibn Muṣṭafá were less successful in their attempt to win the delegates' endorsement of elected indigene representation on municipal councils, although their defeat was narrow.<sup>169</sup> The next day, however, they won strong support both for Ibn Muṣṭafá's school program and Zāwush's proposals to admit qualified Tunisian Jews to the magistrature and to reform the Tunisian judiciary.<sup>170</sup> Zāwush had prepared three reports, but none of these was discussed at the Congress.<sup>171</sup> He was nonetheless sufficiently content at the closing banquet to praise the protectorate's achievements and to reaffirm his confidence in France's progressive intentions.<sup>172</sup> Back in Tunis, Zāwush published his account of the Congress<sup>173</sup> and argued the case for abolishing the

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<sup>168</sup> Depincé, Congrès, II, 505.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., II, 547-552; Cf P. Chemin-Dupontès, "Le Congrès de l'Afrique du Nord," Questions diplomatiques et coloniales, XXVI, 281 (1 November 1908), p. 571 and C.-A. Julien, "Colons français et Jeunes Tunisiens (1882-1912)," Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer, LIV (1967), p. 135.

<sup>170</sup> Depincé, op. cit., II, 55, 77, 83; Le Tunisien, 5 November 1908.

<sup>171</sup> The reports dealt with urban occupations and wages (Depincé, op. cit., II, 445-462), native agriculture (ibid., II, 463-489) and sharecropping (ibid., II, 489-500); summaries in Khayr Allāh, Essai, pp 118-127.

<sup>172</sup> Speech in Depincé, op. cit., I, 65f.

<sup>173</sup> Le Tunisien, 22 and 29 October, 5 November 1908.

majbā (poll-tax) before the Consultative Congress.<sup>174</sup> Although he failed to win this point or to gain Tunisian entry into the Chambers of Agriculture, he did manage to persuade the Conference to endorse the employment of indigenes as postal clerks.<sup>175</sup> He also found it necessary to rebut an innuendo of de Carnières, explaining that the popularity of "Zāwush wheat" stemmed solely from its quality.<sup>176</sup>

Besides serving on the Consultative Conference, the municipal council and the Khaldūniyah's governing body, Zāwush was from January 1909 a member of the French Education League,<sup>177</sup> and in March of that year he was appointed to a special commission on the revival of craft industries in Tunisia.<sup>178</sup> When the authorities urged some of the indigene members of the Consultative Conference to choose a new secretary, Zāwush stepped graciously aside<sup>179</sup> and used his extra time to prepare a new plea for judicial reform and an exposition of the case against the transfer of Tunisian Jews to French status,<sup>180</sup>

<sup>174</sup>His speech is reproduced in Le Tunisien, 19 and 26 November, 3 December 1908.

<sup>175</sup>Qallātī in Le Tunisien, 26 November 1908.

<sup>176</sup>Zāwush in Le Tunisien, 24 December 1908.

<sup>177</sup>La Ligue Française d'Enseignement, Le Tunisien, 21 January 1909.

<sup>178</sup>Le Tunisien, 11 March 1909; Zāwush was the only Tunisian among the commission's seven members.

<sup>179</sup>Ibid., 18 November 1909.

<sup>180</sup>Speech in Consultative Conference, 26 November 1909; text in Le Tunisien, 2 December 1909 and Khayr Allāh, Essai, pp 14-18.

as well as a fresh assault on the poll-tax.<sup>181</sup> On the last day of 1909, he became president of the Khaldūnīyah.<sup>182</sup>

Zāwush paid his only visit to Istanbul sometime in 1910, in the company of 'Alī Būshūshah, editor of al-Hādīrah,<sup>183</sup> but he was in Tunis to support the Zaytūnah students' reform program, first in an article<sup>184</sup> and then as their advocate before the Resident-General;<sup>185</sup> in his speech to their celebration of 6 May, he urged the Zaytūnīs to press for more instruction in modern sciences.<sup>186</sup> In June he was named to a new special commission examining a proposed civil procedure code<sup>187</sup> and the following month he published another article in the Revue politique et parlementaire, reiterating the case for judicial reform and the abolition of the majbā'.<sup>188</sup> During the Consultative Conference's first bicameral session, which began on 7 November 1910, Zāwush persuaded his colleagues on the Tunisian section's financial committee to approve a public works loan only after amending it to reserve ten million francs for school construction

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<sup>181</sup> Speech in Conference, 30 November 1909, text in Le Tunisien, 9 December 1909.

<sup>182</sup> al-Tūnisī, 3 January 1910; Le Tunisien, 6 January 1910.

<sup>183</sup> Zamirli, Les Successeurs, p. 40f.

<sup>184</sup> Le Tunisien, 24 March 1910.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 28 April 1910.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 12 May 1910; al-Tūnisī, 9 May 1910.

<sup>187</sup> Le Tunisien, 9 June 1910.

<sup>188</sup> "Questions tunisiennes," R.P.P., LXV, 193 (July 1910), 131-154.

and agricultural credit. He also won their endorsement for his report recommending tax changes, but in the plenary session he could rally no more than four supporters for his contention that the indigenous membership of the next Conference should be elected by a limited group of enfranchised Tunisians.<sup>189</sup> Meanwhile he had become one of the first two vice-presidents of the Tunisian Tuberculosis Society,<sup>190</sup> and in January 1911 he was reelected president of the Khaldūnīyah.<sup>191</sup>

For most of 1911, Zāwush's main theatre of action was the municipal council. In January he and Muḥammad Furātī voted with the European councillors and against the other Tunisians to let the Ṣādiqī Hospital expand into an adjacent cemetery and move the graves to Zallāj. A month later these two were able to secure the inclusion of an exhibit of indigenous crafts in a municipal exposition, but in May they lost a fight to prevent the farming out of the management of the Tunis poorhouse.<sup>192</sup> At the Khaldūnīyah he received French President Fallières, whose state visit to the regency was the occasion for admitting several Tunisians to the Legion of Honor; Zāwush was

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<sup>189</sup> Le Tunisien, 17 and 24 November, 1 and 15 December 1910.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 24 November 1910.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 12 January 1911; al-Tūnisī, 9 January 1911. He was reelected again in November; Le Tunisien, 16 November 1911.

<sup>192</sup> Le Tunisien, 26 January, 9 February and 25 May 1911.



among the nominees.<sup>193</sup> This dignity did not deter him from helping Bāsh Ḥānbah collect supplies for the Ottoman army in Tripolitania, and he acquired considerable esteem as a patriot without, however, diminishing the administration's confidence in his sympathies.<sup>194</sup>

On 2 November Zāwush begged the municipal council to allay popular anxiety over plans to survey Zallāj Cemetery. He apparently succeeded, but the official cancellation of the survey was issued too late to prevent the gathering of a large crowd before the cemetery gates on the morning of 7 November. On learning of the resultant confrontation between the police and the multitude, Zāwush hastened to the scene. Finding himself too late to avert bloodshed, he reported his observations to the Secretary General.<sup>195</sup> A few days later he led a delegation of notables to the Residence to assure the government of the people's loyalty,<sup>196</sup> but he still felt compelled to pen a vigorous rebuttal to de Carnières' claim that Zāwush had instigated the Zallāj riot,<sup>197</sup> and finally to sue the settler chief

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 20 and 27 April 1911

<sup>194</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61, doc. 26, 28; folio 33, doc. 1, 4. The police believed that Zāwush was moderating Bāsh Ḥānbah's "extremist" impulses: ibid., folio 1, doc. 97, p. 7.

<sup>195</sup> Yahyá and Marzūqī, op. cit., pp 17ff; Zāwush, "Quel a été mon Rôle," Le Tunisien, 23 November 1911; ibid., "A propos des incidents de Tunis," Afrique française, XXII, 3 (March 1912), 100-103.

<sup>196</sup> Le Tunisien, 16 November 1911; E. de Warren, "L'Émeute du cimetière musulman...", Afrique française, XXII, 1 (January 1912), 7f.

<sup>197</sup> "Manoeuvre audacieuse," Le Tunisien, 30 November 1911.

for defamation.<sup>198</sup>

At the Secretary General's meeting with the Tunisian notables on 10 March 1912, Zāwush supported 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah's contention that the Tunisian tramway employees should be paid the same as their Italian colleagues, but he was more willing than his friends to accept a compromise allowing ten indigenes to receive European salaries. Although Qallātī showed some sympathy for Zāwush's position, Bāsh Ḥānbah insisted that the government's settlement was inadequate.<sup>199</sup> The day after his associates had been expelled, Zāwush began vainly to intercede for them with Resident-General Alapetite and to affirm their loyalty both in the Consultative Conference and in the press; he even abandoned his efforts to end the boycott.<sup>200</sup> Nothing he did, however, could erase the sense of betrayal from the minds of his kinsmen and erstwhile comrades, and neither Bāsh Ḥānbah nor Qallātī would speak to him again.<sup>201</sup>

On 11 June 1912 Zāwush testified at the trial of those arrested following the Zallāj incident: he knew none of the

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<sup>198</sup> Khayr Allāh, Le Mouvement évolutionniste, III, Annexe, 5f; cf Le Tunisien, 28 December 1911, 4 and 11 January 1912.

<sup>199</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 97, p. 10f; Zāwush in Dépêche algérienne, 23 March 1912 (AGT, E550, 30, folio 13, part 3), Khayr Allāh, Le Mouvement, III, 96-99.

<sup>200</sup> Zāwush, Dépêche algérienne, loc. cit., Khayr Allāh, op. cit., III, 99f; Tunisie Française, 25 March 1912; Afrique française, XXII, 4 (April 1912), 142.

<sup>201</sup> Qallātī's sister Nafīṣah married Zāwush's brother 'Abd al-Ḥamīd; Zāwush's wife Sharīfah was Bāsh Ḥānbah's cousin: "Abdeljelil Zaouche et les tristes événements de 1912" (note by Shādhilī Khayr Allāh in CDN, file A-3-70).

defendants and the magistrates cleared him of suspicion.<sup>202</sup> In November the courts again exonerated Zāwush but declined to award him any damages in his suit against de Carnières; the following June the plaintiff won an appeal in Algiers and a thousand francs, on the stipulation that the settlement could not be published in Tunisia.<sup>203</sup> Meanwhile, Zāwush continued to sit in the Consultative Conference, trimming his jib ever closer to the French breezes. Thus he avoided criticism of the protectorate in his lecture on Tunisian history to the Ṣādiqī Alumni (21 February 1914) and two years later he furnished a sympathetic French parliamentarian with an "interesting" report.<sup>204</sup> His reward came in April 1917 when, following the deaths of Bashīr Ṣafar and, fortuitously, Victor de Carnières, Zāwush was named governor of Sūsah.

During his seventeen years as governor, Zāwush published restatements of the Young Tunisian positions on agriculture<sup>205</sup> and education,<sup>206</sup> but his official status insulated him from the current of the national movement. In May 1934 he became mayor of Tunis (shaykh al-madīnah), and on 7 October 1935 he was named Minister of

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<sup>202</sup> Khayr Allāh, Le Mouvement, III, 63-66; Yaḡyā and Marzūqī, op. cit., pp 124-128.

<sup>203</sup> Khayr Allāh, Le Mouvement, III, Annexe, 7-14; Julien, "Colons français et Jeunes-Tunisiens," pp 147-149.

<sup>204</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 337, doc. 6-8; Marius Mouttet to Zāwush, 9 February 1916, ibid., doc. 32.

<sup>205</sup> En Tunisie: La Question des Terres et l'Agriculture tunisienne (Tunis: S.A. de l'Imprimerie Rapide, 1919), 29pp.

<sup>206</sup> L'Enseignement arabe en Tunisie: Extrait des Communications de l'Académie des Sciences Coloniales, tome XX (Paris, Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, 1932), 59pp.

the Pen. From April 1936 until he retired at the end of 1942, he was Minister of Justice; he was thus at least technically responsible for the arrests and trials following the incidents of 9 April 1938. He died in early January 1947. The architect of Tunisia's cooperative enterprises and the Young Tunisians' most radical questioner of religious tradition, 'Abd al-Jalīl Zāwush was also their most enthusiastic francophile. Tha'ālibī was the product of traditional education, while Zāwush attended only French institutions; they were thus on opposite fringes of the movement's main column of Ṣādiqīs from which both eventually diverged. Thus the defendants of 1938 had the sympathy and support of Qallātī and Nu'mān, but Tha'ālibī testified for a prosecution conducted in the name of Zāwush.

## 2. Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah (1881-1920)<sup>207</sup>

Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah followed his brother 'Alī through Ṣādiqī College and worked as a judicial translator until he became a surrogate judge in the darībah (court of first instance) at Tunis in February 1909. He was briefly a member of the Ṣādiqī Alumni Association's executive committee, but his public employment precluded any overt political involvement; he was in any case absorbed in his legal studies. As a token of the government's confidence he was

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Biographies: Ḥabīb Janḥānī, Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah (Tunis: al-Dār al-Tunisiyah li-l-Nashr, 1968), 61pp; Ḥadī Madani, "al-Qāḍī al-Mukāfīḥ Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah," al-Qaḍā' wa-l-Tashrī' (Tunis: Wizārat al-'Adl), XIII, 6 (Rabī' II, 1391/June 1971), 49-55/605-611. Cf AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 5.

made a first-class knight of the Nishān al-Iftikhār (Order of Glory) in January 1911,<sup>208</sup> and at the time of the Zallāj incident he was in Aix writing legal examinations.<sup>209</sup> He vigorously protested his brother's expulsion, describing the alleged plot as "pure legend" and expressing confidence that 'Alī would be vindicated.<sup>210</sup> He nevertheless accepted promotion to a regular judgeship and returned to Aix to write further papers (and to visit 'Alī). 'Alī's rejection of the amnesty awarded him in 1913 apparently prompted the authorities to refuse Muḥammad permission to continue his studies in France and he thereupon resolved to join his brother abroad. Accordingly, he resigned from the court in June 1913, sold his possessions, divorced his wife (who insisted on remaining in Tunis) and moved to Istanbul.<sup>211</sup> He escorted his sister-in-law to Tunis to visit her ailing mother in January 1914 and during his two months in the city he frequently met with several of 'Alī's former associates.<sup>212</sup> But in April he was back among the North African emigrants in the Ottoman capital and by the year's end he was working for the sultan's government in the hope of ending France's domination of his homeland.

In 1916 Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah took up residence in Geneva as an agent of the Central Powers. He "represented" Algeria and

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<sup>208</sup>Le Tunisien, 19 January 1911.

<sup>209</sup>Letter, M. Bāsh Ḥānbah to 'A. Bāsh Ḥānbah, 5 November 1911, AGT, loc. cit., folio 61 bis, doc. 164.

<sup>210</sup>Dépêche algérienne, quoted in Tunisie Française, 23 March 1912.

<sup>211</sup>Madanī, op. cit.; cf AGT, loc. cit., folio 5, doc. 49; folio 61, doc. 140.

<sup>212</sup>AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 38; folio 5, doc. 37-47.

Tunisia at the German-sponsored Conference of Nationalities in Lausanne in June and he edited the Revue du Maghreb, which appeared more or less monthly from May 1916 until the end of the war. Few copies of this magazine reached their destination through the military censor's net, but its reasoned arguments for fiscal and judicial reform and political self-determination evoked some trepidation among the protectorate's rulers.<sup>213</sup> His property in Tunisia was declared forfeit in July 1917, but the consequent confiscation was largely symbolic, for he had left little of value behind,<sup>214</sup> and he continued publishing the Revue. He also wrote an expository essay on the Tunisian judiciary,<sup>215</sup> and a long critique of French policy in North Africa, culminating in a call for independence.<sup>216</sup> But the cause for which he had sacrificed his citizenship, his property, his marriage and his career withered before him as his brother died, his sponsors surrendered and even Wilson's promise of a new era emerged stillborn from the travail of Versailles. Early in 1919 he moved to Berlin and began corresponding with friends in Tunis, supporting Tha'ālibī's stance expressed in La Tunisie martyre;

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<sup>213</sup>Ibid., folio 5, doc. 30f, 33-35.

<sup>214</sup>Ibid., doc. 20, 25.

<sup>215</sup>La Justice tunisienne: Organisation et fonctionnement actuel: Projet de réorganisation (Geneva: Imprimerie Nationale, 1917), 72pp.

<sup>216</sup>Le Peuple algéro-tunisien et la France (Geneva: Imprimerie Nationale, 1918), 142pp.

he even urged force as the only means of attaining freedom.<sup>217</sup> Discouraged by the cautious attitude of Ṣafī, Nu'mān and Qallātī, he asked Tha'ālibī to spare him the anguish of further political news.<sup>218</sup> He died of heart failure on 27 December 1920,<sup>219</sup> and although his memory was honored in the Tunisian press, his policy of confrontation won no following and his claim to his brother's political legacy died with him.

### 3. Aḥmad al-Ṣafī (1882-1937)<sup>220</sup>

The Ṣafī family, of Sifaqsi (Sfaxi) origin, had lived in Tunis for three generations before Aḥmad's birth. After earning a law degree at Aix, he was admitted to the Tunis law bar on 6 October 1909 and plunged immediately into the campaign against the proposed transfer of Tunisian Jews to French status, organizing a rally at the Palmarium which attracted a crowd of ten thousand Muslims on 10 December. Due to a disagreement over the urgency of judicial reform, 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah refused to attend this meeting, but it was favourably reported in Le Tunisien.<sup>221</sup> Ṣafī was elected to the executive committee of the Khaldūniyah<sup>222</sup> and served with Qallātī

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<sup>217</sup> Quoted in Baron, op. cit., p. 55. Cf ibid., p. 39f; AGT, loc. cit., folio 25, doc. 31.

<sup>218</sup> Letter of 22 March 1920, quoted in Baron, op. cit., p. 57.

<sup>219</sup> Berlin coroner's certificate quoted in Janḥānī, Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah, p. 48.

<sup>220</sup> Biographical material in AGT, loc. cit., folio 79; CDN, file A-3-53.

<sup>221</sup> Le Tunisien, 16 December 1909. Cf Khayr Allāh, Le Mouvement, III, ch. 1; Ibn 'Ashūr, al-Ḥarakah, p. 95f.

<sup>222</sup> al-Tūnisī, 3 January 1910 and 9 January 1911; Le Tunisien, 6 January 1910 and 12 January 1911.

as counsel for the striking Zaytūnīs,<sup>223</sup> but his major interest remained the question of naturalization.<sup>224</sup> During the tram boycott, Ṣāfī was a member of the Destrées Committee and spoke boldly to the Minister of the Pen on the need to treat indigenous laborers as well as European workers.<sup>225</sup> He was somehow spared when his comrades were banished but he took the hint and remained inconspicuous until the end of World War I, except for an occasional visit to Damirjī's barbershop at Bāb al-Manārah (where he and Zamirli were thought to encourage emigration to Ottoman territory) and an appearance at the Zāwush-de Carnières litigation.<sup>226</sup>

A keen but reticent participant in the discussions that led to the founding of the Liberal Constitutionalist Party, Ṣāfī sought a middle ground between Tha'ālibī's defiance and Qallātī's gradualism, and his policy of demanding autonomy was accepted by Tha'ālibī as the keynote of the party, of which Ṣāfī became the first secretary general in March 1920. One of the authors of the petition requesting an autonomous deliberative assembly and the resurrection of the Tunisian constitution, Ṣāfī joined with Qallātī

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<sup>223</sup> Le Tunisien, 28 April, 5 and 19 May 1910.

<sup>224</sup> "La naturalisation des Tunisiens," Le Tunisien, 20 and 27 October 1910.

<sup>225</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 1, doc. 17, p. 3f; Khayr Allāh, Le Mouvement, III, 92.

<sup>226</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 12, doc. 1-7; folio 25, doc. 2.



to win approval for the submission of the nationalists' requests to the protectorate authorities before reluctantly accepting the leadership of the delegation chosen to present the party's case in France.<sup>227</sup> The five delegates met Tha'ālibī in Paris before his arrest and remained in France until August, visiting various political dignitaries and claiming some success; Qallātī was disgruntled, suspecting all but 'Akkāshah of having allowed Tha'ālibī to steer them into a course of sterile intransigence.<sup>228</sup> But for the moment, Ṣāfī and Qallātī continued to work together, and while Qallātī and the second delegation were in France, Ṣāfī sought to influence the new Resident-General by assembling a group of forty notables to submit the party program to him on 21 January 1921, but Saint was unimpressed. By March Ṣāfī and his friends were clearly committed to an all-or-nothing policy on the constitution and Qallātī's group soon withdrew. Ṣāfī continued to work with Tha'ālibī, leading another fruitless delegation to the Residence on 11 November, but by then the reformers' pragmatism and the hints of financial mismanagement in the Constitutional Party had begun to erode his position.

In May 1922 Ṣāfī went to Paris to prepare the way for a new delegation but soon fell out with the party's representative there, Farḥāt Ibn 'Ayyād,<sup>229</sup> and returned to Tunis where he ultimately

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<sup>227</sup> Ibid., folio 1, doc. 14, 92f; folio 79, doc. 7, 12.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., folio 1, doc. 14, 92f; folio 79, doc. 6f, 12, 17-19; Qallātī in Tunis Socialiste, 28 August 1921.

<sup>229</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 79, doc. 94-105.

found himself in charge of a leaderless party riven by jealousy. He acquired an estate at Faḥs and a fine townhouse and, leaving party administration to Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Qalībī, he moved backstage, limiting himself to intimate conclaves and occasional articles, and he died before Tha'ālibī's return. Ṣāfī had worked with Bāsh Ḥānbah and Qallātī and shared their faith in progress through association with France, but in seeking a middle way between Qallātī's cautious graduation and Bāsh Ḥānbah's proud defiance, Ṣāfī fell into Tha'ālibī's web, sacrificing his political credibility to an inflexible policy and sinking his personal reputation into a maze of financial intrigue and moral innuendo.

#### 4. Khayr Allāh Ibn Muṣṭafá (1867-1965)<sup>230</sup>

Of Turkish origin, Khayr Allāh Ibn Muṣṭafá was the son and grandson of senior military officers. He attended the 'Alawī and Ṣādiqī Colleges, then worked as a judicial interpreter. When the Ṣādiqī Alumni Association was formed on 23 December 1905, Ibn Muṣṭafá was elected its first president. A year later he founded the first reformed kuttāb (traditional school) near the Zaytūnah Mosque. Although Bāsh Ḥānbah criticized this innovation as being inadequate for the needs of a modern Tunisian society, Ibn Muṣṭafá eventually convinced him that such schools could prove complementary to the Franco-Arabic schools Bāsh Ḥānbah preferred. A member of the executive

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<sup>230</sup> Biography in Zamirli, Les Successeurs, pp 279-288.

committee of the Khaldūnīyah and the examining council of the government agricultural school at al-Anṣārīn, Ibn Muṣṭafá was named in July 1908 to the council administering pious endowments.<sup>231</sup> At the North Africa Congress of October 1908 he read a paper on primary education, securing an endorsation of his project for a combined system of Franco-Arabic and reformed traditional schools,<sup>232</sup> and, with Zāwush, he led the successful opposition to the ideas that Jews should be free to change from Tunisian to French status and that the indigenes needed a stricter penal code.

In December 1908 Ibn Muṣṭafá and Aṣram became the Tunisian members of 'Alawī College's curricular commission.<sup>233</sup> Ibn Muṣṭafá received several similar appointments; for example, to the Zaytūnah reform investigation and to a panel studying the education of girls.<sup>234</sup> He became a knight of the Legion of Honor in April 1911 and during the disquiet after the Zallāj incident he sought to calm his compatriots.<sup>235</sup> Neither his capacity as a civil servant nor his private inclinations would permit him any active involvement in Bāsh Ḥānbah's pro-Ottoman efforts or the tram boycott, but he was unhappy when Zāwush shied away from criticizing the protectorate in his speech to

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<sup>231</sup>

Le Tunisien, 30 July 1908.

<sup>232</sup> Depincé, Congrès, II, 44f, 48-60, 552-593; Zāwush, "Le Congrès de l'Afrique du Nord," Le Tunisien, 5 November 1908.

<sup>233</sup>

Le Tunisien, 17 December 1908.

<sup>234</sup>

Ibid., 24 March and 7 April 1910.

<sup>235</sup>

Ibid., 20 April 1911, 4 January 1912.

the Ṣādiqī Alumni on 21 February 1913.<sup>236</sup> Nevertheless, Ibn Muṣṭafá remained a servant of the protectorate, as tutor to royal princes, as director of protocol for Nāṣir Bāy and finally for ten years as president of the Jam'iyāt al-Awqāf. He shared the progressive outlook of the other Young Tunisians but, like Zāwush, he apparently preferred to work slowly within the old system and shunned the populism of the postwar reformers and nationalists.

### C. The Rank and the File

From among the members of the Cercle Tunisien and the Ṣādiqī Alumni Association and their like-minded friends from the Khaldūnīyah or provincial centres, we could list some sixty or seventy ardent supporters of the program of Le Tunisien. Several prospective adherents came of age after the blow of 1912 and joined the political ferment around the coffee houses, but these were too late to be included in a movement that had flowered in the spring of the policy of association and withered when banishment deprived it of vitality. Bāsh Ḥānbah forfeited the leader's mantle by refusing to return home and his erstwhile colleagues followed divergent paths: Zāwush and Ibn Muṣṭafá were absorbed into the administration, to be followed eventually by Zamirli. Tha'ālibī and Ṣāfī won broad support for

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<sup>236</sup> AGT, loc. cit., folio 337, doc. 6.

their simple, utopian objective, while Qallātī and Nu'mān were frustrated in their attempt to revive Le Tunisien's attitude of constructive opposition to a protectorate that was neither ideal nor intolerable. The other Young Tunisians similarly dispersed into the civil service, the Constitutional Party or various smaller groupings. Some left the regency. Even the activists among them were soon superseded by the new dynamism of the fresh initiative launched by Ḥabīb Būrqībah.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE POLICIES OF THE YOUNG TUNISIANS

#### A. Fundamental Precepts

In a phrase, the Young Tunisians were secular modernists who hoped to work with enlightened French officials to endow their homeland with all the social and technological accoutrements of a modern state. Their aspirations and many of their attitudes resembled these of the Young Turks (to whom they apparently owe their name), but these similarities are more likely the result of parallel evolution than of any direct borrowing since, as we have seen, the reformist tradition which the Young Tunisians inherited was already several generations old.<sup>1</sup> That the Young Tunisians admired the achievements of the Young Turks is undeniable,<sup>2</sup> but their contact with the Egyptian nationalists of their day was minimal,<sup>3</sup> and their most significant external stimulation derived from the radical heritage of the French left which they had absorbed during their bicultural education. While it is conceivable that their commitment to democracy was somewhat keener than L.C. Brown has suggested and that their eagerness for elections stemmed from more

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<sup>1</sup> V. supra, ch. II; cf Le Tunisien, 28 March 1907.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Zāwush in Le Tunisien, 27 August 1908; Qallātī, ibid., 6 May 1909.

<sup>3</sup> Le Tunisien, 13 February 1908; AGT, E550, file 30, folio 14, doc. 32.

than a desire to parallel French institutions in the protectorate, they were probably rashly confident of their own ability to win their countrymen's support.<sup>4</sup> Political theory was certainly less important to the Young Tunisians than economic and social problems, and representation was seen simply as a means to solving these problems to the public's satisfaction. But this is surely the underlying rationale for democracy anywhere.

Whatever their ideological justification, the Young Tunisians insisted that the native population should elect representatives both to the regency's Consultative Conference and to municipal councils. Adequate indigenous representation would afford a safeguard against settler domination, while election would insure against packing the delegation with pawns of the government. If the authorities must choose the members, they should select only persons capable of participating in French-language debates; the government's disregard for this elementary consideration convinced the Young Tunisians that the idea of native representation was "stillborn".<sup>5</sup> To forestall any claim that the public was unprepared for the electoral process, Zāwush advocated a collegial system of indirect election as an interim measure, although he recalled that shaykhs and municipal councillors had been chosen by popular suffrage

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<sup>4</sup>"Tunisia under the French Protectorate," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University (1962), p. 58f. We must in any case agree with the same author's observation that "since the Young Tunisians were not put to the test on this point, it is impossible to say;" ibid., p. 59, n. 17.

<sup>5</sup>Le Tunisien, 11 and 18 April and 7 November 1907.

before the occupation.<sup>6</sup> Bāsh Ḥānbah saw election as the prerequisite of responsible representation and believed that public disturbances such as the Zallāj riot and the tramway boycott would continue until the indigenes were permitted to choose their own delegates.<sup>7</sup> To achieve a fairer balance, these two spokesmen advocated the enlargement of the Tunisian contingent in the Conference,<sup>8</sup> while they opposed that body's division into French and Tunisian sections because this would impede the growth of mutual respect and mitigate against the free exchange of ideas, but they conceded that the unrelenting hostility of the settler party lent a certain expediency to separate sessions.<sup>9</sup> Le Tunisien castigated the Tunisian members of the Conference for their ignorance of and lack of interest in the concerns of their compatriots, and Zāwush suggested they be exposed through the publication of the Conference's proceedings.<sup>10</sup> Although he wanted it to discuss the administration's fiscal reforms, he sadly concluded that the Conference was quite incapable of governing the country.<sup>11</sup> A decade later Ṣāfī revived the electoral theme, appealing for a unified legislative assembly with equal representation

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 12 May and 15 December 1910.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 5 January 1911; Bāsh Ḥānbah's statement in the meeting at the office of the Minister of the Pen, 9 March 1912; AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 17, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Le Tunisien, 12 and 19 May 1910; 5 January 1911.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 28 February 1907; 5 and 19 May, 1 December 1910.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 12 May and 24 November 1910; 29 February 1912.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 13 January and 3 November 1910.



for the two communities; on the other hand the Revue du Maghreb had called for self-determination for North Africa.<sup>12</sup>

The touchstone of the Young Tunisians' commitment to secularism was their adoption of the principle of equality between their Muslim and Jewish compatriots. Tunisian Jews were invited to join the struggle for reform<sup>13</sup> and reminded that ever since their ancestors had sought refuge in Tunisia they had been well-treated by Muslim governments, enjoying equal treatment from the courts.<sup>14</sup> For the time being, however, the Young Tunisians accepted the need for distinct Jewish representation in the indigene section of the Consultative Conference,<sup>15</sup> but they abhorred a violent boycott of Jewish merchants<sup>16</sup> and praised the constructive activities of the Jewish delegate to the Consultative Conference, Elie Fitūsī.<sup>17</sup>

Rejecting the traditional assumption that governments should be virtually inert, the Young Tunisians embraced the European idea of the "positive state" and exhorted the authorities to act in a multitude of spheres to accelerate the economic modernization of Tunisia.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, they advocated the reintroduction of the 1861 constitution to protect the civil rights of everybody in the regency

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<sup>12</sup> Šāfī, preface to A. Duran-Angliviel, Ce que la Tunisie demande à la France (Paris: Jouve, 1921), p. 12; Revue du Maghreb, I, 8 (December 1916), 230.

<sup>13</sup> Le Tunisien, 28 March and 6 June 1907; 10 December 1909.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 31 December 1908; 14, 21 and 28 October and 18 November 1909.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 12 and 19 May 1910.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 13 January 1910.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 26 November 1908 and 10 May 1911.

<sup>18</sup> L.C. Brown, "Tunisia under the French Protectorate," p. 56f. Cf. Zāwush, "Notre Evolution," Le Tunisien, 18 April 1907.

and to guarantee an orderly cultural evolution.<sup>19</sup> At the Marseille Colonial Conference in September 1906 Muḥammad Aḡram had predicted that France would eventually endow Tunisia with a constitution,<sup>20</sup> and the idea persisted through the short life of the Revue du Maghreb<sup>21</sup> to appear in the names of several political organizations, including today's Constitutional Socialist Party.

That the Young Tunisians saw themselves as an elite leading a nation to the springs of modernity is evident from the opening editorial of Le Tunisien: having discovered the advantages of modern technological civilization, they were resolved "to uproot their compatriots from their intellectual stupor in order to equip them better for a useful life." To their countrymen they offered their own bicultural education as a link between "protectors" and "protégés" along with a gratuitous exhortation to accept such worthwhile changes as adopting more sanitary methods of disposing of corpses, especially in the cases of victims of contagious diseases.<sup>22</sup> Besides expounding their cause in their newspapers, the Young Tunisians taught in the Khaldūniyah, and organized the Ṣādiqī Alumni Association's public lectures in Ḥalfawīn.<sup>23</sup> Zāwush operated his model mill

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<sup>19</sup> Le Tunisien, 27 August, 10 and 24 September 1908; al-Tūnisī, 29 November 1909.

<sup>20</sup> (Lesram and de Dianous), Questions tunisiennes (Paris: A. Challamel, 1907), p. 50.

<sup>21</sup> See especially the issues from November 1916 to February 1917.

<sup>22</sup> Le Tunisien, 7 February 1907; al-Tūnisī, 8 November 1909; 17 March and 8 May 1911.

<sup>23</sup> F. Bernard, "L'évolution des indigènes en Tunisie," Questions diplomatiques et coloniales, XXIV, 254 (16 September 1907), p. 366.

and launched grocers' and shoemakers' cooperatives, and Le Tunisien encouraged an olive oil cooperative in Mahdīyah. On another occasion it urged Tunisian farmers to join French credit unions.<sup>24</sup> Young Tunisians were among the leaders of the Muslim Benevolent Societies in Tunis and Sūsah.<sup>25</sup> Resident-General Alapetite won their praise for creating indigene provident societies,<sup>26</sup> but the protectorate's record of social advance fell short of their expectations on all counts: educational, judicial, fiscal and administrative.<sup>27</sup> Culturally, the Young Tunisians founded a musical society (which had several Jewish members), a literary club and an athletic association. But one aspect of modern society almost escaped their notice, for in five years Le Tunisien published only two feature articles on the social condition of Tunisian women.<sup>28</sup>

Although the Young Tunisians had definite opinions about both the French protectorate and affairs in the greater Islamic world, theirs was chiefly a movement of internal evolution, which viewed political changes as means to social and economic improvements. In its opening editorial, Le Tunisien grouped these desired ameliorations under five rubrics, which we shall now consider in turn: education, justice, finance, agriculture and administration.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Le Tunisien, 21 February and 5 September 1907.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 2 May 1907.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 13 June 1907.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 1 October 1908.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 15 August and 26 September 1907.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 7 February and 12 December 1907.

## B. Education

No other issue could approach the preeminence the Young Tunisians attached to the need for furnishing their countrymen with sufficient instruction for modern life: this was indeed the "claim which we cherish most."<sup>30</sup> Their attitude was not new, for not only had 'Abduh urged Muslims to acquire western languages and sciences, but such Tunisians as Agram and General Husayn had also sought to expand and extend their countrymen's knowledge, following the example set by Qabādū in the days of Ahmad Bāy. Education was the key to economic progress as well as to cultural cross-fertilization and the eradication of superstition;<sup>31</sup> besides urging the government to develop the regency's educational facilities, the Young Tunisians formed their own special committee to persuade compatriots to learn more and to enrol their children in school.<sup>32</sup>

As a first step to bringing modern education to the people of Tunisia, the Young Tunisians begged the authorities to erect an adequate number of classrooms for the entire juvenile population of the regency. At least the government should spend the funds allocated for this purpose, but it could do even better, as a detailed financing project printed in Le Tunisien sought to prove.<sup>33</sup> Schooling should be

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 1 July 1909; As L.C. Brown has quite plausibly suggested, about a quarter of Le Tunisien's coverage related to education: op. cit., p. 63.

<sup>31</sup> Le Tunisien, 18 April, 14 and 28 November 1907; 14 December 1911.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 5 May 1910.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 21 February, 20 June 1907; 29 April 1909; 4 May 1911.

free and compulsory throughout Tunisia<sup>34</sup> and, wherever possible, Tunisian children should attend classes with the young Europeans of their locality,<sup>35</sup> in the same way that their Algerian cousins did.<sup>36</sup> It might be necessary, Nu'mān conceded, to give indigene pupils special instruction to compensate for their poorer preparation,<sup>37</sup> but it was both unnecessary and unacceptable for Tunisians to be removed from school to make room for newly arrived settler families.<sup>38</sup>

There was, however, a certain lack of unanimity among the Young Tunisians on the choice of the curriculum that would be most appropriate to their objectives. In September 1906 Aṣram had advocated the maximum possible diffusion of the Franco-Arabic school (which offered a modern curriculum in French with Arabic taught by specialists), to be supplemented by "reformed" Quranic schools in areas where it was impracticable to open Franco-Arabic classes. He had also mentioned studies conducted by Khayr Allāh Ibn Muṣṭafā on the feasibility of revising the traditional program.<sup>39</sup> Shortly thereafter Ibn Muṣṭafā had opened his school with the support of Ṣafar and the Jam'īyat al-Awqāf. Bāsh Ḥānbah, on the other hand, was unwilling to see the

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 7 February, 28 March 1907; al-Tūnisī, 8 November 1909.

<sup>35</sup> Le Tunisien, 26 March, 30 April 1908; 4 March 1909. Cf. Ibn Muṣṭafā's argument at the North Africa Congress in Depincé, ed., Congrès de l'Afrique du Nord... (Paris, 1909), II, 592f.

<sup>36</sup> Le Tunisien, 9 January 1908.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 24 January 1909.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 17 October 1907.

<sup>39</sup> Aṣram and de Dianous, op. cit., pp 23-25.

government divert its money and energy from building new Franco-Arabic schools. As he could find no cause to expect any appreciable change in the quality of the *kuttābs*' instruction, he dismissed Ibn Muṣṭafá's brainchild as a "bastard creation".<sup>40</sup> In the Consultative Conference, Zāwush was similarly emphatic in support of the Franco-Arabic school.<sup>41</sup> Ibn Muṣṭafá's resolutions presented to the North Africa Congress were in some measure a compromise, for he repeated Bāsh Ḥānbah's arguments for integration and proposed that Tunisian schoolboys should attend classes with their European neighbors, but receive supplementary instruction in Arabic and religion; reformed *kuttābs* were to be provided only as a temporary expedient in centres that had no Franco-Arabic school. However, the settlers obliged him to compromise even further, and the final resolution gave precedence to the reformed *kuttābs* and implied that Franco-Arabic schools could become exceptional.<sup>42</sup>

Bāsh Ḥānbah's series of articles on this question indicated no disposition to accept half-measures. Subtly suggesting that Ibn Muṣṭafá was not really one of the Young Tunisians, he presented his group's claim that the *kuttāb* was so archaic that it was incapable of sufficient modification and deserved to be retained only long enough for modern, Franco-Arabic schools to be provided in its

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<sup>40</sup> Le Tunisien, 17 and 31 October 1907; 20 February 1908.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 30 November 1907.

<sup>42</sup> Depincé, op. cit., II, 60, 592f.

stead. In Bāsh Ḥānbah's view, Ibn Muṣṭafá's creation was actually a primary Arabic school that would confuse the general educational scene, tantalizing the advocates of segregated instruction and denying Tunisians a fair chance to succeed in their own country: Ibn Muṣṭafá betrayed his own misgivings on this point by sending his children to exclusively French schools.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, a special meeting of the Ṣādiqī Alumni Association had flouted its president by endorsing Bāsh Ḥānbah's plan for the gradual replacement of traditional academies by Franco-Arabic schools.<sup>44</sup> Bāsh Ḥānbah invoked the name of Khayr al-Dīn, portraying the Ṣādiqīyah as the Franco-Arabic prototype, and insisted that the protectorate made a command of French more essential than ever before to Tunisians with professional or administrative aspirations.<sup>45</sup> Thus classes should be conducted in French, but to ensure that the Tunisian pupils were not estranged from their own culture, they were to receive formal instruction on the niceties of their native language, and to this end, Bāsh Ḥānbah commended Ibn Muṣṭafá's Arabic syllabus.<sup>46</sup> But Arabic instruction aside, the Young Tunisians' preoccupation with primary education was to secure the provision of the same curriculum to all children in Tunisia as a guarantee of

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<sup>43</sup> Le Tunisien, 14 January to 8 April 1909. Cf Nu'mān in the Courrier de Tunisie, 7 to 25 October 1909.

<sup>44</sup> Le Tunisien, 10 December 1908.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 21, 28 January 1909.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 12 March 1908; 11 February 1909.

equality of social and economic opportunity.

Secondary educational facilities in Tunisia were limited to the French Lycée Carnot and Khayr al-Dīn's Ṣādiqīyah. As early as 1900 Zāwush published an appeal for an increase in the number of Muslims admitted to the Lycée and for the restoration of the Ṣādiqī diploma course as a recognized secondary curriculum.<sup>47</sup>

Le Tunisien also offered periodic pleas for greater indigenous access to secondary schooling,<sup>48</sup> but focused on the Ṣādiqīyah, which ought to be administered with less governmental interference than had become current and which deserved a larger subsidy than had been forthcoming: in a lengthy open letter Bāsh Ḥānbah begged the Resident to save the school from bankruptcy.<sup>49</sup>

The regency's only centre of higher learning was the Zaytūnah Mosque-University, where the regulations introduced by Khayr al-Dīn had been virtually inoperative despite the efforts of Sālim Būḥājib, Muḥammad Riḡwān and others to implement them. Le Tunisien applauded both the formation of the Zaytūnah Students' Association in February 1907 and the initiative of Ṭāhir Ibn 'Āshūr and Muḥammad Balkhūjah a year later to revive the regulations.<sup>50</sup> But events moved slowly until the spring of 1910, when Bāsh Ḥānbah urged

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<sup>47</sup> En Tunisie: L'Enseignement des Indigènes (Tunis: Brigol, 1900), pp 12-15.

<sup>48</sup> 7 February 1907, 1 July 1909; al-Tūnisī, 10 January 1910.

<sup>49</sup> Le Tunisien, 22 April 1909; cf ibid., 2 May 1907.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 14 February 1907; 13 February 1908.



the Zaytūnīs to secure modifications in their program similar to those recently introduced at al-Azhar, in order to enhance the diminishing value of their diplomas. Within a fortnight the students had acted and the government had named a commission of inquiry; Zāwush rejoiced at the scholars' awakening, but feared that the commissioners would prove too conservative to authorize the vitally necessary teaching of physical and social sciences. Meanwhile Tha'ālibī was encouraging the Zaytūnīs to accept the Young Tunisians' well-intended advice.<sup>51</sup> Throughout the strike the Young Tunisians worked diligently on the Zaytūnīs' behalf, publishing their grievances (which criticized lazy lecturers, chaotic schedules and poor housing as well as curricular inadequacies) and providing legal counsel along with avuncular advice such as Bāsh Hānbah's appeal for order and moderation.<sup>52</sup> But they soon lost hope for and interest in the venerable university and left it to choke in its own inertia after issuing a single protest over the government's failure to implement the desired reforms.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, the Young Tunisians heartily approved of the Khaldūnīyah's achievement in initiating the Zaytūnīs to modern learning, and they urged the government to support this institution.<sup>54</sup> As well, they sought to have more Tunisians enter

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 10 and 24 March 1910; al-Tūnisī, 14 and 21 March 1910.

<sup>52</sup> Le Tunisien, 14 April to 12 May 1910.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 27 October 1910.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 24 and 31 March 1910.

French universities. The French government gave fellowships tenable at Aix and Paris to Egyptian and Turkish students and provided them with hostels; it ought to do as much for its own protégés.<sup>55</sup> Better still, Tunis should have a secular university of its own, with faculties of law and medicine.<sup>56</sup>

However many schools were built and whatever improvements were made in the program, little social progress would be achieved as long as primary schools were left under the dubious supervision of inexperienced monitors drawn from secondary school to the detriment of their own academic advancement.<sup>57</sup> Le Tunisien begged the administration to increase the quota of indigenes admitted to the 'Alawī normal school, or at least to provide the four places annually it had promised in 1905,<sup>58</sup> and to assign the few Tunisians enrolled to accommodations of the same quality and in the same place as those of their European classmates.<sup>59</sup> As well, the traditional teachers' college, al-Ta'dībīyah, needed a more modern curriculum and better French instruction.<sup>60</sup> The Young Tunisians therefore applauded the measures, taken in November 1908, which made al-Ta'dībīyah an

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 25 June 1908, 25 November 1909, 2 February 1911.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 11 February 1909, 14 April 1910.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 20 February and 5 March 1908.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 19 and 26 September 1907, 5 March 1908.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 10 and 17 October 1907.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 26 September 1907. Cf Zāwush's motion in the Consultative Conference (30 November 1907) in ibid., 5 December 1907, and his "En Tunisie: les Indigènes et l'Instruction," Revue politique et parlementaire, LVI, 167 (May 1908), 275f. Cf also Khayr Allah Ibn Muṣṭafa's resolutions at the North Africa Congress in Depincé, op.cit., II, 592.

autonomous indigene section of the 'Alawīyah,<sup>61</sup> but they did not hesitate to voice their anxieties about the inadequate implementation of what Nu'mān diagnosed as an "aborted reform".<sup>62</sup> The ideal situation, as Bāsh Ḥānbah explained, would have integrated teachers' classes preparing Tunisians and Europeans alike for places in the Franco-Arabic schools, while the Ta'dībīyah would concentrate on training the specialists who would become teachers of Arabic.<sup>63</sup>

In 1900 Zāwush suggested that vocational and agricultural education should be offered to those of his countrymen who were not entering secondary school.<sup>64</sup> During 1906 both Ṣāfar and Aṣram made similar requests,<sup>65</sup> as did Bāsh Ḥānbah's opening editorial in Le Tunisien.<sup>66</sup> Traditional pursuits provided little sustenance for many laborers, so to save the working class from starvation it would be necessary to prepare them for gaining a living in a modern economy.<sup>67</sup> But technical education should be a supplement to and no substitute for universal primary instruction, lest the autochthons be reduced to a state of permanent servitude.<sup>68</sup> More Tunisians should be admitted to the government technical school, while more such facilities should

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<sup>61</sup> Le Tunisien, 12 November 1908.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 4 February 1909; Of Zāwush in ibid., 17 June 1909.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 1 and 8 April 1909.

<sup>64</sup> En Tunisie: L'Enseignement des Indigènes, p. 16.

<sup>65</sup> Ṣāfar, speech at the opening of the Takīyah, 24 March 1906 in Khayr Allāh, Essai, p. 67f; Aṣram and de Dianous, op. cit., pp 13,35.

<sup>66</sup> Le Tunisien, 7 February 1907.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 13 and 27 May 1909.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 6 February, 25 June 1908; 11 February, 13 May 1909.

be opened in various parts of the regency;<sup>69</sup> Zāwush even proposed that vocational instruction should be offered to students at the Zaytūnah.<sup>70</sup> The Young Tunisians were encouraged by the modernization of such established crafts as ceramics, weaving and dyeing through government programs,<sup>71</sup> as well as a course in navigation offered at Banzart and the inauguration of a program of apprenticing Tunisian boys to various European tradesmen.<sup>72</sup> Commercial training should also be available to indigenes, either through admission to the High School of Commerce in Tunis or by the provision of appropriate classes at the Šādiqīyah.<sup>73</sup>

Because most of their compatriots were cultivators, the Young Tunisians were especially insistent that there should be a broad diffusion of contemporary farming techniques in all parts of the country. They urged the government to increase the budget and expand the scope of the agricultural school at al-Anšārīn: students should acquire theoretical and technical expertise in addition to basic skills, and the school should be moved to Aryānah to make it

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 13 June, 3 October 1907; Zāwush, labor resolutions at the North Africa Congress, Depincé, op. cit., II, 462.

<sup>70</sup> Le Tunisien, 31 March 1910.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 28 January 1909; 27 January, 10 February, 5 May, 3 November 1910; 8 June 1911.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 19 May 1910; 16 March 1911.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 10 October 1907; Zāwush in Depincé, loc. cit.; ibid., "Essai de sociétés coopératives en Tunisie," Revue du Monde musulman, I, 4 (April 1907), 490.

accessible to Tunis.<sup>74</sup> 'Abd al-Jalīl Zāwush proposed the establishment of training farms for abandoned children<sup>75</sup> and his brother 'Abd al-Salām advocated the creation of a horticultural school.<sup>76</sup>

On several occasions Le Tunisien argued for the education of girls, partly in their own interest but also to give their husbands better companionship and to help their children acquire a constructive attitude to learning.<sup>77</sup> Bashīr Šafer, General Khayr al-Dīn and the prophet of Islām were invoked in support of this idea,<sup>78</sup> and as each new girls' school opened it won a round of applause from the Young Tunisians,<sup>79</sup> who continued to plead for more such institutions. On the question of curriculum, these exponents of social modernization were uncharacteristically hesitant: future Tunisian homemakers were to be equipped for their role as transmitters of traditional culture with a thorough grounding in Arabic.<sup>80</sup> However, the immense popularity of French girls' schools among the autochthons finally persuaded the élite to press for more such academies, presumably at some cost to the young ladies' classical attainments.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>74</sup>Le Tunisien, 7 February 1907; 11 November 1909; 22 December 1910; 25 May 1911.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 29 August 1907.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., 2 February 1911.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., 27 June and 26 September 1907; 16 June 1910; al-Tūnisī, 12 June 1911. Cf Zamirli's paper on girls' schooling, presented to the North Africa Congress, Depincé, op. cit., II, 289f.

<sup>78</sup>Le Tunisien, 18 April, 15 August 1907; 26 March 1908.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., 19 March 1908; 5 May 1910; 8 June 1911.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., 13 February 1908; Khayr Allāh Ibn Muṣṭafā in Depincé, op. cit., II, 60 and Zamirli in ibid., 289f.

<sup>81</sup>Le Tunisien, 22 February 1912.

To further public appreciation of the benefits of modern society and to promote better understanding between Frenchmen and Tunisians, Le Tunisien hoped to revive Khayr al-Dīn's scheme of sending a few outstanding schoolboys to study in France each year,<sup>82</sup> while Bāsh Ḥānbah urged the authorities to send a larger group on a tour of France every summer.<sup>83</sup> As a final note on Young Tunisian attitudes to education, it is interesting to remark Le Tunisien's hearty endorsement of the Ṣādiqīyah's adoption of the Ling method of physical training.<sup>84</sup>

### C. The Judiciary

As several of the leading Young Tunisians were lawyers, it was natural that much of the movement's attention should focus on the archaic and chaotic structure of the regency's judiciary. Their criticisms and recommendations were expounded in a comprehensive series of twenty-four articles by Ḥasan Qallātī (using the pseudonym "Nassah"),<sup>85</sup> and from his first speech in the Consultative Conference, Zāwush made similar representations.<sup>86</sup> But the commission of inquiry named in June 1909 included none of the Young Tunisians and accomplished so little that Zāwush asked for another investigation

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 17 June 1909.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 1 July 1909; 16 June 1910; 1 June 1911; 25 January 1912.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 7 January, 27 May 1909.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 4 April 1907 to 3 December 1908.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 14 November 1907; 2 December 1909.

while Bāsh Ḥānbah came to view the government's endless procrastination on the issue of judicial reform as the country's "major problem", since some action had been taken on both educational and fiscal grievances.<sup>87</sup> Decrepit as the existing apparatus seemed, it was still amenable to repair, and need only be abolished in such extreme eventualities as the categorical refusal of France to allow the necessary emendations.<sup>88</sup> But Qallātī complained that his proposals were ignored and accused the government of employing only haphazard methods in its attempts to resuscitate Tunisian justice, and Bāsh Ḥānbah ultimately despaired of achieving any appreciable change in the immediate future.<sup>89</sup>

The most vital alteration the movement hoped to effect was the immunization of the judiciary from administrative interference. It was too easy and too common for officials in the Judicial Service to distort evidence, meddle in deliberations, or overturn the verdicts of Tunisian magistrates. The Young Tunisians advocated the relegation of the Service to a role analogous to the Education Service's task of supporting the school system, and a guarantee of magisterial independence.<sup>90</sup> Nor should the Bāy retain any real

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 1 July, 7 October, 2 December 1909; 3 and 17 February 1910.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 12 March 1908; 4 November, 16 December 1909; Cf Zāwush, "Questions tunisiennes," Revue politique et parlementaire, LXV, 193 (July 1910), p. 147.

<sup>89</sup> Le Tunisien, 24 November 1910; 1 June 1911.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 2 January, 16 April 1908; 20 May 1909.

jurisdiction over the courts, which should have full competence to dispense delegated justice.<sup>91</sup> By the same token, no functionary should be able to abuse his office by imprisoning individuals on personal grounds.<sup>92</sup> Finally, and somewhat ironically, the Young Tunisians thought it should be impossible for the authorities to expel anyone from the regency without recourse to an established legal procedure.<sup>93</sup>

Aṣram had requested that Islamic law should be adapted and codified, but Bāsh Ḥānbah wanted the promulgation of a series of codes which would safeguard Tunisians against arbitrary punishment;<sup>94</sup> Qallātī and Zāwush suggested the Egyptian codes as suitable models.<sup>95</sup> Compendia of regulations would be unacceptable if they proved inappropriate to their purpose; thus Qallātī condemned the contract code issued in December 1906 as incomplete and abstruse, Bāsh Ḥānbah and Zāwush criticized the civil procedures code of June 1910 because it sanctioned existing privileges and kept the judiciary subservient to the administration (although it did end the imprisonment of debtors), and Qallātī voiced similar misgivings about a revision of this code promulgated in March 1911.<sup>96</sup> The code which the Young Tunisians most

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 28 May, 2 July 1908; 30 June 1910.

<sup>92</sup> As did the governor of Nābul, Le Tunisien, 4 November 1909.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 18 March 1909.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 7 February 1907; al-Tūnisī, 8 November 1909; Aṣram and de Dianous, op. cit., p. 54. Cf Tha'alibī in al-Tūnisī, 24 October 1910.

<sup>95</sup> Le Tunisien, 23 May 1907; 16 July 1908; 1 July, 4 November 1909.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 23 May 1907; 9 and 30 June 1910; 23 March, 13 April 1911.



wanted, however, was a penal code, but not one that would put special restrictions on the indigenes' civil rights as the settlers desired.<sup>97</sup> Le Tunisien vigorously opposed plans for a secret police, for permission to shoot thieves, for a lynch law for muggers and for the collective punishment of the Muslim community after the Zallāj riot.<sup>98</sup> Nor could its editors accept the apparent double standard that meted out more severe penalties to autochthons than to Europeans convicted of the same crime. Zāwush argued that persuasion was more conducive to moral progress than threats could be and Nu'mān warned that the Tunisians should not be made to feel they were strangers in their own country.<sup>99</sup>

On the vexed question of personal status, Nu'mān claimed that it was legally impossible for Tunisians to become French citizens as they could not abandon their allegiance to the Bāy; besides, it would be apostasy for a Muslim to assume French civil standing, but nothing should inhibit respect for the equal rights of all residents of Tunisia.<sup>100</sup> Refining this position, Bāsh Ḥānbah and Ṣāfī argued that their coreligionists could become loyal Frenchmen if they were

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 23 May 1907; 29 October 1908.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 28 November 1907; 10 September 1908; 14 April 1910; 23 November 1911.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 28 February, 9 May 1907; 7 December 1911.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 25 February 1909.

allowed to retain Muslim personal status, but otherwise not even the most secular Tunisian would desert his own people to join the dominant foreign community, to which other European settlers were too easily admitted.<sup>101</sup> As the Bāy's justice treated his Muslim and Jewish subjects equally, Qallātī and Ibn Muṣṭafá contended that the projected transfer of Tunisian Jews to French jurisdiction had no validity.<sup>102</sup> The formal resolutions of the Jewish rally of 3 October 1909 triggered a barrage of articles by Bāsh Ḥānbah and a speech to the Consultative Conference by Zāwush insisting on the illegality and immorality implied in the Jews' wish to forsake the people who had given them refuge from European persecution and join the new immigrant élite, while Ṣāfī organized the Muslim protest meeting of 10 December.<sup>103</sup> The Young Tunisians relaxed their campaign only after the administration had acquiesced in their opinion.

Le Tunisien urged the government to open a civil registry<sup>104</sup> and commended it for doing so, but complained that marriages and divorces should be recorded as well as births and deaths.<sup>105</sup> It attacked the requirement of exit visas for Tunisians leaving their homeland and interceded on behalf of a number of pilgrims imprisoned

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 20 and 27 October 1910; Dépêche Tunisienne, 19 October 1910.

<sup>102</sup> Le Tunisien, 23 April 1908; Depincé, op. cit., II, 73f.

<sup>103</sup> Le Tunisien, 3 October to 30 December 1909. Cf Khayr Allāh, Le Mouvement évolutionniste tunisien, III, 13-22.

<sup>104</sup> Le Tunisien, 1 August 1907; 3 December 1908.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 9 June 1910.

for alleged violations of this regulation.<sup>106</sup> On another point of civil rights, it protested against the wanton power of the sovereign to imprison his kinfolk without cause, and several times it had occasion to denounce the arbitrary suspension of Arabic newspapers<sup>107</sup> and appeal for more liberal press laws.<sup>108</sup> When all the Arabic newspapers were banned after the Zallāj incident, Le Tunisien pleaded for their reauthorization in order to help calm public discontent.<sup>109</sup>

To restore public confidence in the judicial process, the Young Tunisians wanted measures taken to revive the prestige and improve the working conditions of indigenous magistrates. Only graduates of French law schools with formal training in Arabic or persons obtaining a proposed legal diploma from Zaytūnah who had completed a special French course should be appointed to the bench,<sup>110</sup> but Qallātī happily accepted the decree of 1 January 1909 admitting Zaytūnah graduates who had passed a qualifying examination.<sup>111</sup> Nevertheless Bāsh Ḥānbah considered the Zaytūnah syllabus an insufficient preparation for so important an office and recommended an improved curriculum including a paid internship at the Judicial

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 11 July 1907, 18 February 1909.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 2 January, 9 April, 30 July 1908; 17 March 1910.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 16 December 1909.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 16 November, 7 December 1911.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 16 July 1908.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 4 February 1909.

Service.<sup>112</sup> Besides an end to administrative interference that reduced the magistrature to a clerical position, Qallātī hoped for a substantial rise in judges' salaries to attract more competent candidates, as well as an increase in the number of judgeships to lessen the case load of each.<sup>113</sup> Bāsh Ḥānbah complained that the courtrooms were in poor buildings and poorly furnished<sup>114</sup> and Le Tunisien remonstrated against a rule forbidding judges to receive visitors in their offices.<sup>115</sup> As proof of the secular character of Tunisian justice, Zāwush urged the nomination of qualified Jews to be judges in native courts and even suggested the appointment of French judges to these tribunals.<sup>116</sup> The Young Tunisians also took an interest in the predicaments of other judicial employees, interceding on behalf of overworked clerks, encouraging the formation of a legal representatives' association and suggesting the recruitment of a number of bailiffs to accelerate the execution of the courts' decisions.<sup>117</sup> Fairer justice could be secured, in Qallātī's opinion, if the trial procedure was modified to provide precise charges,

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 24 February, 10 March 1910; cf Tha'ālibī in al-Tūnisī, 14 March 1910.

<sup>113</sup> Le Tunisien, 18 April, 7 November 1907.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 10 February 1910.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 18 June 1908.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 5 November 1908; cf Depincé, op. cit., II, 77, 83.

<sup>117</sup> Le Tunisien, 9 January, 20 February 1908; 11 May 1911.

expeditious arraignments, open examination of evidence and the testimony of witnesses,<sup>118</sup> while preliminary investigations should be entrusted only to persons with legal training.<sup>119</sup> The inhuman practice of herding untried defendants to Tunis should be discontinued: regional courts should be instituted to head local cases<sup>120</sup> and, as a safeguard against human error, the regency should be endowed with a court of appeal.<sup>121</sup>

Prison reform was yet another of the Young Tunisians' goals. Guards should be prevented from abusing prisoners, physically or financially; most especially the murdering of inmates must cease.<sup>122</sup> Debtors should not be incarcerated,<sup>123</sup> and borstels should be built to rehabilitate young offenders apart from recidivists.<sup>124</sup> Le Tunisien also advocated stricter motoring laws<sup>125</sup> and condemned police brutality<sup>126</sup> and the curbing of a series of false rapes in Sūsah by forbidding girls to be on the streets alone.<sup>127</sup> Finally, the Young Tunisians were unrelenting in their prodding of the government for

<sup>118</sup>

Ibid., 18 July, 26 December 1907.

<sup>119</sup>

Ibid., 24 December 1908.

<sup>120</sup>

Ibid., 17 October 1907, 11 and 18 June 1908.

<sup>121</sup>

Ibid., 2 July 1908.

<sup>122</sup>

Ibid., 4 April 1907; 27 December 1910.

<sup>123</sup>

Ibid., 20 February 1908.

<sup>124</sup>

Ibid., 12 September 1907.

<sup>125</sup>

Ibid., 1 August 1907.

<sup>126</sup>

Ibid., 5 January 1911.

<sup>127</sup>

Ibid., 17 June 1909. Housewives had complained that constables enforcing this regulation had seriously disturbed their daily shopping rounds.

action to stem the rolling tide of alcoholism that threatened to erode the foundations of Tunisian society.<sup>128</sup>

#### D. Fiscal Policy

Indignant with a fiscal system that heavily taxed the poorer indigenous masses but spent its revenue in the interests of the more comfortable immigrant minority, the Young Tunisians sought more equitable, or at least less burdensome, arrangements.<sup>129</sup> The most iniquitous impost was the poll tax (majbā), which had been introduced by Muḥammad Bāy and his Prime Minister, Muṣṭafā Khaznadār in 1857 as a "temporary" measure and maintained by the protectorate, which even left the collection of the majbā in the hands of local officials, each responsible for a fixed sum which he was to raise by whichever means he found convenient.<sup>130</sup> From its first issue, Le Tunisien wanted this tax abolished, arguing that it was unfair, economically unsound and even contrary to Islamic law,<sup>131</sup> although the editors quite happily accepted a sizable reduction in the poll tax as a good beginning<sup>132</sup> and complained only when the government

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 19 September 1907; 25 June 1908; 8 July 1909; 17 March, 27 October 1910; 2 February 1911. Cf Zāwush at the North Africa Congress, Depincé, op. cit., II 462.

<sup>129</sup> Le Tunisien, 18 November 1909; al-Tūnisī, 21 November 1910.

<sup>130</sup> Zāwush in Consultative Conference, text of speech in Le Tunisien, 19 November, 3 December 1908.

<sup>131</sup> Le Tunisien, 7 February 1907, 28 October 1909; al-Tūnisī, 8 November 1909.

<sup>132</sup> Le Tunisien, 6 and 13 January 1910.

contemplated its increase<sup>133</sup> or extension to the five towns exempted<sup>134</sup> in the original decree.

Zāwush had proposed replacing the revenue lost through the abolition of the majbā by taxes on livestock and mineral exports as well as a new poll tax to be levied on all inhabitants of Tunisia.<sup>135</sup> But the government ignored this advice and its replacement taxes incurred a stinging denunciation from Bāsh Ḥānbah. While property owners were willing to accept an increase in land tax to help relieve their poorer countrymen, the new tax on farm buildings reflected profound administrative ignorance, for it could quickly induce settled farmers to turn to nomadism, especially since evaluation was entrusted to local officials of dubious probity with no possibility of appeal. Only the alcoholic beverages tax won the Young Tunisians' hearty approval, whereas the worst change effected by the decree of 31 December 1909 was the fixing of a maximum area of ten hectares as the basis for assessing cereal "tithes", ('āshūr) which would weigh heavily on cultivators in less fertile terrain.<sup>136</sup> Besides, the rate of 'āshūr was increased and, although the government relaxed its

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 10 November 1910.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 25 November 1909.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., 3 December 1908; 30 November 1909.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 3 March, 3 November 1910.

mensurational limits slightly, widespread confusion resulted from inadequate training and supervision of the assessors and collectors, the obscurity of the regulations and the authorities' failure to explain them to the ratepayers.<sup>137</sup> Further reform was obviously needed, so Zāwush urged the administration to consult the country's farmers and adopt legislation more consonant with rural economic realities.<sup>138</sup>

Not only did the Young Tunisians criticize the inequitable distribution of the regency's tax load, but Bāsh Ḥānbah and Zāwush repeatedly complained that governmental expenditure was unfairly weighted to provide such public works as railways and highroads which chiefly benefited the settlers, while school construction, farm credit and other programs of more interest to indigenes were neglected.<sup>139</sup> At the Marseille conference, Aṣram had asked for improvements in welfare and medical assistance, and these themes often recurred in the pages of Le Tunisien.<sup>140</sup> The period during which this paper appeared was one of little rain and widespread crop failure, and many Tunisians starved. Accordingly, each year

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<sup>137</sup>

Ibid., 7 and 21 April 1910.

<sup>138</sup>

Ibid., 27 October 1910.

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Ibid., 15 November 1909; 14 April, 17 November to 8 December 1910.

<sup>140</sup>

Aṣram and de Dianous, op. cit., p. 13; Le Tunisien, 2 April, 3 December 1908; 31 March 1910.



Le Tunisien begged the government to make more cash available for famine relief, but even during the worst season (1909) the authorities' sporadic gestures only exacerbated public distress and deepened the Young Tunisians' frustration.<sup>141</sup> On other fiscal questions, Le Tunisien campaigned for the preservation of the livelihood of local fishermen in Banzart and other ports, and opposed the free export of fish and poultry because of the consequent shortages in the domestic market. In the Young Tunisians' view, custom tariffs and prices should be controlled and modified to assure adequate supplies of various commodities at reasonable prices.<sup>142</sup> Finally, it should be noted that they also advocated more equitable municipal taxation<sup>143</sup> and fairer allocation of municipal services.<sup>144</sup>

#### E. Agriculture and the Labor Force

The Young Tunisians welcomed the establishment of several experimental farms which by research and example would help the regency's cultivators to improve both crops and techniques. As well,

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<sup>141</sup>Le Tunisien, 21 February 1907; 10 September, 17 December 1908; 11 February to 15 April 1909; 26 May, 23 June 1910; 12 January 1911.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid., 17 October 1907; 16 April, 21 May, 25 June, 16 July, 3 December 1908; 3 and 17 February, 17 November, 1 and 29 December 1910.

<sup>143</sup>Ibid., 9 May 1907; 26 March, 16 April 1908.

<sup>144</sup>Ibid., 1 April, 8 July 1909; 19 May 1910.

they asked the authorities to develop hydraulic resources, build livestock shelters and devise fair and effective methods of locust control.<sup>145</sup> To enable Tunisian farmers to use their new knowledge, they should have access to easy credit from the government or through mutual societies and cooperatives.<sup>146</sup> Private endowment land should remain unavailable for European settlement lest the native population lose its patrimony before acquiring the skills necessary for its scientific exploitation and so find itself reduced to permanent servitude: this rearguard position held from 1906<sup>147</sup> through Le Tunisien's publication<sup>148</sup> to the postwar period.<sup>149</sup> Meanwhile, the Young Tunisians vainly awaited the transformation of the virtual serfdom of the khimāsah into a more humane sharecropping system.<sup>150</sup>

Khayr Allāh Ibn Muṣṭafá was probably expressing general Young Tunisian feeling when he acknowledged the value European settlement imparted to Tunisian agriculture through better land use and exemplary stimulus,<sup>151</sup> but the reformers insisted that these benefits would be voided if Tunisians were not awarded a portion of the acreage

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 24 October 1907; 11 June 1908; 25 March 1909; 28 April 1910; 19 January, 2 March 1911.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 27 May 1909; 9 February to 20 April 1911.

<sup>147</sup> Zāwush, En Tunisie: la Propriété indigène et la Colonisation (Tunis: Imprimerie Rapide, 1906), 34 pp; Aṣram and de Dianous, op. cit., pp 62-65.

<sup>148</sup> Le Tunisien, 9 November 1908; 5 May 1910; 8 June 1911.

<sup>149</sup> Zāwush, En Tunisie: la Question des Terres et l'Agriculture tunisienne (Tunis: Imprimerie Rapide, 1919), 29pp; C. de Monchicourt, alias Rodd Balek, "La Tunisie après la guerre," Afrique française, XXX, 7-8 (July-August 1920), 229.

<sup>150</sup> Le Tunisien, 30 May 1907.

<sup>151</sup> Depincé, op. cit., II, 111.

distributed by the state.<sup>152</sup> The government, moreover, should reserve bigger plots for local cultivators when it sold lots, and French and Tunisian bidders for these lots should be favored over "foreigners".<sup>153</sup> As a bare minimum, it should extend the leasing period on state land from one to three years,<sup>154</sup> stop granting large tracts to speculative corporations and prevent any further dislocation and rollback (refoulement) of the indigenes.<sup>155</sup>

Although few, the workers of Tunisia were supported by the Young Tunisians through requests for labor legislation on the metropolitan pattern<sup>156</sup> and for permission for Tunisians to join French trade unions or form their own parallel associations.<sup>157</sup> Their wages should be raised to subsistence levels even if the ideal of parity with European laborers was to be withheld; this was the focus of the railway strike of April 1909 and a major factor in the 1912 tram boycott.<sup>158</sup> Muslims should not be penalized for wearing traditional clothing that did not hinder their job performance, and the government should operate an employment exchange and compensate the victims of industrial mishaps.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Le Tunisien, 7 February, 11 April, 25 July, 5 December 1907; 3 June 1909; 12 May, 1 December 1910; 8 June 1911.

<sup>153</sup> Zāwush, La Propriété indigène..., pp 5, 12. "Foreigners" were non-French immigrants to Tunisia.

<sup>154</sup> Le Tunisien, 28 March 1907; 20 May 1909.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 2 May 1907; 9 April 1908; 8 June 1911.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 18 November 1909; Cf Zāwush in Depincé, op. cit., II, 461.

<sup>157</sup> Le Tunisien, 5 December 1907; 25 March 1909.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 23 April 1908; 6 May 1909; 5 January 1911.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 23 January, 30 July, 27 August 1908.

# F. Public Administration

Bāsh Ḥānbah and Qallātī complained of corruption and sclerosis in the regency's administration, from the nucleus in Dār al-Bāy to petty officialdom in the remoter districts (shiyākhāt).<sup>160</sup> Efficiency and integrity could be restored along with public confidence if governmental and municipal agencies would employ educated Tunisians (Muslims and Jews) on equal terms with similarly qualified French personnel.<sup>161</sup> Local officials should be carefully selected according to aptitude rather than patronage, and all civil servants should be eligible for promotion to vacancies in senior positions.<sup>162</sup> Le Tunisien insisted that all employees at each level of administration should receive similar pay and fringe benefits, and it advertised recruitment examinations.<sup>163</sup> Gratefully acknowledging the hiring of Tunisians in post offices and construction camps, Ṣāfī and Bāsh Ḥānbah begged the authorities to be more receptive, especially in post offices where many clients could speak only Arabic.<sup>164</sup> Nurses should be allowed to enlist in the army as medical auxiliaries, and any Tunisian who had served two terms as a soldier should be admitted

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<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 26 May 1910, 28 December 1911.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 7 February, 29 August 1907; 13 August 1908; 21 December 1911. Cf Aṣram and de Dianous, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>162</sup> Le Tunisien, 24 June, 9 December 1909; 28 December 1911; al-Tūnisī, 22 November 1909.

<sup>163</sup> Le Tunisien, 21 and 28 March, 31 October 1907; 21 April 1910; 26 January, 30 March 1911.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 21 November 1907, 2 January 1908, 7 January 1909, 17 February 1910.

to the public service; Le Tunisien commended the government for accepting this suggestion in its decree of 30 December 1908,<sup>165</sup> and asked that discharged Tunisian seamen should be engaged as surveyors.<sup>166</sup> Finally, more Tunisian physicians should be appointed as local medical officers.<sup>167</sup>

#### G. Association and Loyal Opposition

In seeking a share for their compatriots in the governing of the regency, the Young Tunisians wished neither to end French overrule nor to dislodge French civil servants: "Taking our inspiration from the principle of the Protectorate, which we have loyally accepted, we willingly acknowledge that the political direction and administrative control of this country belong incontestably to France and its nationals," ...but the term "protectorate" implied collaboration and this in turn meant some Tunisian presence within the administration.<sup>168</sup> The protectorate was an improvement on arbitrary monarchy, and 'Abduh himself had counselled cooperation with the goal of social progress.<sup>169</sup> Tha 'ālibī credited the protectorate with the contemporary

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 13 August 1908; 11 March, 8 April 1909.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 21 January 1909.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 6 February 1908.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 24 December 1908.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 14 March 1907; A. Merad (Murād), "L'Enseignement politique de Muhammad 'Abduh aux Algériens (1903)," Orient, 28 (4th quarter, 1963), 105.

literary revival; Qallātī found the destinies of Tunisia and France indissolubly linked and, on the eve of his expulsion, Bāsh Ḥānbah reaffirmed the movement's unqualified loyalty to France.<sup>170</sup> If the diverse nationalities of the Ottoman Empire could work together, as Qallātī apparently believed they could, so could the different ethnic groups that lived together in Tunisia,<sup>171</sup> but in any case the Young Tunisians were eager to transmit European culture to their countrymen and hopeful that French officials would facilitate this effort by progressive governance.<sup>172</sup> Nevertheless, only Zāwush seems to have adopted, however unconsciously, an attitude so assimilationist that he could foresee with equanimity the day when Tunisians (after a period of "reciprocal" assimilation) would be the same in the Republic's eyes as Normans, Bretons or Corsicans.<sup>173</sup> More typical were Bāsh Ḥānbah's observation that loyalty and admiration would not transform the Young Tunisians into Frenchmen, and Ṣafī's distinction between an unfeasible assimilation and a mutually advantageous association.<sup>174</sup>

Much of the Young Tunisians' advocacy of the associational principle was linked to wishful assurances that "progress under the

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al-Tūnisī, 22 November 1909; Le Tunisien, 21 December 1911; 25 January, 22 February 1912.

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Le Tunisien, 15 October 1908.

<sup>172</sup>

Ibid., 7 October 1909, 16 June 1910.

<sup>173</sup>

Ibid., 10 December 1908, 18 May 1911.

<sup>174</sup>

Ibid., 20 October 1910.

tricolor" was the inevitable corollary of the Paris government's commitments, culminating in the promises of Foreign Minister Pichon to the Chamber of Deputies on 5 December 1907.<sup>175</sup> The Resident-General supported several Young Tunisian initiatives, as did the radical republicans in the Consultative Conference.<sup>176</sup> By the beginning of 1912 Le Tunisien's columns carried euphoric predictions of a growing trend among French politicians in favor of the cherished policy,<sup>177</sup> and the very last issue featured Qallātī's confident prognosis of continuing evolution.<sup>178</sup> Another aspect of this evolutionary prospect was the gradualism implied in Bāsh Ḥānbah's remark that the Young Tunisians "sowed for a distant harvest": local autonomy should increase in the measure that Tunisians acquired the paraphernalia of modern civilization, and the government was encouraged to pursue reform "by stages",<sup>179</sup> a phrase later used by Qallātī's Reform Party and made famous by Ḥabīb Būrqībah.

Whenever possible, the Young Tunisians praised those French leaders and politicians whose words and acts furthered the movement's ambitions. Resident-General Alapetite seemed for several years to be

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 14 November 1907; 30 January 1908.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 26 November 1908; 7 January, 25 February, 18 November 1909.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 4, 11, 25 January, 8, 15 February 1912.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 7 March 1912.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., 8 October 1908, 9 June 1910.

the Tunisians' best friend, for his program was a judicious balance between the aspirations of the local community and the demands of the settlers, and he did occasionally effect requested reforms, such as the poll tax reduction and the admission of Tunisians to various administrative positions;<sup>180</sup> his wife won applause for her work at the dispensary near Bāb al-Manārah.<sup>181</sup> Le Tunisien was similarly grateful to the French members of the Consultative Conference who supported the indigenes' position in various debates,<sup>182</sup> and to several French deputies and senators who espoused the associational policy and advocated the improvement of conditions of life in Tunisia.<sup>183</sup> Alapetite's predecessor, Stephen Pichon, and a deputy named Albin Rozet, whom Le Tunisien credited with securing the passage of the chamber's resolution in favor of association on 5 December 1907, won the Young Tunisians' highest praises.<sup>184</sup> The Director of Education won plaudits for school construction and apprenticeship programs,<sup>185</sup> and other officials earned praise for employing Tunisians or improving services;<sup>186</sup> but usually these worthy acts were taken as a bare beginning, and Le Tunisien's kind words were perhaps intended more

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid., 5 November 1908; 27 May 1909; 6 January 1910; 21 December 1911.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 2 February 1911.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 26 November 1908.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 8 July 1909; 10 March, 1 December 1910; 9 March 1911.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., 7 May 1908; 18 February 1909; 27 April 1911.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 17 June, 4 November 1909; 10 February 1910; 16 March 1911.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 3 December 1908; 28 January 1909.



as encouragement than congratulation. The Young Tunisians were pleased with the egalitarian recruitment policies of northern Tunisia's agricultural credit union, the cooperative "La Famille", the teachers' association and the brotherhood of employees of the Directorate of Agriculture and Commerce.<sup>187</sup> In addition, they praised the neighborliness of the settlers at Qūballāt and the solidarity of the French railway workers,<sup>188</sup> and took pains to thank the Red Cross for its contribution to interethnic understanding.<sup>189</sup>

Although the Young Tunisians were grateful for the benefits their countrymen had received under the protectorate, they explicitly reserved the right to criticize the regime's shortcomings.<sup>190</sup> Their favorite target was Bernard Roy, longtime Secretary General of the government whose authority was eventually restricted to judicial matters and whose hard work was felt to be negated by his ultra-conservatism, lack of foresight and presumed arabophobia,<sup>191</sup> but even after his demotion, French officialdom was rebuked for its remoteness from the people and its failure to treat Tunisians and Europeans alike.<sup>192</sup> Qallātī opposed the French government's plan to open a university in

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<sup>187</sup> Ibid., 14, 21, 28 February, 27 June 1907.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 8 April, 3 June 1909.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., 2 February 1911,

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 10 November 1910.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 3, 24 February, 17 March 1910.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 28 April 1910; 21 December 1911; 1 February 1912.

Algiers because he feared that such a school would insulate the settlers' children from the humane republican heritage of metropolitan campuses.<sup>193</sup> He and his friends also condemned the government's lack of action on judicial reform and its unwillingness to hear the Young Tunisians' advice on this score,<sup>194</sup> as well as arbitrary interference in the affairs of Arabic newspapers and administrative meddling in the judicial process.<sup>195</sup> Similarly, Bāsh Hānbah expressed dissatisfaction with the authorities' neglect of the indigenes' agricultural and labor problems.<sup>196</sup> Zāwush complained of the slow pace of fiscal reform,<sup>197</sup> and Le Tunisien found several occasions to urge fairness on the government, both in internal problems like the expulsion of Tunisian fishermen from the Būhayrah and in such external questions as the need for neutrality in the Tripolitanian War.<sup>198</sup>

The Young Tunisians denounced discrimination as the major impediment to the success of the associational policy, especially the blunt prejudice that pervaded the settler community, depicting all Arabs as immoral primitives of an inferior race and assuming all Muslims

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 24 June, 1 July 1909.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., 20 May, 1 July 1909; 3 February, 24 November 1910.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., 30 July 1908; 28 December 1911.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., 19 January, 16 February, 8 June 1911.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 21 October 1909; 21 April 1910.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., 22 December 1910; 18 January 1912.

to be frenzied fanatics ever ready to unsheath their swords to kill infidels.<sup>199</sup> The exclusion of Tunisians from certain jobs and societies,<sup>200</sup> the impolite conduct of European tramworkers<sup>201</sup> and the snubbing of Tunisian officials at a reception given for the President of France<sup>202</sup> were further instances of the discriminatory ethos, but the most shocking of all was the assumption, revealed in an article in l'Action Française, that Arabic was a foreign language in Tunisia.<sup>203</sup> Too often, the government seemed to neglect the indigenous population in allocating new schools<sup>204</sup> and hospitals.<sup>205</sup> But even if the French preponderance must relegate Tunisians to second-class status, the Young Tunisians protested that their compatriots deserved to be treated with as much consideration as the large Italian colony.<sup>206</sup> And emigration to Ottoman Asia, however regrettable, would doubtless continue as long as Tunisian Muslims were the poorest element in their own homeland.<sup>207</sup>

In the aftermath of the Zallāj riot, the Young Tunisians maintained their associationist stance, denying any part in the

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 26 March, 22 October 1908; 3 November 1910; 7 December 1911.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 2 May 1907; 1 April 1909.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., 11 July 1907.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 27 April 1911.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., 5 March 1908.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 31 October 1907; 30 April 1908.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., 4 June 1908; 29 April 1909; 8 December 1910.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., 16 November, 28 December 1911; 25 January, 7 March 1912.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., 3 November 1910.

disturbances but criticizing the authorities both for not having heeded responsible advice and for overreacting to the incident. Bāsh Ḥānbah, Qallātī, Zāwush and Nu'mān urged the government to allow Arabic newspapers to publish (as a means to encouraging the public to be calm), to treat Tunisian and European miscreants with equal discipline and to conduct an impartial enquiry into the entire affair.<sup>208</sup> Qallātī tried to exploit Franco-Italian tension over the brief sequestration of the Manouba and the Carthage, two French steamers, at Cagliari, depicting the resultant public indignation in France and Tunisia as the harbinger of a new era of solidarity between protectors and protégés.<sup>209</sup> During the tramway boycott, the Young Tunisians again tried to mediate between the disaffected Muslims and a government whose judgement was becoming overbalanced by the open hostility of the settlers to any accommodation with the aspirations of the indigenes,<sup>210</sup> but their candid belief that the modest concessions obtained from the Company by the administration would prove unsatisfactory to the populace led only to their characterization as intransigents and the expulsion of the presumed ringleaders. The shock induced by these sudden banishments destroyed most Young Tunisians' confidence in the viability of association.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> Ibid., 13 November 1911 to 11 January 1912.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., 25 January 1912.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., 15 February to 7 March 1912.

<sup>211</sup> Zamirī, Les Successeurs, p. 54f; Revue du Maghreb, I, 1 (May 1916), 2f; Duran-Angliviel, op. cit., p. 34f.

H. Attitudes to Islam

As early as December 1906, Zāwush had insisted that panIslamism was a sentimental attachment among Muslims with no political dimension.<sup>212</sup> More than once, the Young Tunisians dissociated themselves from the Young Turks,<sup>213</sup> but they applauded the seizure of power by the Society for Union and Progress, praised the Young Turk government and approved the deposition of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.<sup>214</sup> From January 1909 Zamirli wrote a series of columns in Le Tunisien on current events in Asia and Africa, but his coverage of Islamic lands neither exaggerated the importance of Islam on these continents nor betrayed any political affinity with groups outside the regency. Bāsh Ḥānbah, in his editorial of 20 October 1910, reaffirmed the lack of identity between the Young Tunisians and their Turkish and Egyptian counterparts; while every Muslim was in some sense a panIslamist, "everybody knows that panIslamism is only a broad feeling of brotherhood." Muslims honored their khalifah as Roman Catholics revered their pope, but "panIslamism and Ottomanism, purely moral bonds, are far from being used for any sort of unification

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<sup>212</sup> Letters in Le Temps, 25 December 1906.

<sup>213</sup> Le Tunisien, 28 March, 11 July 1907.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 30 July, 27 August 1908; 6 May 1909. One point in the Young Turks' favor was their admiration of things French.

of the races or nationalities espousing the Qur'an." The Tunisian people would retain their sense of panIslamic fraternity and their emotional ties to Turkey, Egypt and other Islamic lands, but they recognized, gratefully, that their particular destiny was linked to that of the French republic. Such a position was severely tested in the conflict of loyalties posed by the Tripolitanian War, when the bulk of French opinion, especially among the settlers in North Africa, supported Italy. France remained officially neutral, however, so the Young Tunisians collected money and material for the Ottoman army and helped Algerian volunteers to enlist.<sup>215</sup> The columnists of al-Ittihad al-Islami were unabashedly pleased with the Ottomans' successes and chagrined with their reverses, but never did they question Tunisia's relationship with France or otherwise exceed the Young Tunisians' confessed emotional proclivities. Even Tha'libi, in the last issue of al-Tunisi, was still operating within this limit, going so far as to praise the French government's tepid efforts to maintain its neutrality.

Although most of Khayr al-Din's disciples, including Agram and Safar, had embraced the cause of religious change advocated by Muhammad 'Abduh and Rashid Ridā,<sup>216</sup> among the Young Tunisians

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<sup>215</sup>See Chapter I, n. 80 and references there.

<sup>216</sup>For details see Munṣif Shannūfī, "Maṣādir 'an Riḥlatay al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh ilā Tūnis...", Hawliyat al-Jami'ah al-Tunisiyah, III (1966), 71-102, revised as "Les Deux Séjours de Muḥammad 'Abduh en Tunisie," Cahiers de Tunisie, XVI (1968), 57-96; ibid., "Alā'iq Rashid Ridā, ṣāḥih majallat al-Manār, ma'a al-Tunisiyīn, 1898-1935," Hawliyat al-Jami'ah al-Tunisiyah, IV (1967), 121-151; Agram and de Dianous, op. cit., pp 67-73.

Tha'ālibī, with his uniquely traditional upbringing, was alone in arguing for Islamic reformism.<sup>217</sup> Bāsh Hānbah's family and Zāwush personally had entertained 'Abduh during his 1903 visit to Tunis, but the Young Tunisians consistently sustained a policy of secular modernism. Carl Brown has underlined the subversive implications of Khayr Allāh Ibn Muṣṭafā's acknowledgement of a universal morality<sup>218</sup> but neither Ibn Muṣṭafā nor Zāwush (who at least once predicted that his countrymen must eventually turn from Islam and its passivism to embrace western civilization)<sup>219</sup> can be taken as representatives of their colleagues on this question. Indeed, most of these limited themselves to professions of kinship with their coheirs of the Islamic heritage and sidestepped all public discussion of matters of faith. In their view, belief was an individual concern and, as this chapter seeks to demonstrate, the Young Tunisians' priorities lay elsewhere, with the social and economic progress of their compatriots in constructive association with the French authorities.

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<sup>217</sup> See his letter to al-Manār, 14 April 1903 and the book he wrote with Hādī Saba'ī and César Ibn al-'Attār (Benattar), L'Esprit Libéral du Coran (Paris: Leroux, 1905), as well as his articles on salafīyah in al-Tunisi, 6 May and 24 October 1910.

<sup>218</sup> "Tunisia under the French Protectorate," p. 69f; cf. ibid. in Micaud et al., Tunisia: the Politics of Modernization (New York: Praeger, 1966), p. 34.

<sup>219</sup> See his statement in Charles Géniaux, "Les Jeunes Tunisiens," Revue Politique et Littéraire (Revue Bleue), 5th series, X, 20 (14 November 1908), 635, quoted in Le Tunisien, 10 December 1908.

## CHAPTER V

### THE YOUNG TUNISIANS' SCOPE OF SUPPORT

#### A. Tunisians

Although the Young Tunisians were only a very small group of social activists they could validly claim considerable support both among their compatriots and with the French community in Tunisia and in France, as well as some affinities with their coreligionists in other countries. Many of their Tunisian sympathizers were their former schoolmates, but they also attracted a modest following among those businessmen and professionals who shared their anxiety over the diminution of indigenous participation in the actual government of the regency;<sup>1</sup> for a time, they also had some supporters within the ranks of the religious reform movement.<sup>2</sup> The Muslim members of the Consultative Conference generally followed Zāwush's lead, especially on such important issues as school integration, tax revision and the desirability of electing their successors.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Zāwush could usually expect help from his countrymen on the municipal

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<sup>1</sup> Zamirli, Les Successeurs, pp 49-54; cf de Dianous in Agram and de Dianous, op. cit., p. 3f.

<sup>2</sup> For a full discussion of the attitudes of the 'ulamā' to the Young Tunisians, see Arnold H. Green, "The Tunisian Ulama, 1873-1915: Social Structure and Response to Ideological Currents," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles 1973), Ch. VIII.

<sup>3</sup> Le Tunisien, 5 December 1907; 16 June, 24 November, 1 and 15 December 1910.



council and the public sympathy of the participants in his various cooperatives. In the case of the disruption of classes at the Zaytūnah, however, it was the Young Tunisians who played the supportive role, winning a few ideological converts along with the general gratitude of the student community.

The Arabic press in Tunis praised the Young Tunisians' efforts to promote the indigenes' welfare and lent its own influence to many of their causes.<sup>4</sup> The keenest endorsements came from Bashīr Fūrātī's al-Taḡaddum and al-Ṣawāb of Muḥammad Ja'ā'ibī, who vainly sought to have Bāsh Ḥānbah's expulsion rescinded.<sup>5</sup> Another literary sympathizer was the poet Shādhilī Khaznadār, who circulated some evocative verse at the time of the tram boycott and after the expulsions.<sup>6</sup> Young Tunisian assertions of mass support were doubtless exaggerated<sup>7</sup> but later claims to reflect general opinion on the majbā', and especially Bāsh Ḥānbah's hopeful contention that his friends had made some gains for progress simply because the public had not been alienated, were probably more accurate.<sup>8</sup> Only with the

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 14 February, 17 October, 21 November 1907; 27 February, 12 March 1908; 16 December 1909; 3 November 1910 etc. For corroboration see "Le Tunisien," Revue du Monde musulman, IV, 3 (March 1908), 612.

<sup>5</sup> Le Courrier de Tunisie, 20 April 1912.

<sup>6</sup> Ibn 'Ashūr, Tarājim al-A'lām, p. 350.

<sup>7</sup> Le Tunisien, 21 November 1907; Zāwush, "En Tunisie: Les Indigènes et l'Instruction," Revue politique et parlementaire, LVI, 167 (May 1908), 273.

<sup>8</sup> Le Tunisien, 16 December 1909; 17 February 1910.

tramway boycott did the masses seem at last to follow the Young Tunisians in any numbers, and even then these supposed leaders were thrust into the breach by events they could neither anticipate nor direct. But their courage, or at least their fate, steeled the populace, and the boycott continued several months after the expulsions. Later, there was considerable discontent with the confiscation of Bāsh Ḥānbah's belongings.<sup>9</sup>

In the provinces, the Young Tunisians' only significant support derived from their colleagues who had joined the civil service, along with a few merchants and several volunteers for service with the Ottoman army in Tripolitania.<sup>10</sup> Another small group of sympathizers was to be found among their countrymen who had chosen to live abroad, hoping to see the association policy succeed but harboring what soon proved to be justified apprehension about its chances. Finally, it should be noted that the Tunisian Jews of backgrounds similar to those of the Young Tunisians generally endorsed the latter's aspirations, especially in such matters as education, taxation and judicial reform.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61, doc. 179.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, doc. 98, 210f; folio 61 bis, *passim* (calling cards and letters confiscated from Bāsh Ḥānbah's home and office); folio 337, doc. 4; E550, 30, folio 13, pt. 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Le Tunisien*, 9 May 1907; 26 November 1908; 23 June 1910.

## B. Frenchmen in Tunisia

Gabriel Alapetite began his long term as Resident-General just as Le Tunisien began publishing. For several years he seemed to support the same program as the Young Tunisians, seeking "formulas of conciliation and collaboration" and giving "guarantees of equity and prudence"<sup>12</sup> to the protected people. He repeatedly affirmed his devotion to the policy of association<sup>13</sup> and refused to favor the settlers against the indigenes.<sup>14</sup> More specifically, he endorsed such Young Tunisian objectives as improved education,<sup>15</sup> fiscal reform (particularly the reduction of the majbā)<sup>16</sup> and the admission of Tunisians to various posts in the public service.<sup>17</sup> Eventually, of course, Alapetite crushed the movement with his expulsion orders, but his earlier benevolence had doubtless helped and encouraged the Young Tunisians through the suggestion of feasibility it offered to their aspirations. Of similar import was the encouragement extended by other officials, especially in the Directorate of Education.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, the feeling prevailed in governmental circles that the

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<sup>12</sup> Alapetite, speech at Majāz al-Bāb, quoted in La Revue Indigène, V, 50-51 (June-July 1910, special number on Tunisia), p. 309.

<sup>13</sup> Le Tunisien, 5 November 1908; 18 November 1909; 27 April 1911.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 27 May, 19 November 1908; 3 February 1910.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 30 April 1908.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 18 November 1909; 6 January, 16 June 1910.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 26 November 1908.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 7 January, 3 June 1909; 29 December 1910.

administration's task was to implement the Young Tunisians' program,<sup>19</sup> but this sense of common purpose gradually evaporated during the successive confrontations afforded by the Zaytūnah strike, the campaign against the "replacement" taxes, the Tripolitanian War and the Zallāj riot, until it had completely dissipated by the time of the tramway boycott.

On most of the questions debated in the Consultative Conference, the Young Tunisians could count on the support of the small group of liberals, who welcomed Tunisian membership on that body and regretted that the new members were appointed rather than elected,<sup>20</sup> and retained the confidence of their constituents in spite of their friendship with the locals.<sup>21</sup> French delegates voted for such Young Tunisian goals as the licensing of trade unions in Tunisia, indigenous participation in the purchase of public lands, the admission of Tunisians into the various branches of the administration and the provision of equal wages for European and Tunisian workers,<sup>22</sup> and sixteen French members of the Conference opposed its division into two sections.<sup>23</sup> As well, the Young Tunisians received encouragement from the Tunisian Agricultural Association, the French

<sup>19</sup> Police report, AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61, doc. 309.

<sup>20</sup> Le Tunisien, 28 February, 11 April, 21 November 1907.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 30 January 1908; 14 January, 25 February, 4 March 1909.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 5 December 1907; 26 November 1908; 1 December 1910; 5 January 1911.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 19 May 1910.

Education League and the special commission on Tunisian judicial procedures.<sup>24</sup>

Several of the French newspapers in Tunis praised the Young Tunisians' initiative and endorsed their aspirations. The influential Dépêche Tunisienne ran three articles on the policy of association,<sup>25</sup> Le Républicain repeatedly warned of the perils inherent in the settlers' efforts to reduce the indigenes to a permanently inferior status, urging cooperation among all the educated inhabitants of Tunisia in promoting the welfare of the entire population,<sup>26</sup> and almost every issue of Le Tunisien included a review of the press citing sympathetic material from one or another of the local papers. But the Young Tunisians' most loyal friend in the French community was Armand Destrées of Le Courrier de Tunisie; since before the appearance of Le Tunisien he had advocated their cause<sup>27</sup> and, apart from a misunderstanding over the implications of the word "constitution", he and his assistant Bernard Duclos championed their program and defended their integrity through the suspicions of the Zallāj period.<sup>28</sup> Destrées was the chairman of the ad hoc committee that sought an amicable end to the tramway boycott.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 30 April 1908; 24 February, 30 June 1910.

<sup>25</sup> Reproduced in Le Tunisien, 22, 29 October, 5 November 1908.

<sup>26</sup> Articles reproduced or summarized in Le Tunisien, 16 May 1907; 12 March 1908; 21 December 1911.

<sup>27</sup> Speech by Bāsh Hānbah, reported in Le Tunisien, 24 September 1908.

<sup>28</sup> Le Tunisien, 30 November, 21 December 1911.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 15 February 1912.

Even after the expulsions, it was Le Courrier that denied the existence of a plot, protested against the government's arbitrary action and praised Bāsh Ḥānbah, Qallātī, Nu'mān and even Tha'ālibī for their devotion to peaceful evolution under the protectorate.<sup>30</sup>

Beyond officialdom and the press, the Young Tunisians found many friends in the French community, notably Raoul de Chamberet and J. de Lanessan.<sup>31</sup> Le Tunisien claimed the sympathies of a sizable minority of the settlers from its early days to the midst of the tramway controversy, especially on the problems of taxation and land purchase<sup>32</sup> and Bāsh Ḥānbah left cards and letters from some forty of them in his office at the time of his banishment.<sup>33</sup> But this friendly element among the foreigners remained small and in the end it was powerless to assist the Young Tunisians against the combined forces of the settler majority and the disillusioned or intimidated authorities.

### C. Frenchmen in France

The friendship that the Young Tunisians found among the few benevolent settlers and administrators in Tunisia had a much

<sup>30</sup> Le Courrier de Tunisie, 16 to 27 March 1912.

<sup>31</sup> Le Tunisien, 24 October 1907; 19 March 1908; 10 February 1910.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 2 May 1907; 3 June 1909; 17 November 1910; 23 November 1911; 22 February 1912.

<sup>33</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61 bis.

larger counterpart in metropolitan France, where the ground had been prepared by such writers as Jacques Bahar, who had criticized the Protectorate's hostility to the indigenes,<sup>34</sup> and by Agram's creditable showing at the 1906 Colonial Conference. The ministries of Clemenceau and Briand were committed to the policy of association,<sup>35</sup> and President Fallières made several statements in its support during his 1911 tour of the regency.<sup>36</sup> Albin Rozet, a deputy from Haute-Marne, devoted much energy to the needs of France's subject populations, especially in the fields of education and equitable administration, and the Young Tunisians had contacts with a score or two other legislators, mostly members of the "democratic left". Jaurès and his fellow socialists, however, seem to have been too preoccupied with domestic questions to give the Young Tunisians more than passing notice, except in the matter of the threatened dispossession of fourteen thousand indigenes in April 1908, which Jaurès helped to avert.<sup>37</sup> During the war, Zāwush corresponded with the centrists,<sup>38</sup> but the apparent inability of this group to secure any redress for the blow of 1912 and the casual disregard for indigenous aspirations

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<sup>34</sup> Jacques Bahar, Le Protectorat tunisien: ses fruits, sa politique (Paris: Dujarric, 1904), 90pp.

<sup>35</sup> See the ministerial statements quoted in Le Tunisien, 30 January 1908, 17 March 1910.

<sup>36</sup> Le Tunisien, 27 April, 4 May 1911.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 16 April, 18 June 1908.

<sup>38</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 337, doc. 10, 32.

displayed by successive governments eventually persuaded the remnant of Young Tunisia that its hopes lay with the socialists.<sup>39</sup> Still, such hopes derived more from ideological inference than from any active encouragement.

The Young Tunisians' most consistent supporter in France was not a socialist at all, but Paul Bourde, the editor of the liberal newspaper, Le Temps. Bourde praised Tha'ālibī and his associates for publishing L'Esprit Libéral du Coran, commended Zāwush for launching his Tunisian cooperatives and welcomed Le Tunisien as the voice of the regency's enlightened modernists who would work with France in the interests of their countrymen.<sup>40</sup> On virtually every question, Bourde endorsed the Young Tunisians' viewpoint, exerting his influence on their behalf among his political and intellectual acquaintances, and as late as a year after Bāsh Ḥānbah's exile Bourde still cherished the associationist policy that the Young Tunisians believed Alapetite had destroyed.<sup>41</sup> Other important partisans of the movement were Gaston Valran of La Dépêche Coloniale, Degouy and de Fonvielle of the rather assimilationist Presse Coloniale (whose

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<sup>39</sup>Muhammad Bāsh Ḥānbah, letter in Tunisie Française, 1 December 1920; copy in AGT, loc. cit., folio 5, doc. 15.

<sup>40</sup>Le Temps, 30 March, 25 December 1906; 1 March 1907.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 14 February 1913; Revue du Maghreb, I, 1 (May 1916), 2f.



colleague Espé de Metz likened Bāsh Ḥānbah's undeserved punishment to the fate of Alfred Dreyfus),<sup>42</sup> Paul Bourdarie of the Revue Indigène, who issued a special number on Tunisia for June-July 1910, and Duthil de la Tuque of the Revue Diplomatique. Occasional articles approving various aspects of the Young Tunisians' programs appeared in more than twenty political reviews and newspapers,<sup>43</sup> and several of these refused to believe the government's rationale for the debacle of March 1912.<sup>44</sup> Most of this journalistic sympathy came, like the Young Tunisians' parliamentary support, from liberals, while the socialist position was more inimical to the protectorate than the Young Tunisians wished to be and only the trauma of banishment restored the socialists' respect for Bāsh Ḥānbah and his associates.<sup>45</sup>

Besides their generally good reception at the 1908 North Africa Congress, the Young Tunisians elicited endorsements from such organizations as the Human Rights League.<sup>46</sup> Two literary figures who

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<sup>42</sup> Speech, quoted in part in Khayr Allāh, Mouvement évolutionniste tunisien, III, 103-108.

<sup>43</sup> A. Bāsh Ḥānbah, "Notre Bilan," Le Tunisien, 17 February 1910; cf Le Tunisien's regular column, "Revue de la Presse" and such short-run columns as "Les Troubles de Tunis," "La guerre italo-turque" and "La politique indigène à la Chambre."

<sup>44</sup> Charles Depincé, Revue politique et parlementaire, LXX, 210 (December 1911) and LXXII, 214 (June 1912) rejected the idea of a plot; Ernest Daudet, "La Tunisie depuis la Guerre," Revue des Deux Mondes, LXXXIV, 6 (November-December 1914), 475-489, underlined the Young Tunisians' commitment to association.

<sup>45</sup> L'Humanité argued that French rule in North Africa rested only on force, quote in Le Tunisien, 2 December 1909 but Paul Vigné d'Octon vigorously protested against the expulsions, La Bataille, 15 March 1912. Cf infra, Ch. VI, n. 48.

<sup>46</sup> Le Tunisien, 2 March 1911; 22 February 1912.

encouraged the movement were Charles Géniaux of the Revue Bleue, who travelled to Tunis to address Le Tunisien's anniversary banquet,<sup>47</sup> and Paul Bruzon, the contributor of a regular review of French literary developments to Le Tunisien who visited Zemirli and other Young Tunisians in October 1913.<sup>48</sup> Major St-Paul, who had been a medical officer in Tunisia, urged official cooperation with the Young Tunisians<sup>49</sup> and René Millet, a former Resident-General, was for a time a keen advocate of their program.<sup>50</sup> Mention should also be made of Victor Barrucand, editor of l'Akhbar of Algiers, who frequently expressed opinions congruent with those of Le Tunisien. But all this benevolence, in France as in Tunisia, either came from quarters with no real influence on the evolution of official policy, or dissipated as individuals slowly realized unpalatable implications of the desired reforms or shied from the increasingly public activity of their supposed protégés.

Bāsh Ḥānbah had several correspondents in Egypt, Istanbul

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 22 February 1908; cf article by Géniaux, Revue Politique et Littéraire (Revue Bleue), 5th series, X, 20 (14 November 1908), 635-637, reprinted in Le Tunisien, 10 December 1908.

<sup>48</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 40.

<sup>49</sup> Le Tunisien, 5 and 12 November 1908.

<sup>50</sup> See his preface to Aṣram and de Dianous, Questions tunisiennes, p. vif.

and especially Algeria, and most of these shared his views on education and social reform, but the Young Tunisians' program was too pragmatically oriented to Tunisia's status as a protectorate of France and the other Muslims were too absorbed with improving the lot of their own compatriots to allow any assertion of effective support for the Tunisian movement in other Islamic countries.

## CHAPTER VI

### OPPOSITION TO THE YOUNG TUNISIANS

#### A. Tunisians

Besides the apathy of most of their coreligionists, whom they knew to be "indolent by nature, improvident through fatalism" and atrophying in the mediocrity of their material existence,<sup>1</sup> the Young Tunisians faced the active hostility of several elements of their own community. Although the country's nominal ruler, Muḥammad al-Nāṣir Bāy, appears to have ignored the movement and to have signed the expulsion orders in simple compliance with the wish of his "protectors", some of his senior officials formed a genuine antipathy for a group whose objectives seemed to threaten the somnolent social order that upheld their privilege and prestige. Tayyib Jallūlī, the Minister of the Pen, sought to suppress the Zaytūnah strike and refused to receive the student delegation which Ḥasan Qallātī accompanied to his office on 22 April 1910,<sup>2</sup> and almost two years later he tried to bully Bāsh Ḥānbah, Nu'mān and Ṣafī into proclaiming an end to the tramway boycott,<sup>3</sup> while the Prime Minister

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<sup>1</sup> Le Tunisien, 7 February 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 28 April 1910.

<sup>3</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 17, p. 3f.

Yūsuf Ja'īṭ, an erstwhile protégé of Khayr al-Dīn's and a signatory of the 1881 Treaty of al-Qaṣr al-Sa'īd (the "Bārdū Treaty"), exerted similar pressure on Zāwush and Ibn Muṣṭafā.<sup>4</sup> The religious leadership also perceived the danger to customary piety and their own social standing implicit in the secularist thrust of the Young Tunisians' program.<sup>5</sup>

The Tunisian members of the Consultative Conference often disappointed the reformers. In 1909 four of them opposed the election of the indigenous members of municipal councils and the following year Zāwush persuaded only three of his Muslim colleagues to endorse a call for the election of their own successors; they made no effort to ascertain the wishes of their presumed constituents and never even held meetings to discuss the "issues of the day".<sup>6</sup> Many Zaytūnīs disliked the Young Tunisians' ideas on judicial reform which, if implemented, could jeopardize the careers of aspirants to the traditional magistracy.<sup>7</sup> Even the Zaytūnī reform party could not

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<sup>4</sup> Tunisie Française, 25 March 1912, in AGT, E550, 30, folio 13 bis. There is a brief biography of Ja'īṭ in 'Ibn 'Ashūr, Tarājim, 173-184.

<sup>5</sup> Cf the discussion of the question in A.H. Green, "The Tunisian Ulama, 1873-1915: Social Structures and Response to Ideological Currents" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of California, Los Angeles, 1973), Ch. VIII.

<sup>6</sup> Le Tunisien, 25 November 1909; 5 January 1911; 29 February 1912.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 10 March 1910.

endorse the sweeping secularism of Bāsh Ḥānbah and his friends, and both these groups faced the determined hostility of the influential proponents of a static society.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, some "progressives" criticized the Young Tunisians for being excessively cautious in their advocacy of indigenes' rights, but the interests of such critics in progress were often as selfish as the aristocracy's conservatism.<sup>9</sup> Finally, most Jewish Tunisians so mistrusted their society's capacity for change that they eschewed the modernists and sought French nationality.

#### B. Frenchmen in Tunisia

Despite the benign attitude which the Resident-General and most of his senior officials generally evinced towards the Young Tunisians, there were times when Alapetite disappointed the reformers; for example, he was reluctant to replace the old Arabic kuttābs with modern Franco-Arabic schools.<sup>10</sup> Junior functionaries feared that they would lose their livelihood if indigenes were admitted to the civil service,<sup>11</sup> and the Frenchmen in the Directorate

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<sup>8</sup> Zamirli, Les Successeurs, p. 55f.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, the complaint of ten successful candidates for clerical posts in the Directorate of Finance, who claimed that Le Courrier de Tunisie was more zealous in their cause than Le Tunisien, letter to Bāsh Ḥānbah, 1 June 1907, in AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61 bis, doc. 83.

<sup>10</sup> Speech in Paris, 21 February 1908, quoted in Le Tunisien, 16 April 1908.

<sup>11</sup> Le Tunisien, 21 November 1907.

of the Judiciary opposed the formation of an association of legal representatives (wukalā').<sup>12</sup> But the Young Tunisians' most adamant foe within the administration was Bernard Roy, the powerful Secretary-General of the Tunisian government from 1889 until 1910 when he was partially retired to the new position of Secretary-General of Justice, which he retained through the First World War. It was he who chose the native delegation to the Consultative Conference, proscribed Arabic-language newspapers at whim and infused his pervasive paternalism into the entire administration, and Bāsh Hānbah asked openly for his removal, disparaging his abilities and questioning his goodwill.<sup>13</sup> It is quite possible that Roy's indignation contributed much to the government's anxieties and suspicions after the Zallāj riot, when only the Arabic press was silenced as rumors implicated the Young Tunisians in a plan to destroy the Italian community.<sup>14</sup> Such whispers were still circulating a few months later when Alapetite returned to Tunis after a hectic interpellation in the Chamber of Deputies to find the tramway boycott in full force; when the French civil servants elected as representatives to the Consultative Conference those candidates who had denounced partnership, Alapetite abandoned the association policy and secured the expulsion orders. The admini-

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 20 February 1908.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 17 March, 26 May 1910.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 13 November 1911.

stration insisted that it had forestalled a plot against public order,<sup>15</sup> but some observers suspected that the Resident-General had acted to avenge his humiliation before the Chamber by punishing those who had furnished his tormentors with embarrassing information.<sup>16</sup> The government's refusal to allow the Revue du Maghreb to enter Tunisia and its seizure of the Bāsh Ḥānbah brothers' property were its last gestures of displeasure, along with its rather ironic employment of Ṭāhir Khayr al-Dīn, a son of the reformers' hero, as its spy in Geneva.<sup>17</sup>

Whether by nature or because of his official standing, Bernard Roy exercised his opposition to the Tunisian reformers in the arrogant complacency his office afforded, leaving to the more vitriolic Victor de Carnières, journalist, president of the Chamber of Agriculture and member of the Consultative Conference, the role of chief public vilifier of the Young Tunisians. (Indeed, de Carnières seems to have coined the term "Jeune Tunisien" in an article warning that French-educated natives were likely leaders of a revolt.)<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Secret report, AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 97; Alapetite to Poincaré, April 1912 in AGT, E550, 30, folio 13, part 1. Cf Tunisie Française, 23 March 1912 and Le Sahel, 26 March 1912.

<sup>16</sup> Revue du Maghreb, III, 9-12 (Sept.-Dec. 1918) 149-151.

<sup>17</sup> Cf Khayr al-Dīn to Blanc (Secretary-General of the Tunisian Government), 1 April 1916, in AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 5, doc. 22-24.

<sup>18</sup> Tunisie Française, 17 April 1897, quoted in H. Tridon, Comment la France perdra ses colonies (Paris: Editions et Librairie, [1912]), p. 85. For biographical data on de Carnières, see Khayr Allāh, Mouvement évolutionniste tunisien, III, 31f, and A la mémoire de Victor de Carnières (Tunis: Société Anonyme de l'Imprimerie Rapide, 1936), 39pp.



Describing himself as "a resolute adversary of the indigenes' excessive pretensions" and "an ardent defender of the settlers' prerogatives"<sup>19</sup> de Carnières opposed virtually every innovation that the Young Tunisiens upheld. He did not want native representation on the Consultative Conference or on municipal councils<sup>20</sup> and he feared that Tunisians attending French schools would be infected with patriotism and other modern notions that would threaten both the French hegemony and traditional Islamic society.<sup>21</sup> He advocated the abolition of native courts and the introduction of a special, more severe code for Tunisians (including a lynch law for suspected muggers),<sup>22</sup> and adamantly resisted plans to reduce or abolish the majbā, preferring to extend this tax to the whole regency.<sup>23</sup> In the opinion of de Carnières, indigenes should not be allowed to buy public land and, conversely, they should be compelled to dispose of endowed property (awqāf, ḥubūs).<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, they should always receive less pay than their European coworkers.<sup>25</sup> To him, the policy of

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<sup>19</sup> Election speech, quoted in Le Tunisien, 30 January 1908.

<sup>20</sup> Tunisie Française, 17 February 1907; Le Tunisien, 21, 28 February, 21 November 1907; Chemin-Dupontès, "Le Congrès de l'Afrique du Nord," Questions diplomatiques et coloniales, XXVI, 281 (1 November 1908), 571.

<sup>21</sup> Tunisie Française, 27 May 1899; Le Tunisien, 24 December 1908.

<sup>22</sup> Le Tunisien, 21 May 1908; 14 April 1910; Depincé, Congrès, I, 505-8; de Carnières, "Le Malentendu tunisien," Revue politique et parlementaire, LXIV, 192 (June 1910), 561.

<sup>23</sup> Le Tunisien, 15 August 1907, 25 November 1909; de Carnières, op. cit., pp 556-561.

<sup>24</sup> Le Tunisien, 5 December 1907; 3 June 1909; 1 December 1910, 2 March, 18 May, 8 June 1911.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 25 March 1909; 1 December 1910; 5 January 1911.

association was "une politique de dupes,"<sup>26</sup> and the military recruitment of Muslims was a sure recipe for revolution.<sup>27</sup> Condemning the natives generally as fractious and amoral,<sup>28</sup> he continually indulged in personal defamations of the Young Tunisians too numerous to cite here. Victor de Carnières earned the adulation of the settlers as their great defender<sup>29</sup> and the ironic gratitude of some of his adversaries for demonstrating the futility of the policy of partnership.<sup>30</sup>

In the Consultative Conference, de Carnières rallied most of his French colleagues to his intransigent positions, opposing the appointment of indigenous representation and eventually forcing the division of the Conference into separate French and Tunisian sections.<sup>31</sup> The "indigenophobes" refused to countenance Franco-Arabic schools,<sup>32</sup> more equitable taxation<sup>33</sup> or the admission of Tunisians to the civil service,<sup>34</sup> but they keenly endorsed proposals for special native criminal codes<sup>35</sup> and the transfer of Tunisian Jews to French judicial

<sup>26</sup> Quoted in Le Tunisien, 26 December 1907.

<sup>27</sup> Colon français, 22 March 1908, quoted in Le Tunisien, 16 April 1908.

<sup>28</sup> Le Tunisien, 2 January 1908; 25 November 1909.

<sup>29</sup> Tridon, Comment la France perdra ses colonies, p. 4.

<sup>30</sup> Revue du Maghreb, II, 3-4 (March-April 1917), 57f.

<sup>31</sup> Le Tunisien, 28 February 1907, 5 May 1910.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 5 December 1907.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 9 December 1909.

<sup>34</sup> André Servier, Le Péril de l'Avenir: le Nationalisme musulman en Egypte, en Tunisie, en Algérie (Constantine: Boët, 1913), p. 96f.

<sup>35</sup> Le Tunisien, 29 October 1908.

status.<sup>36</sup> The Chamber of Agriculture, similarly hostile to the indigenes, requested the issue of guns to settlers and the extension of the majbā,<sup>37</sup> and its spokesman ascribed responsibility for the Zallāj riots to Zāwush and other supposed Ottoman agents.<sup>38</sup> The ideas and policies, not to say the prejudices, of de Carnières and his partisans were regularly expounded in the columns of La Tunisie Française, Le Colon français and a number of provincial journals like Le Nord Tunisien, and these papers were not above manipulating statistics or otherwise slanting their data to score a point.<sup>39</sup> These opinions, moreover, commanded the support of the majority of the French settlers, who eventually won the bureaucrats to their side and destroyed the politique d'association.<sup>40</sup> The tramway company had obvious reasons for disliking the egalitarian Young Tunisians, and the Italian community, which felt more directly threatened by Tunisian ambitions than the more wealthy and more educated French settlers, opposed Tunisian representation in the

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 2 December 1909.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 14 December 1911.

<sup>38</sup> E. de Warren, "L'éméute du cimetière musulman du Djellaz et les assassinats à Tunis (7, 8 et 9 novembre 1911)," Afrique française, XXII, 1 (January 1912), 6-11 and de Warren's rebuttal to Zāwush's criticism of this report, "A propos des incidents de Tunis," Afrique française, XXII, 3 (March 1912), 102.

<sup>39</sup> See, for example, the complaint in Le Tunisien, 5 January 1911 on incomplete statistics in La Tunisie Française, a report on anti-Italian meetings at the Cercle Tunisien in Tunisie Française, 17 October 1911 and the same paper's tendentious coverage of the expulsions of 13 March 1912.

<sup>40</sup> Le Temps, quoted in Le Tunisien, 16 July 1908; Qellātī in Le Tunisien, 7 March 1912; Muḥammad Bash Ḥanbah, Le Peuple algéro-tunisien et la France (Geneva: Imprimerie nationale, 1918), p. 113.

Consultative Conference in 1907 and indulged in a series of communal clashes with the Arabs of Tunis during the weeks after the Zallāj riots; indeed the tram boycott of February 1912 owed its broad observance to the widespread bitterness between the indigenes and local Italians.<sup>41</sup>

### C. Frenchmen in France

The Young Tunisians aroused little vocal opposition in France, where they won only passing interest outside their limited corps of supporters. Their metropolitan antagonists were mostly politicians or former officials who were somehow familiar with Tunisian affairs, such as Maurice Colin, a deputy, and Pierre Max, a military interpreter, both of whom feared the disrupting effects that could follow from educating the indigenes.<sup>42</sup> Prime Minister Poincaré seemed unconcerned about the legal niceties of the case against Bāsh Hānbah,<sup>43</sup> while his education minister, Guist'hau, indicated the ruins of Carthage as a fitting admonition against

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<sup>41</sup>L'Unione, 18 February 1907; Le Tunisien, 16 November 1911, 15 February and 7 March 1912.

<sup>42</sup>See the relevant quotations in Tridon, Comment la France perdra ses colonies, pp 94f, 107f.

<sup>43</sup>Revue du Maghreb, III, 9-12 (Sept.-Dec. 1918), 151.

"vain political agitations."<sup>44</sup> Even René Millet, who had helped to found the Khaldūnīyah and encouraged Ṣafar and Aṣram, denounced the Young Tunisians as ingrates, agitators and fanatics unprepared for the responsibility of government, and criticized Alapetite's "lenient" treatment of the "conspirators", claiming that Bāsh Ḥānbah deserved indefinite detention in the Qarqanah Islands.<sup>45</sup> As well, there were a few dissenters from the general approbation the Young Tunisians enjoyed among French writers on colonial subjects; for example, Louis Bertrand averred that the reformers wanted only to replace French administrators,<sup>46</sup> and Charles Depincé accepted without question the government's allegation of a conspiracy against the authority of both the protectorate and the Ḥusaynīs.<sup>47</sup> From a quite different quarter, the socialists denounced the Young Tunisians' bourgeois proclivities and bewailed their subservience to a degrading colonialism.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Afrique française, XXII, 4 (April 1912), 142.

<sup>45</sup>R. Millet, France d'Outre-Mer: La Conquête du Maroc; la Question indigène (Algérie et Tunisie) (Paris: Perrin, 1913), pp 220-229.

<sup>46</sup>"L'Émeute de Tunis et le Réveil de l'Islam," Revue des Deux Mondes, LXXXI, 6 (Nov.-Dec. 1911), 594f.

<sup>47</sup>"Revue des Questions coloniales," Revue politique et parlementaire, LXII, 216 (June 1912) 608f.

<sup>48</sup>Paul Vigné d'Octon, Le Sueur du Burnous (Paris: Editions de la Guerre sociale, 1911), pp 378ff.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE LEGACY OF YOUNG TUNISIA

#### A. Possible Claimants

After the debacle of 1912 and the eventual return to Tunis of most of the deportees, there were five potential claimants to the Young Tunisian's patrimony. Of these, three were in the regency: the clusters of discussion groups that eventually coalesced around Ḥasan Qallātī and 'Abd al-'Azīz Tha 'ālibī, respectively, and 'Abd al-Jalīl Zāwush, who joined the establishment as governor of Sūsah. Overseas, 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah entered the Ottoman civil service while his brother Muḥammad settled in Geneva to publish the Revue du Maghreb. (A sixth possibility was the propaganda team led by Ṣāliḥ Sharīf and Ismā'īl Ṣafā'ihī, but these individuals had had virtually nothing to do with the publishing of Le Tunisien or with the Ṣādiqī Alumni Association and so have no place in the legacy of the Young Tunisians, whatever interest we may attach to their own careers.) Zāwush soon lost touch with his erstwhile comrades and became a willing accomplice of the protectorate, prepared simply to request modest reform and wait patiently for partial concessions. While he may have felt his course to be the most likely to improve the lot of his countrymen, neither the consensus of his original partners nor his achievements in office sustain such a theory and we must exclude him from any claim on the Young Tunisian heritage because he abandoned constructive

opposition and assimilated himself to the old ruling elite. On the other hand, his former friend 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah abdicated his primacy in the movement by refusing to return after the amnesty and by becoming so sharply mistrustful of France in consequence of his arbitrary expulsion from Tunisia.

As for Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥānbah, who believed his journal to be continuing the work of Le Tunisien, he quickly became much more radical than the Young Tunisians could have dared to be, demanding fiscal and judicial equality among the residents of the regency, and, in December 1916, suggesting a referendum to allow North Africans to choose the type of regime which should govern them. Eventually he called for the independence of a combined Algeria and Tunisia,<sup>1</sup> and his intransigence on this issue, as well as his reluctance to visit Tunisia, resulted in his effective exclusion from developments on the home front where, after all, any enduring Young Tunisian tradition must necessarily evolve. It is, therefore, among Qallātī, Tha'ālibī and their cronies that we shall seek the threads of the ideological fabric that Alapetite thought he had severed from its loom by his administrative stroke of 13 March 1912.

#### B. The Tunisian Liberal Constitutional Party

Shortly before the formal launching of the Liberal Constitutional Party, Saqqā and Tha'ālibī published La Tunisie martyre,

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<sup>1</sup> Revue du Maghreb, III, 5-6 (May-June 1918), 66. Cf. M. Bāsh Ḥānbah, Le Peuple algéro-tunisien et la France (Geneva: Imprimerie Nationale, 1918), p. 142.

which in many ways echoed the arguments of Le Tunisien; for example, the book affirmed confidence in the liberal tradition of the French republic, abjuring any hatred of France, and most of its chapters treated such problems as judicial reform, the admission of native Tunisians to the civil service, education and finance in the same fashion as the columns of Le Tunisien,<sup>2</sup> but its criticisms of the authorities were sharper, as it insisted that Tunisians had similar rights to other "nations" and offered purportedly valid information about the protectorate's oppression.<sup>3</sup> Most of the claims presented on the final pages could have appeared in Le Tunisien, although Bāsh Ḥānbah would have asked for neither a legislature to be elected on a common roll of all inhabitants of Tunisia nor absolute priority for indigenes in the hiring of civil servants.<sup>4</sup> But the acerbic tone of La Tunisie martyre embarrassed most of the surviving Young Tunisians,<sup>5</sup> who were able to ensure that the program of the Constitutional Party was couched in more discreet language. Even then, while the party's revendications<sup>6</sup> repeated many of the Young Tunisians' original goals, the new demands rather amplified the

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<sup>2</sup> La Tunisie martyre: ses revendications (Paris: Jouve, 1920), p. 1f; ch. 1-10, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 2f.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp 207-212.

<sup>5</sup> See Zamirī to Tha'ālibī, 12 January 1920 and the other letters cited in "Rapport du Colonel Beron dans l'Affaire Abdelaziz Tha'ālibi: 1921" (Centre de Documentation Nationale, Tunis, file A-3-13), p. 8f.

<sup>6</sup> V. supra, ch. I, n. 201 and relevant text.



relative size of the Tunisian contingent in the Assembly<sup>7</sup> and the party's stated objective was frankly ambiguous, allowing itself to be read as a call for independence although it was probably a request for self-government of a more limited type.<sup>8</sup> The petition (drafted in part by Qallātī, Zamirī and Nu'mān) which Ṣāfī's delegation took to Paris, however, concentrated on such Young Tunisian themes as equality of opportunity and the separation of powers and its most innovative proposal, responsible government,<sup>9</sup> was but a modest advance from Bāsh Ḥānbah's desire for elective representation.

The participation of Qallātī, Nu'mān, Zamirī and Ṣāfī in the counsels of the Liberal Constitutional Party (or "Old Destour") allow us to recognize this group as the political heir of the Young Tunisian movement, for these four personified the latter's secular modernism in a way that Tha'ālibī, with his Zaytūnī background and his deeper concern for religious reform, could never have attained.

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<sup>7</sup> Baron reports that the Constitutionalist manifesto envisaged an initial assembly with a two-thirds majority of indigenes and a gradual transition to a wholly Tunisian body; *op. cit.*, pp 42-45.

<sup>8</sup> The party's prospectus described its purpose as "showing the nation its proper course and freeing it from slavery"--"tablīgh al-waṭan ruṣhdahu wa taḥrīruhu min al-isti'bād," quoted in 'Allāl al-Fāsi, *al-Ḥarakāt al-Istiqlālīyah fī al-Maghrib al-'Arabī* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Risalah, 1368/1948), p. 58.

<sup>9</sup> The petition is summarized in Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 50f.

We have seen in Chapter Three how Tha 'ālibī's position in the Young Tunisian phalanx was only peripheral. However popular he was after the First World War, any coalition he might have led without the collaboration of the veterans of the Cercle Tunisien would have been a new phenomenon as unrelated to the Young Tunisian heritage as were the traditionalists who rallied to the Dustūrīs to protect the pious endowments threatened with sale to unbelievers. The defection of Qallātī, Nu 'mān and Zamirī deprived the Constitutional Party of the firm but moderate tone they had brought it from their days with Le Tunisien and Tha 'ālibī, left to his own devices, regressed to a sterile intransigence more reminiscent of Victor de Carnières than 'Alī Bāsh Hānbah, and the party soon faded into a <sup>mar</sup>escence of lethargy and financial mismanagement.

#### C. The Reform Party

The Reform Party's renunciation of confrontation and its insistence on amicable relations with the government were more than mere tactics in advancing its goals, for Qallātī and his colleagues held to these tenets unwaveringly even though they failed to win mass support. Indeed, they first argued their case within the Constitutional Party for over a year and their secession resulted more from philosophical than strategic disagreement, although there was certainly an element of personal frustration in the final rift. Qallātī and Nu 'mān had eschewed violence in November 1919, extolling

the benefit of the French presence. More than once, Nu'mān had ridiculed the penchant of his adversaries to waste time and energy on imprecise and unrealistic claims which served only to alienate French opinion,<sup>10</sup> and several of his articles in l'Avenir Social were simply restatements of the politique d'association.<sup>11</sup> Qallātī argued for a gradual approach to Tunisia's political grievances, seeking solutions to various problems by stages,<sup>12</sup> a procedure advocated in Le Tunisien some ten years before.<sup>13</sup> The Reform Party's patience and confidence in the process of negotiation and the goodwill of the government, its pragmatic preference for progressing from one limited objective to another, the presence at its head of the three closest living associates of 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbeh and, indeed, its very aura of a determined minority convinced of the ultimate correctness of its program, all indicate that this small group deserved more than any other to claim the mantle of the Young Tunisians.

#### D. The New Constitutional Party

In November 1932, L'Action tunisienne published Ḥabīb Būrqābah's manifesto promising "to seek with prudence and sincerity

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<sup>10</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 1, doc. 118, 128, 133. Cf L.C. Brown, "Tunisia under the French Protectorate: A History of Ideological Change" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1962), p. 104f.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, the issues of 15 April 1920 and 3 February 1921.

<sup>12</sup> Tunis socialiste, 25 September 1921.

<sup>13</sup> Le Tunisien, 9 June 1910.

the remedy for the serious economic, moral and political crisis" facing the country. Secondly, he and his friends would, "without any spirit of caste or sterile demagogy," defend "the interests of all Tunisians, regardless of religion." They would excel the old *Dustūrīs* in their zeal for educating and organizing the masses and they would "serve as an intermediary between French and Tunisian opinion by propagating, in the measure possible, the ideas of justice and understanding without useless prating but refusing abdication unworthy of our national individuality."<sup>14</sup> As the leader of the New Constitutional Party (Neo-Destour), *Būrqībah* "always left the door open for agreement with the French," for he believed that the protectorate "had an evolutionary function" and tried to prepare his country "to govern itself, in friendly cooperation with France."<sup>15</sup> At first, *Būrqībah* did not expect independence in his own lifetime<sup>16</sup> but he resolved to proceed "step by step."<sup>17</sup> His initial support derived from the new generation of "young Tunisians", recently graduated from the *Ṣādiqīyah*, and his party soon won the allegiance of *Qallātī*,

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<sup>14</sup> This program was reprinted in *L'Action*, 2 March 1972.

<sup>15</sup> *Būrqībah*, speech at Munastir, 28 December 1963, Eng. tr. Moral Commitment as the sole basis of liberty (Tunis: Secretariat of State for Cultural Affairs and Orientation, 1964), p. 15.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Ḥassūnah 'Ayyāshī and other survivors of the earlier Young Tunisians,<sup>18</sup> whom he resembled in his lack of confidence in the Old Dustūrīs' vocal but ineffectual defiance. Although he criticized Qallātī for abusing Tha'ālibī,<sup>19</sup> Būrqībah himself had violent confrontations with Tha'ālibī and his own program began virtually where the Young Tunisians had been interrupted. Būrqībah, like them, encountered serious setbacks, but he was more persevering and finally achieved a goal he had not expected to attain and that they could not have dared to formulate. But 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah had remarked that the Young Tunisians were "sowing for a distant harvest"<sup>20</sup> and Būrqībah's friend Ṭāhir Ṣafar praised them for planting the seed which had germinated into the hardy shoot tended by the Neo-Destour<sup>21</sup> and which would eventually bloom with the coming of

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<sup>18</sup> Cf. Zamirī (Zmerli), Figures tunisiennes: les Successeurs (Tunis: Maison tunisienne de l'Édition, 1967), p. 259; ibid., Figures tunisiennes: Les Contemporains et les Autres (Tunis: Maison tunisienne de l'Édition, 1972), p. 122f. Note also the remark of Bahrī Qīqā in L'Action tunisienne, 13 January 1933 praising Būrqībah for establishing the link Bāsh Ḥānbah had sketched between the mass and the intelligentsia, quoted by L.C. Brown in C.A. Micaud et al., Tunisia: the Politics of Modernization (New York: Praeger, 1964), p. 63.

<sup>19</sup> Speech at the Palmarium, Tunis, 2 March 1964, Eng. tr. in Lessons of Thirty Years of Struggle (Tunis: Secretariat of State for Cultural Affairs and Orientation, 1964), p. 29.

<sup>20</sup> Le Tunisien, 8 October 1908.

<sup>21</sup> (Tahar Sfar), Journal d'un Exilé: Zarzis 1935 (Tunis: Bouslama, 1960), p. 16.

independence. Būrqībah was almost justified in calling Zāwush an assimilationist but we must concur in Carl Brown's observation that Tunisia's president was not entirely fair in acknowledging only a minimal debt to the Young Tunisians<sup>22</sup> for his own programs incorporated both the modernist policies and the cooperative yet assertive attitudes that had been the hallmarks of both the Young Tunisians and Qallātī's Reform Party.

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<sup>22</sup>L.C. Brown, "Tunisia under the French Protectorate," p. 53, n. 11.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the sequence of events presented in Chapter One, we can infer the impossibility of assigning a precise date to either the emergence of a Young Tunisian movement or its disappearance, principally because the group to which the label applied remained informal and amorphous. The Young Tunisians inherited the secular reformism of Khayr al-Dīn's partisans, both through the direct medium of Bashīr Ṣafar, whose career as an advocate of measured change began at the pasha's table and continued beyond the era of Le Tunisien, and indirectly through the journalists of al-Ḥādirah and the founders of the Khaldūnīyah, from whom they can be distinguished by their more secular outlook and their greater willingness to give voice to the grievances of their countrymen. They honored Ṣafar and Aṣram, but those who assumed the public task of issuing Le Tunisien were all outside the government service and at least fifteen years younger than these two elder statesmen. Drawn mostly from the Ṣādiqī Alumni Association, the Young Tunisians were "rather a coterie than a real party"<sup>1</sup> who may well have numbered several dozen but whose real activity was the work of a mere handful centred on 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbaḥ and Ḥasan Qallātī, with

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<sup>1</sup> Ernest Daudet, "La Tunisie depuis la Guerre," Revue des Deux Mondes, LXXXIV, 6 (Nov.-Dec. 1914), 479f. Cf L.C. Brown, "Tunisia under the French Protectorate" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1962), p. 43.

Tha 'ālibī and Zāwush personifying aberrations in the directions of Islamic modernism and assimilation, respectively.

The mouthpiece of these Young Tunisians was the weekly Le Tunisien and their objective was to improve the social and economic conditions of their compatriots within the context of the protectorate. Neither assimilationists nor political nationalists, they believed that their society should be modernized in partnership with France without jeopardizing its own cultural individuality, and their loyalty to France surpassed their devotion to a rather sentimental form of panIslamism. They enjoyed the sympathy of a broad range of their countrymen and French liberals in both Tunisia and France but they were not trusted by the regency's traditional religious and political dignitaries, while the settlers vehemently abhorred them. The protectorate authorities, who had been rather friendly to the Young Tunisians, became apprehensive over the Zallāj riots and the tramway boycott, neither of which was the responsibility of the Young Tunisians although they were blamed for both. In its anxiety, and possibly in resentment of the Resident-General's discomfiting experience in the Chamber of Deputies, the administration sought to snuff the reformers' growing confidence and prestige by banishing their leaders, but it never really attempted the impossible task of proving that the exiles had hatched a conspiracy. The movement survived the war in several discussion groups and after the armistice Qallātī, Nu'mān and their associates helped to launch the Liberal Constitutional Party. Soon disillusioned with the obstinate sterility



and pervasive venality of its chieftains, however, they revived the original constructive gradualism of Le Tunisien. It was along this middle path between unproductive demagoguery and complacent passivity that Ḥabīb Būrqībah eventually led the nation to independence.

The very imprecision of Young Tunisia's genesis and evanescence is an indication of how restly the movement meshed with both its predecessors and its successors in the evolution of Tunisian political awareness. Like both Khayr al-Dīn and Būrqībah, 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah recognized Tunisia's need for modernity and the awesome enormity of the task of achieving this, and like them he and his fellow Young Tunisians purposefully accepted the burden. "For in order successfully to complete this longterm work, one needs methodical diligence, enlightened dedication, sustained effort and a will firmly set on the goal to be reached," and such a combination is to be found only in the person "who harnesses himself cheerfully to his work, limiting his ambitions to the happy realization of the mission entrusted to him."<sup>2</sup> By adapting the program of Khayr al-Dīn to the new circumstances of foreign occupation and by turning the French presence to advantage in promoting the social emancipation of their countrymen, the Young Tunisians labored energetically to lay the foundation on which the Neo-Destour and its supreme combattant would ultimately build the edifice of political sovereignty.

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<sup>2</sup> Le Tunisien, 4 May 1911.

## POSTSCRIPT

### THE YOUNG TUNISIANS AND THEIR COUNTERPARTS ABROAD

The nineteenth century spawned a host of quasi-national youth movements, beginning with Young Italy and traversing Europe from Ireland to Estonia. All of these groups pressed for social improvement within their communities but each defined its objectives and adapted its strategy to conform to its own specific circumstances. So it was within the Islamic world. We have seen how the Young Tunisians formulated their program within the context of the Protectorate and mention has been made of 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah's foreswearing of external affiliations. But there is some value in a cursory comparison of the Young Tunisians with their secular modernist counterparts in Algeria, Egypt and the Ottoman Empire.

Charles-Robert Ageron has explained fully<sup>1</sup> how the Young Algerians felt a closer affinity for the Young Tunisians than for any other movement, for the members of both groups were graduates of French-language secular schools and they formed similar societies and published newspapers; indeed the Fiṣṣā brothers launched a bilingual weekly, al-Miṣbāḥ, nearly three years before Le Tunisien

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<sup>1</sup>"Le Mouvement 'Jeune-Algerien' de 1900 à 1923," Etudes Maghrébines: Mélanges Charles-André Julien (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), pp 217-244; idem, Les Algériens musulmans et la France: 1871-1919 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968), II, 1030-1055. Cf Augustin Bernard, L'Afrique du Nord pendant la Guerre (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1926), p. 78f.

appeared. Ageron also notes that the Young Algerians were less averse to assimilation than their Tunisian neighbors. Le Tunisien ran several articles on Algerian affairs, especially conscription, the judiciary and taxation, and heartily commended the program 'Umar Būdarbah presented to Governor-General Lataud in May 1911.<sup>2</sup> 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbah had many regular correspondents in Algeria, and he exchanged Le Tunisien for several Algerian papers of similar ilk,<sup>3</sup> notably the weekly l'Islam, edited by Ṣādiq Dandān. After his exile, Bāsh Ḥānbah met with an Algerian delegation in Paris and urged its members not to compromise their Muslim personal status,<sup>4</sup> while l'Islam was criticizing the Tunisian expulsion order.<sup>5</sup> Later, l'Islam welcomed the exiles' amnesty; remarking that the Young Tunisians had done nothing wrong, it labelled the original deportation a political error.<sup>6</sup> There was, then, a certain sympathy and mutual support between Young Tunisians and Young Algerians but the political climates of these two portions of the Maghrib differed enough to preclude any concerted effort of the sort which the Revue du Maghreb would bravely proclaim from the wistful isolation of Geneva.

The Young Tunisiens also had correspondents in Egypt,

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<sup>2</sup> Le Tunisien, 4 May 1911; cf article by Ibn 'Alī Fiḍār in ibid., 8 February 1912.

<sup>3</sup> AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61 bis, doc. 187-208.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., folio 61, doc. 123-128.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Le Libéral, 27 March 1912, AGT, E550, 30, file 13, part 3.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in AGT, loc. cit., part 1.

where there was a small Young Egyptian party,<sup>7</sup> and where Le Journal du Caire expressed its own version of partnership.<sup>8</sup> Zāwush praised Muḥammad 'Abduh's opposition to taglīd (uncritical traditionalism) but attacked Sa'd Zaghlūl's abolition of free primary education,<sup>9</sup> and Le Tunisien shared in a widespread condemnation of the imprisonment of nationalist leader Muḥammad Farīd.<sup>10</sup> But most of Le Tunisien's mentions of Egypt came in firm disavowals of any affiliation or common attitude with the Nationalist Party,<sup>11</sup> a point on which French intelligence concurred.<sup>12</sup>

To the Young Tunisians, the Ottoman Revolution of 1908 was proof that a backward people could advance, and the Young Turks were a model of toleration; similarly 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's deposition represented the triumph of progress over fanaticism,<sup>13</sup> and 'Alī Bāsh Ḥānbeh eventually found refuge among the Young Turks and enjoyed the

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<sup>7</sup>A. Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age: 1798-1939 (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 278.

<sup>8</sup>Quoted in Le Tunisien, 28 March 1907.

<sup>9</sup>Le Tunisien, 4 July 1907.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 9 February 1911.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 28 March 1907, 31 December 1908, 20 October 1910 etc.

<sup>12</sup>Note dated 15 February 1908 in AGT, E550, 30, file 14, doc. 32.

<sup>13</sup>Le Tunisien, 30 July, 27 August, 31 December 1908; 6 May 1909.

friendship of Talât Bey.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, the Young Tunisians insisted that their objectives were local and their affinities to the Young Turks were only sentimental.<sup>15</sup> Bāsh Hēnbah's decision to remain abroad after the pardon of 1913 indicates his conversion to the Ottoman cause, consequent perhaps to his loss of confidence in Alapetite, but his comrades returned to Tunis to pursue the movement's earlier goals, which partially paralleled those of the Young Turks but applied quite specifically to the intricacies of winning concessions from a pervasive foreign authority.

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<sup>14</sup>AGT, E550, 30/15, folio 61, doc. 153.

<sup>15</sup>Le Tunisien, 28 March 1907; 20 October 1910.

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32: Mohamed ben Hajj Othman Manachou  
36: Mohamed Seghir ben Chaâbane el Fitouri  
39: Docteur Ahmed Chérif  
40: Chedli ben Mohamed Darghouth  
44: Aïachi: avocat à Sousse  
45: Hamida Sahly  
46: Mohamed Tordjemane  
47: Amor Bou Hadjeb  
48: Radj Youssef ben Ahmad Zouïten  
50: Mohamed Azzedine el Kallal  
52: Mohamed Riahi dit Cheikh Ibrahim Riahi  
54: el Hadi ben Hamida el Ksouri  
56: Larbi ben Cheikh  
57: Tahar ben Salah el Messaoudi  
58: Hassin el Djaziri  
61: Ali Bach Hamba  
65: Ben Ayed fils  
68: Ahmed ben Niss oukil et son fils Mohamed  
79: Ahmed Essafi: avocat  
90: Salah Djemmal: négociant  
91: Omar Guellaty, commandant  
93: Ali Kasmi  
94: Senadli, Directeur de la "Zohra"  
99: Hadi ben Ammar et son frère Salah  
105: Abdelaziz Chamekh  
130: Hamida ben Chedli bou Tegan  
133: Mohamed Lamine ben Mostefa Ferchichi El Koutbi  
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141: Slimen ben Gacem Djadoui: publiciste  
150: Abderrahman Kaâk  
164: Ali ben Ahmed Guellaty: interprète judiciaire  
165: Mohamed Guellaty: employé du bureau  
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 342: Chakir ou Chukri bou Lakbache  
 375: Abdelaziz Saheb Tabaâ  
 414: Chadli Mourali et son frère Rachid  
 499: Hassin Bouhadjeb, docteur  
 523: Ali Bou Hadjeb, pharmacien  
 544: Abderrahman Bou Snina: employé à la Section d'Etat  
 564: Lakhdar ben el Houssein  
 576: Béchir Boukri: propriétaire  
 859: Rady ben Chadli ben Farhat  
 881: Ismaïl Sfaïhi: ancien cadi  
 1014: Ferhat ben Abderrehmen ben Ayed  
 1090: Mohamed el Annabi: professeur à la Gde Mosquée  
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