

The French Policy Of Exile Against The Elite Of The City Of Algeriers “Mustafa Ben Mohamed Al-Kababti As A Model”

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Abstract.

The French colonisation has implemented penal exile in Algeria since the time of Governor General “Clauzel”, moving to “De Rovigo” and until “Bugeaud”. Among the first to be exiled outside the country were a group of the elites of the city of Algiers who entrenched themselves in the ranks of the opposition and the political, religious and intellectual resistance against the presence and policies of the French occupier. This study is considered one of the topics that have not been dealt with extensively by the researchers so it was the motive behind its selection in detail. The study aims at shedding light on the Maliki Mufti Mustafa ben Mohamed Al-Kababti (1862-1775). He was one of the most important Algerian elites who has been exiled. He played an important role in opposing and resisting against French colonialism, he was exiled to “Sainte-Marguerite” Island, France, then to Alexandria, Egypt. Thus, exiling Ibn Al-Kababti established the beginning of the French colonialist implementation of penal exile against the Algerians, which was a policy that has continued up until the forties of the twentieth century.

Keywords: exile, Bugeaud, resistance, Sainte-Marguerite, colonialism, mufti, Alexandria, endowments.

1. Introduction

Exiling out of Algeria is considered one of the most emphasised penal policies which the French administration implemented against Algerians since the first years of colonisation. France resorted to issuing exiling judgements against hundreds of Algerians with the aim of breaking their morale, crushing the nationalist spirit and the different forms of resistance against the presence of French colonisation after realising the effectiveness of exile on the resistance and the opposition.

Among the first to be exiled abroad was a group of elites and notables of the city of Algeria who entrenched themselves in the ranks of opponents, politicians, religious and intellectuals against the presence and policies of the French occupier. This article focuses on the Maliki Mufti Mustafa ben Mohamed Al-Kababti who was one of these elites. After taking his decisive stands with the issue of incorporating endowments to the possessions of the French state (on the religious front) and defending them, opposing the teaching of French language in Quranic school (on the educational front) and defending Arabic language, “Bugeaud” decided to halt his efforts by exiling him out of Algeria.

1.1 The problematic of the study

In view of the foregoing, this article would answer the main problematic. How did France implement exile against Mustafa ben Mohamed Al-Kababti?

Based on the main problematic, other secondary problematics were presented. What is the role that Ibn Al-Kababti played in opposing and resisting French colonisation? What are the justifications that the French Governor General “Bugeaud” has provided for exiling him out of the country? How was the process of exile carried out and where to? What were the most prominent stages in Ibn Al-Kababti’s life during his exile?

1.2 The axes of the study

To answer the previously mentioned problematics, this article divided into five axes: linguistic and terminological definition of exile; introducing Ibn Al-Kababti; reasons and justification behind exiling Ibn Al-Kababti, General “Bugeaud’s” exile of Ibn Al-Kababti, Ibn Al-Kababti’s life and death in exile.

1.3 The objectives of the study

This article aims to reaching the following objectives:

- Shedding light on one of the most prominent Algerian scholars who have spent their life and effort in jurisprudence and iftaa according to the Maliki school.

- Demonstrating the prominent political, religious, and ideological role which Ibn Al-Kababti has played in opposing and resisting French colonialism that has been the primary reason for being exiled out of Algeria.
- Tackling one of the most important stage of Ibn Al-Kababti's life which has not been inspected in detail in the literature, especially on the subject of exile, specifically to "Sainte-Marguerite" Island then to Alexandria which he has chosen as a destination for exile and his life and activism in it.

Adding a new supportive research that would orient other researchers and students with various aspects of this prominent character as a well as the roles and activities that such character has played in addition to the general history of Algeria during Modernism.

1.4 Methodology

The historical methodology has been implemented as means to encompass the different axes that are included in this study in detail. Additionally, this was done to uncover facts and the progress of events. As such, the descriptive-analytical method so as to analyse and describe all aspects of the subject of research and the stages of implementing the French exile policy against Ibn Al-Kababti as a model in a chronological order from the beginning of his opposition to the French colonialism until his death in exile.

2. The definition of exile

2.1 Exile in Arabic

According to Ibn Faris' "Dictionary of language standards", exile is "nafa" which means exile, the na, the fa, and the vowel letter is authentic, indicating alienating an object from an object and distancing it from it ^[1].

Al-Zamakhshari mentions in his book "The basis of rhetoric": exile: to exile from a place, to remove it, thus it is exiled. Exiling a person from a country: to be driven out and led out. God Almighty said; {or that they be exiled from the land ^[2] }.

Ibn Manzur says in his book "Lisan Al Arab": exile: exiled an object to exile in exilation, to remove. To say: you exiled the man and others, I exiled, so I drove him out. In the hadith, the prophet peace be upon him says: {Medina is like a furnace which drives away its impurity and purifies what is good} ^[3], bellows means to drive out and distance from the country. It is said: exiled, exile, in exile, thus driven out of the country ^[4].

In his book "Mukhtar Al-Sahah", Al-Razi says: exile: to drive out. It is said: exiled, thus was exiled. And it is also said: this exiles the other (meaning contradict), thus they exile each other. In this sense, the exiled is in such state for its mediocrity. It is also said: alienated and was alienated thus he is foreign. Alienation: to exile from a country and estrangement by distance ^[5].

according to these linguistic definitions, it can be concluded that the concept of exile in Arabic is implicitly conjunct to meanings that have to do with human subject punishments, having forced him to leave his home and reside elsewhere. Among the linguistic synonyms that Arabs used for this are, distancing, alienation, removal, driving out, and expelling.

2.2 Exile in French

French includes a lot of synonyms that indicate to exile which include the meaning of forcing an individual or a group to leave their area of residence. Yet, there is still differentiation with regards to its semantics and uses among which:

- Bannissement: meaning exiling, driving out, alienation, and prohibition of residence in the country for individuals convicted with a criminal sentence.
- Exiler: to exile and distance a criminal from the country.
- Déportation: meaning deportation and final distancing for the convicts after a sentence is made for political crimes.
- Transportation: meaning to move, exile, and distance convicts with forced and hard labour in colonies while spending their time ^[6].

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2.3 The terminology of exile

Exiling individuals and groups is considered as an ancient reaction that has been part of the hard punishment ever since prehistoric age among Greeks and Romans who have practiced it against their enemies. In addition, medieval society have also used in on a large scale. The practice remained the same even after the emergence of modern colonial empires as the interest in using in was widespread.

Legally and terminologically, exile represents a form of judicial punishments and a preventative administrative measure of political nature which is issued by judicial, security, or political authority of a specific country, notwithstanding the nature of the political governing system ^[7].

This policy and punishment falls within the context of violence which French colonisation has practiced in Algeria against individuals and groups that are seen as threats to its interests. As such, this punishment or measure comes as a colonialist reaction that aims to stop the movement of individuals or groups and neutralising them or pressuring them until eliminated ^[8].

Exile can be categorized into two types:

* **Restricted exile:** the cruellest to the exiled persons when location has already been decided such as exile to French prisons (Corsica and Sainte-Marguerite) or penal colonies (French Guiana, New Caledonia) with the period of exile also predetermined in most cases. In this case, the exile can return to his country once the period of exile has elapsed. During exile, however, the exiled is exposed to many punishments and hard labour.

* **Free exile:** which is considered lighter compared to the first counterpart, where the exiled has the freedom to choose the location of his exile excluding his country. In most cases, the exile would be Egypt, Syria, Tunisia, or Hijaz, with the period remaining undetermined, rather the exiled would spend the rest of his life there. In such case, the exiled can never return to his country; however, the exiled would face no further punishments or be exposed to hard labour during the period of his punishment^[9].

With regards to the character that would be tackled in this article, both types of exile have been inspected as Ibn Al-Kababti was first exiled to "Sainte-Marguerite", Island then he had the liberty to choose Alexandria as an exile.

3. Introducing Ibn Al-Kababti

3.1 Birth and upbringing

Mustafa Ibn Mohamed Ibn Abderrahmane, widely known as Ibn Al-Kababti, was born in Algiers in December 1775. His origins date back to an Andalusian family from Granada^[10]. One of the most famous sheikhs that Ibn Al-Kababti has studied under was Ali Ibn Abdelkader Ibn Al-Amine, Ali Ibn Mohamed Al-Mondjalati, Mohamed Ibn Moussa, and Mohamed Akho Al-Safar. Some of them have assumed Iftaa according to the Maliki jurisprudence in Algiers during the late Ottoman period. Additionally, he has received education under Mohamed Al-Zarwari Al-Fassi who used to teach at Al-Qarawiyyin Mosque. Consequently, it appears that Ibn Al-Kababti travelled to the city of Fess seeking knowledge and that he did under the supervision of those scholars and sheikhs in 1812 after acquiring science of reason and transmitted knowledge such as Hadith, Fiqh, syntax, logic, and some corpora^[11].

3.2 Scholarly and professional career

3.2.1 Teaching and students

Al-Kababti started teaching in many mosques since his graduation in 1812, including the Great Mosque where he was an active teacher in 1825. He taught his students Fiqh, Hadith, syntax, reason, and some texts of a hadith (matn). In other words, he combined teaching transmitted knowledge (Hadith and Fiqh) and mental science (reason and syntax). He was also known among his contemporaries for narrating sahih hadiths which he excelled at, especially Al-Bukhari^[12].

Many students have graduated under Al-Kababti whether in Algiers or at his exile in Alexandria. Some of these students are Hamida Al-Amali, Mustafa Al-Harrar, Abderrahmane A-Imam, while in Alexandria: Abdelhamid Bekk, who praised his sheikh and translated his works in a book titled "The History of Abdelhamid Bekk" as well as Mohamed Al-Akil and Ahmed Ben Souda Al-Marri from Morocco^[13].

3.2.2 Occupations and works

Al-Kababti's life starts professionally in the year 1827 when he was appointed by Day Hocine Bacha (1818-1830) to succeed Ali Ibn Al-Kailani^[14], and assume judiciary as per the school of Imam Malik Ibn Anas. This happened at the same time with the start of the siege of Algiers that was conducted by France in preparation for colonising it. Al-Kababti continued assuming his position throughout the first year of colonisation where he has witnessed, in his capacity as a judge, this dangerous administrative turn of events when instead of receiving orders from an Islamic entity he was receiving them from a French colonising entity^[15].

During this period, complex lawsuits and cases became prevalent with injustice and despotism spreading while judges lost all their roles except for the symbolic value. Many scholars and men of knowledge and religion left Algiers following on the colonisation, running away with their religion, believing that the events would turn for the favour shortly after. The French administration ruled during the first year of its presence in Algiers by exiling al mufti Al-Hanafi Mohamed ben Mahmoud ben Al-Annabi who will have Al-Kababti when he is exiled to Alexandria after fate spins its cycle and he himself is exiled as well^[16].

After spending a year at the judiciary under the authority of French colonialism, he submitted his resignation for what seemed to be due to the aforementioned reasons, namely the difficulty in connecting the principles of Islamic judiciary and the tyrannical rules that the French have brought who wanted judges to be mouthpieces to fulfilling the desires and policies of colonialism^[17].

Al-Kababti was not one of those judges; thus, he submitted his resignation. The colonialist administration, however, refused his request and forced him to hold his position until he finds another individual to replace him. The French themselves would not have had problems in finding such other individual if they so desired. They did not want this to

become a first that other judges would follow after and quit whenever they wished. Undoubtly, they wanted to involve Al-Kababti deeper with them and testing his intentions towards them, so they accepted his recommendation to appointing sheikh Abdelaziz, who was an Algerian scholar while Al-Kababti was appointed as the mufti of Algiers where he stayed from 1831 until impeached and exiled in 1843 ^[18].

The period in which Al-Kababti remained as a mufti can be divided into two stages: the first from 1831 to 1841 and the second from 1841 to 1843. In the first stage, Al-Kababti was practicing his authority on religious matters including endowments, mosques, altars, education, and the employees who work for such institutions across various levels. He was also connected with the Arabian Bureau at the Communal Affaires, contacting them with regards to his mission, only accepting suggestions and interventions that do not meddle with Sharia teachings and inherited values and Muslim interests.

In this stage, the French were not yet aware of the importance of endowments, nor their political and religious role in addition to having no clear educational policy towards the locals. Ten years of colonisation have already passed in what has been called the hesitancy policy and in replying to the political resistance represented in: the Urban Committee, the Moroccan Committee, and the two military resistance division: the official, especially Ahmed Bay, and the popular, especially Al-Amir Abdelkader ^[19].

It is indicated that Al-Kababti was one character that had the ear of the African Committee, which France had sent for investigation in Algiers in 1833, where he opined in a hearing on November 10th 1833 on personal status and judiciary such as the stance of Islamic Sharia on rights of men and women, system of owning properties, marriage and divorce, and procedures of judicial rulings. General "Theophile Voirol" expressed in correspondence that Al-Kababti is "a man who harbours great hatred towards France." And he made recommendation to the minister of the French navy Marshal General "Jean-de-Dieu Soult", known as "Soult" to get rid of him ^[20].

The second stage starts with appointing General "Thomas Robert Bugeaud" ^[21] in the position of Governor General of Algiers, introducing a new age of French policy under the slogan of eliminating the resistance against the French presence and consolidating the foundation of French sovereignty no matter the means or the cost. This policy included controlling Islamic religious affairs by seizing its primary source of income that is endowments, thus, the seizing extends to all beneficiaries and representatives, especially men of faith, scholars, judges, muftis, teachers, and dependent institutions ^[22].

4 Reasons and justifications for exiling Ibn Al-Kababti

4.1 The religious front (endowments)

The French started meddling in religious affairs since their entry to Algiers in 1830, when general "Bertrand Clauzel" ^[23] issued orders in this regard including: issuing an order on 8th of September 1830 that targeted the confiscation of Ottoman properties and endowments in Makkah, Al-Madinah, and including them in the French Domain. This decision was met with refusal and protest by scholars and muftis of the city of Algiers with Ibn Al-Annabi and Al-Kababti among them. Ibn Al-Kababti has written a secret memo on endowments that he directed to Clauzel where he clarified his stance. However, "Clauzel's" rule did not last long, and his successors were not decisive in the matter until the arrival of "Bugeaud" ^[24].

"Aumerat" says that "Bugeaud's" decision to include the institutions of endowments into state properties was issued on 23rd of March 1843 with the approval of the Ministry of Armed Forces Marshal "Soult" and the state counsellor and secretary general "Martino" which included nine acts ^[25]. He also clarifies that Al-Kababti has refused at the time as the decision was against principles of Islamic faith which grants sanctity to endowments as it also comprised a violation for the surrender treaty which states that no Islamic religion sanctities should ever be infringed ^[26].

begun ever since the arrival of "Bugeaud" and that communications with al mufti in this regard was an old matter. His opinion was known by the colonialist administration and that issuing the order on that date was a kind of testing the mufti's willingness the willpower of the Muslim locals he represented until a charge of resisting the French presence is established and the case made becomes clearly more political.

Hence, the French administration in Algiers subjected all endowments ^[27] and relevant personnel at the Great Mosque to the department of French state properties (the domain) and announced that all income will be annexed to the budget of the colonisation. It also confiscated the archives of the Great Mosque following an order that was issued on 4th of June 1843 ^[28].

It seems that the French feared the aftermaths of this matter. That was the reason behind approaching it gradually and creating a situation that would display al mufti in a position of rebellion and disobedience. Thus, he feared those who were around him. Additionally, the French appointed spies that would give account of his news and opinions. Later, an announcement of the Government printing house in Algiers would reveal to locals that al mufti disobeyed the order of the Ministry of Armed Forces which was not in the best interest of Muslims at the time ^[29].

Thus, the French colonialist administration explained the position of Al-Kababti as a disobedience, rebellion, resistance and aggression. The report that the head of the general wilayabureau that he sent to the Ministry of Armed Forces on 13th

of May 1843 confirms this by saying that al mufti Al-Kababti: “was deaf to all measures that the governor general and his assistants has implemented. He would oppose all reforms that were related to him as well as the administration of religious affairs”. That is why the report suggested disciplining Al-Kababti by expelling him then exiling him from Algiers in fear of possible unrest and stirring the Muslim locals ^[30].

4.2 The scholarly front (language)

It appears that the French colonialist administration has fabricated this case to cover its intentions with regards to the intrinsic case of endowments since locals did not oppose teaching their children French language in their school but rather opposed teaching it first in Quranic schools that were usually part of mosques. Second, being taught under French teachers specifically, as inspector “Artaud”. The fabrication of this case is what led Al-Kababti and other teachers and locals to refuse the instruction of the Minister of Armed Forces which was the last straw ^[31].

In my opinion, the primary goal of the colonialist administration was including endowments as they have more political, religious, and financial significance than the attention given to teaching French to local children. This was evidenced by the local children’s continuous ignorance of French even after the exile of Al-Kababti while the colonialist economy flourished. On the other hand, the stance of Al-Kababti on endowments dates back to the beginning of the colonisation while his stance on French language only dates back the later part of 1842.

The cause of education started in October 1842. On the 24th of the same month, the Minister of Armed Forces issued an order of teaching French to the children of Algerian locals in French schools. This decision was the fruit of a suggestion made by “Mr.Artaud”, the general inspector of studies and the responsible for the mission of general education in Algeria ^[32].

Sources indicate that the objective of minister “Soult” of this decision was benefiting the local children with French civilisation. The objective of governor general “Bugeaud” behind promoting teaching of French “language” among local children was so that France would benefit from them and that they benefit from France ^[33].

At any rate, the French ordered Al-Kababti to inform Quranic school teacher to send local children to French school so they learn math and French language. Al mufti, however, started making promises to the French only to break them after out of fear for the children’s minds from French language and leaving Islam ^[34].

When the French knew of Al-Kababti’s stalling, and when Al-Kababti became exhausted to going around the issue, he summoned the locals in a public display and presented them with the topic. The locals refused, saying that they were “the French’s subjects in livelihood, not in religion”. When Al-Kababti returned to the French to inform them the proceedings of the meeting, he was told that “the goal was to teach local children French language, not Christianity. In this case, French language teachers can go to the Quranic school to teach Muslim children one session daily”.

When Al-Kababti informed children’s teachers with the opinion of the French, they refused. Still, they had no power, so they resorted to his counsel on the matter. That was when he suggested to accept the French proposition. However, when French teachers would come, they would let the children go without informing the French teachers. And thus, the agreement was made. Nevertheless, the French knew of this agreement through their spies, which led them to arrest Al-Kababti and imprison him. Then they requested permission from the Minister of Armed Forces to expel and exile him, which he approved ^[35].

Al-Kababti’s clearest opinion was the one that he expressed in his memo to the Minister of Armed Forces through the head of department of internal affairs in Algiers, “De laporte” when the situation became difficult between him and the administration of French colonisation. The memo was sent in 1843, which shows that a period of time was requested to inform teachers and parents. The French wanted to pressure Al-Kababti and scare him, so they imprisoned his nephew, the head of the Great Mosque, Ahmed ben Achour, who insulted the French inspector that came to visit him at the school. Some other French reports claim that he insulted the French authority itself ^[36].

Regardless, Al-Kababti continued his mission. He summoned the teachers and informed them of the intentions of the minister and of his orders, namely teaching French language in their Quranic schools for one hour daily. The teachers and parents refused, and Al-Kababti transferred their wish to the minister, telling him that they do not wish their children to learn any other knowledge other than Quran, which teaching does not go along with any other type of education. That children at that age are still learning Arabic, which is the only benefiting thing to learn when it comes to religion. The proposition of adding French was overruled since it did not only offer not benefit to them, in fact it was harmful.

Al-Kababti suggested that the French would implicitly open their own schools, and there will be no objection in case any of the parents wanted to send their children. He also informed them that he was only a mufti, and he cannot, in his capacity, oblige anyone to teach his children French language. His personal opinion, however, was complete refusal to any measure or procedure that would distract Muslim Algerian children to learning Quran and refusing any form of education that was not Arabic ^[37].

Al-Kababti also saw that teaching French language in Quranic schools was an offense to the language of Quran and an infringement against the foundations of Algerian identity, which is Arabic. That was evidenced by a telegram of the head of the department of internal affairs that was dated on 15th of April 1843, and the telegram of the officer-in-charge of the region of Algiers on 30th of April 1843 ^[38].

This clarifies that the administration of French colonialism directed a campaign of pressure against al mufti Al-Kababti to weaken and subdue him, not only with regards to education, but also with regards to endowments which were much more important to them. A French teacher of the name of “Depielle” visited the Great Mosque without waiting. And when he was told off, French authority created a political accident out of the situation and submitted it in a report to the Minister of Armed Forces as well as imprisoned al mufti’s nephew in threat and terror and public humiliation. It also appointed spies to know the proceedings of his congregations, paving the way to charge him with rebellion and disobedience and political resistance then expelling him of his position and exiling him out of the country ^[39].

5 General Bugeaud’s exile of Ibn Al-Kababti

A French report issued by the head of the office of Algerian affairs “Helleman” mentions that the opposition of Al-Kababti to the ministerial decision forces the general state of Algiers to either discard it completely or delay it indefinitely. In both cases, it is considered inappropriate to the dignity of the ruling French authority. The minister requested approval to the presented proposition to deter Al-Kababti and teach others a lesson through him since if we— according to the report – let this opposition to the ministerial decision let go unpunished, it would result in negative outcomes and al mufti would be a perfect example to others who share in his opposition and rebellion against the French colonialist administration ^[40].

The report added that the aspects that surrounded the disobedience of al mufti and his followers made it necessary to take an immediate suppression against him since Al-Kababti always persisted in refusing proposed solutions. Also, his relative, the head of the Great Mosque, insulted the inspector that went to establish French language in it, making the insult against the whole French colonialist administration as he spoke offensive words. Finally, Al-Kababti wrote a letter to the minister in which he expressed his bad intentions towards the French and his opposition and aggression towards them ^[41].

That is why the report suggested that the minister should take General “De Bar” who supported expelling Al-Kababti from his position while maintaining him in Algiers after having him expelled would naturally cause an unrest among Muslims against the French. That it would be best to avoid it all and stay away from the reaction of the Muslim locals ^[42].

The intentions the report authors are further clarified when they suggested to the minister to permit the governor general to fabricate reason that would lead Al-Kababti to leave the country on his own accord. It was not clear what they had in mind at the time, but it seems like they would have forged a charge so that he be brought to court and forge a judgement that would force him to request pardon and leave the country. But other means were also expected as French colonisation was always cunning. Many loyal Algerians suffered from these forged charges, becoming victims of duty and loyalty to their religion and country. The most prominent examples of that include al mufti Al-Hanafi Mohamed ben Mahmoud ben Al-Annabi, who was exiled by General “Clauzel” only after a few months of the beginning of colonisation, when he has been charged with a multiplicity of crimes pertaining to his increasing activism and resistance to the French presence and opposition to policy of the colonialist administration ^[43].

It seems that the authors of the report felt that the minister may refuse their suggestion for political reasons, that is why they provided an alternative represented in he may, out of political appropriateness, exile al mufti and the school teacher who participated in the unrest and opposition to “Sainte-Marguerite” Island as long as the minister sends his instructions to the governor general.

The minister approved the latter suggestion as well as expelling Al-Kababti, leaving Governor General “Bugeaud” the freedom to act and exile him to “Sainte-Marguerite” Island if and when he felt that his residence in Algeria does not serve French interest. According to that, “Bugeaud” issued the order to expel Al-Kababti from his position as a Maliki mufti when he was arrested and imprisoned in the latter part of May 1843. The order of exile to “Sainte-Marguerite” Island was issued in fear that lengthy capture would result in an unrest, especially since he had following among the locals and that the French authorities suspected that he may have had ties with Al-Amir Abdelkader who used to lead the military resistance against them at the time ^[44].

After having been exiled, the French authorities printed a documented directed to locals in Algiers to notify them of the order, where it said: “know that Maliki shiekh al mufti in Algiers has been expelled of his duties and exiled by order of the governor to “Sainte-Marguerite” Island after having been convicted of disobeying the minister military. In addition, shiekh instructor at the Great Mosque was also expelled and exiled for the same crime. Officials now have the responsibility of selecting a scholar that would assume the position of Maliki mufti” ^[45].

Momentarily, a congregation of elders of Algiers was held under French supervision in which they selected a shiekh that was nearing eighty of age named Mustafa Al-Kadiri for the position of Maliki mufti. “Bugeaud’s” administration forwarded this selection to the Minister of Armed Forces which he has approved in an issued order on 26th of June 1843 ^[46].

6 Life in exile until death

6.1 Exile to Sainte-Marguerite Island ^[47]

In accordance with “Bugeaud;s” order, Al-Kababti, his son (whose name was not found in the inspected resources), and his nephew Ahmed ben Achour were exiled from Algeria. They were taken on a ship to Marseille prior to their exile in “Sainte-Marguerite” Island in the latter part of May 1843. When they docked in Marseille on the first of June, they were handed to the police like criminals, and placed under strict surveillance with their companion and translator, “Ballir” ^[48]. It seemed that the discussion between French officials ended in deciding that Al-Kababti should not be exiled to “Sainte-Marguerite” Island, but rather leave him the freedom to choose his exile in an eastern country as per his request. There were found also three letters with his handwriting that Al-Kababti has directed to the Ministry of Armed Forces, “Soult”, imploring him to allow him to head east rather than be exiled to “Sainte-Marguerite” Island. Two of these letters were dated on 5th and 11th of June 1843 while the third held no date but it seems that it was written on the day of his arrival to Marseille on the first of June in the same year.

In the first undated letter, Al-kababti informs the Minister of Armed Forces with his arrival to Marseille in exile from Algeria, as per his orders, apparently, and requests to allow him to head to a Muslim country such as Alexandria, Tripoli or Tunisia, so that his children may visit him and that he would go, in their company, in pilgrimage to Makkah, which he was not able to do despite being old of age. In the same letter, Al-Kababti requested a document that identifies him that he would present to the consulates of the countries he would go through, so that he has no issues with regards to identifying him. The letters imply that Al-Kababti was clueless on what has been going on in French circles ^[49].

The second letter dated 5th of June 1843 was not quite different from the first one, save an exaggeration in imploration and feeling uneasy towards interacting with the French and having fears towards an unknown destiny. Al-Kababti, until that moment, had no idea what they were going to do to him after he was expelled and exiled from Algeria. As such, he repeated his request to minister to allow him to go to a Muslim country and heading east with the rest of his family – apparently meaning Hijaz. He told him that he had many children, and he was nearing death from old age. He was one that deserve pardon and pity. He also told him, in case of acceptance, to write to the governor of Marseille “Dobol”.

As for the third letter dated on 11th of June 1843, it included thanks from Al-Kababti to the Minister of Armed Forces for his responsiveness and discharged to the east when he said “you excellency, minister of the French state, I thank you for you favour, pardon, and generosity, that you discharged us and allowed us to go to Alexandria where we will meet with our children” ^[50].

Of note, the Minister of Armed Forces previously ordered to mitigate sentences pertaining to holding Al-Kababti and his followers and treating them in a better manner as he granted al mufti and his son first class prisoner uniforms while he granted his nephew a second class prisoner uniform. Furthermore, he granted them an amount of money of 336 Francs when they were held in Marseille. The minister also granted them freedom to move in Marseille under the surveillance of the police to stop any possible attempt at running away.

Al-Kababti and his son and nephew left Marseille on 11th of June on a ship named “Le Scamandre” that was part of the Eastern French “Levant” company, and which was heading to Alexandria. Before releasing Al-Kababti, the French authority made him promise to never return to Algeria again ^[51].

6.2 His life in exile in Alexandria

Al-Kababti arrived in Alexandria on 24th of June 1843 as guest of his companion in exile, Ibn Al-Annabi, who was a Hanafia mufti in Alexandria, appointed by the governor of Egypt, Mohamed Ali Bacha (1805-1848). Soon enough, the French consul in the city sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the first of July 1843, reporting the arrival of Al-Kababti to Alexandria and his stay with Ibn Al-Annabi, negating any relationship pertaining to the movement of Al Amir Abdelkader as well as his desire to do pilgrimage after his family’s arrival ^[52].

The Minister of Armed Forces, “Soult”, demanded utmost care and vigilance towards the activism of Al-Kababti and his nephew in Egypt itself, notifying the French consulate saying that “there is not doubt that Mustafa ben Al-Kababti and Ahmed ben Achour, who were reported for their aggression towards the French government will take their feelings to the country they will be visiting (Egypt). That is why it is important to have a special supervision on their behaviour and distance them as much as possible so as not to cause any damage. Kindly deliver your instructions to Mr. French Consul General in Egypt to guarantee that these two aforementioned Algerians do nothing to damage our institutions in Africa”. Ibn Al-Kababti stayed in Alexandria, ever since 24th of June 1843, starting a new life, a life of the exiled who were unjustly cut off from their country and people. It was fortunate that he found Ibn Al-Annabi, his loyal friend who has already suffered exile before him. He received him and sought that Mohamed Ali Bacha allocate him payment and treat him generously ^[53].

Ibn Al-Kababti lived in Alexandria for about eighteen years. Sources, however, pertaining to his life in exile, were very scarce, thus many aspects of his life remain unknown. It is unimaginable that he restricted his life narrating Hadith, as his

student Abdelhamid Bekk said. Undoubtly, he had other religious, literary and sociological activities that translators did not mention.

Be that as it may, his other student, Mohamed Al-Akil, agrees with his colleague Abdelhamid, that Al-Kababti was indeed free to narrate Hadith (Sahih of Bukhari and Muslim) until he gained fame. And when he became unable to go to the mosque of “Terbana”, he retired to his home since 1854, narrating Hadith to those who came for him. Some of Alexandria’s scholars and writers studied under him such as the poet Mohamed Al-Akil as well as some Moroccan scholars ^[54].

6.3 His death

Al-Kababti died in exile in Alexandria according to the reports of Mohamed Al-Akil in his anthology “Lissan Al-Chabab” in 1861 as well as according to Abdelhamid Bekk in 1862, meaning in the age of 87, and having been buried in Abe Al-Abbas Al-Mourci graveyard ^[55].

7 Conclusions

Finally, this article tackled the French exile policy against the elites of Algiers “Mustafa ben Mohamed Al-Kababti as a model” Reached results include:

- The implementation of colonialist administration of many punishments against Algerians since the beginning of the French presence in Algiers, with exile at its helm, which would still be practiced until the forties of the twentieth century.
- Ibn Al-Kababti assumption of two positions, namely as judge and as mufti as per the Maliki school in Algiers as well as a teacher of mental knowledge and transmitted knowledge generally and narrating hadith specifically.
- Considering Ibn Al-Kababti one the most prominent elites of Algiers who carried out the political, religious, and ideological opposition and resistance against the presence of French colonialism.
- Availability of a multiplicity of reasons and justification that led “Bugeaud” to issue an order to exile Ibn Al-Kababti such as his opposing stance to including property of endowments to the properties of the French state and standing against teaching French language in Quranic schools and defending Arabic language.
- The exile of Ibn Al-Kababti to “Sainte-Marguerite” Island in France then being allowed to leave to Alexandria that he had chosen as an exile where he was free to narrate Hadith and give fatwa according to the Maliki school.
- The death of Ibn Al-Kababti in 1862 leaving behind a kind memory and a clear print in resisting French colonialism politically, religiously, and ideologically, making enormous efforts in jurisprudence, teaching, and giving fatwa before and after he was exiled.
- Having deserved a symbol for religious and cultural resistance, attracting bigger attention and more comprehensive studied by researchers as well as shedding light on aspect of his life and activism before his exile and after.

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