**Public-Private Colonialism:**

**The French Empire's Touristic Settlement in Ifrane, Morocco**

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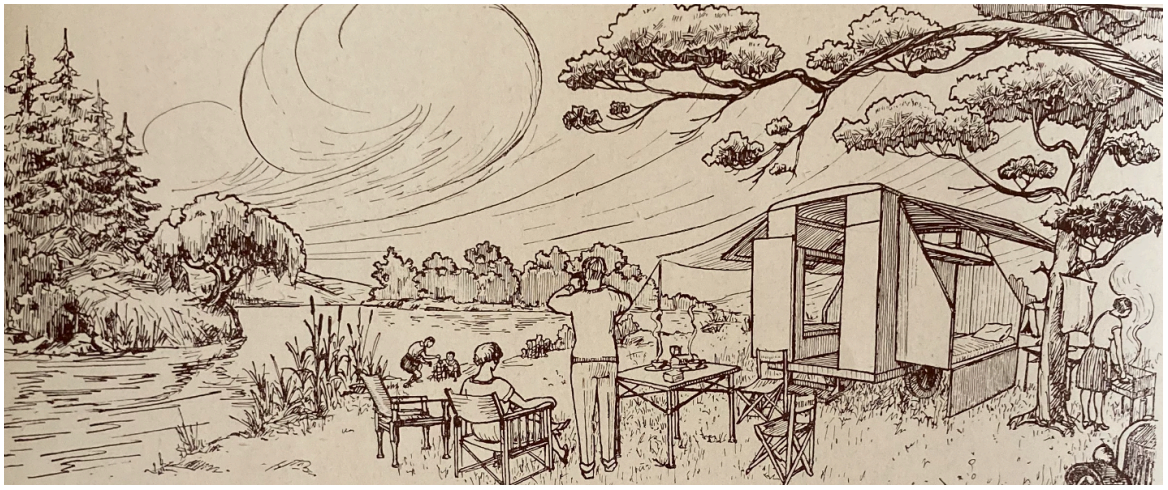
**Abstract**

This project researches Morocco's tourism industry under the French Protectorate (1912-1956) by looking at the manufacturing of Ifrane in the Middle Atlas Mountains. Ifrane was a typical example of colonial hill station, a form of urban settlement in Europe's colonies, high up and away from tropical environments and colonized subjects. This research project uses Ifrane's rich and well-preserved visual culture to understand the *hows* of French colonial settlement and imperial promotion. I argue that this tourism industry was only made possible by a strong private-public partnership within the French empire. This essay begins with a brief discussion about the limits of Morocco's official archives and the benefits of looking into Moroccan "Other-Archives." Primary source analysis of postcards, photographs, advertisements, and other visual culture reveals the public-private partnership that allowed modern Ifrane to be created in nearly six months before opening for summer travel in 1929. Evidence of this colonial relationship lies in the use of prison labor to clear the land for business that the state granted land for nearly free, guaranteeing affordable loans. The following section situates Ifrane into the larger, urban planning phenomenon of colonial hill stations. After that sits an analysis of the *Office Marocain de Tourisme*'s creationary document from 1934 that further outlines this public-private partnership within the nascent tourism industry. The conclusion sets up future research that will center Oral History sources developed by Mohammed VI Library at Al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane.

**Introduction**



"L'homme civilisé est par excellence un animal de luxe; il a des exigences. Mais la femme civilisée, elle est doublement exigeante: (...) L'homme civilisé s'adapte difficilement à la vie sauvage. Pour lui la nature n'est belle que lorsqu'il peut y vivre avec certaines commodités."

"The civilized man is, par excellence, an animal of luxury; he has demands. But the civilized woman is doubly demanding: (...) The civilized man adapts with difficulty to the savage life. For him, nature is beautiful only when he can live in it with certain conveniences."

Figure A: H. A. Bergmann, "L'Homme civilisé et le Camping," In *Auto-Camping Avec Roulette Remorque "France."* (Rabat, Morocco: Centre Franco-American, Summer 1930): 1-6.

Above is an excerpt from a 1930 advertisement for a camper van, printed in French colonial Morocco during the naissance of its tourism industry. The attitudes towards bringing "civilization" from France into Morocco were commonplace in all aspects of France's domination over its North African colonies. Tourism was no different, as tourists sought to enjoy the colonies' *belle nature* in a luxurious, comfortable, and "civilized" manner. This colonial relationship becomes clear when looking towards Ifrane in Morocco's Middle Atlas, a mountain vacation town founded during the French Protectorate (1912-1956).

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, French Protectorate colonial officials planned and built the modern town of Ifrane from the top down. Historians commonly describe Ifrane's origins as a colonial "hill station," as set-forth by Judith T. Kenny and her cornerstone essay

on British Hill Stations in colonial India.[1] Ifrane and other hill stations made colonial settlement more enticing for families because they were places of leisure in cooler climates. Today, Ifrane is known as "The Switzerland of Morocco," home to hotels with A-frame roofing, precision planted green gardens, and the American-styled Al-Akhawayn University (AUI). Ifrane is incredibly well documented visually via postcards, advertisements, and photographs due to its longstanding status as a vacation destination.

This research project uses Ifrane's rich and well-preserved visual culture to understand the *hows* of French colonial settlement and imperial promotion. I argue that this tourism industry was only made possible by a strong private-public partnership within the French empire. As a colonial hill station, public French colonial authorities granted private businesses cheap (or free) land, corvée laborers, building materials, ample advertising, and easy loans. Additionally, I use Ifrane's history to support the argument that the colonial creation of touristic experiences encouraged French settlement and participation in French imperial markets. Ifrane's local history is useful towards understanding larger conversations about colonial settlement because its papertrail as a hill station preserves both French administrators' design decisions and Francophone audiences' touristic receptions.

While Ifrane does not appear to be a typical place within Morocco, its story is a typical one within Europe's global empires. While it may sound obvious, colonial governments were not the sole actors in creating colonial infrastructure. Instead, private organizations were just as, if not more, crucial for colonial expansion and exploitation. Ifrane was a prime example of this public-private partnership.

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[1] J.T. Kenny, "Climate, Race, and Imperial Authority: The Symbolic Landscape of the British Hill Station in India," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 85 (1995): 694-714.

**Sources, Methods, and Scope**

In this section, I discuss the types of sources that are and are not available regarding this study of French colonial tourism in Ifrane. Before moving on, imagine three circles that overlap in the form of a Venn diagram. These three circles are labeled "production," "consumption," and "labor." They represent not only types of sources, but they also represent an economic relationship that makes up the historical/colonial tourism industry. "Production" relates to how French colonial officials planned and promoted Ifrane and Morocco more broadly as tourist destinations. Sources on "production" include governmental records, business advertisements, and other promotional materials for Moroccan tourism. "Consumption" relates to how tourists experienced their travels, knowable by the postcards, photographs, and other ephemera they left behind. Finally, "labor" is the most difficult aspect of this relationship to recover; however, the experiences of autochthonous laborers has been preserved through local oral history interviews and historical advertisements for domestic services. Keep in mind these three tethered categories of "production," "consumption," and "labor" to create a fuller picture of the colonial tourism industry in both Ifrane and Morocco.

This project was conducted entirely from within the Kingdom of Morocco, and it relied heavily on brick-and-mortar archives in both Rabat and Ifrane, rather than solely using digitized documents. The archival landscape in Morocco is relatively new. Sources that the tourism industry produced are housed at *Archives du Maroc* in Rabat. Sources that tourists consumed and left behind have a new home at Al-Akhawayn University's Mohammed VI Library's Special Collections Unit.[2]

Moroccan archives developed as a result of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) between 2004-2005 that investigated the Years of Lead (*zaman al-rasas*), a period of

[2] Archives and Special Collections, Mohammed VI Library, Al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane. Some materials are also available online: https://m6lshowcase.com/collections/.

state-sanctioned violence under the reign of King Hassan II (1961-1999).[3] According to Sumayya Ahmed's analysis of Moroccan archives, "the TRC cited the 'deplorable state of national archives' as a major obstacle to its work" to "assess, research, investigate, arbitrate, and make recommendations" for human rights during the Years of Lead.[4] These years eventually lead to the creation of *Archives du Maroc* in 2011.[5]

After visiting *Archives du Maroc* in Rabat, it became clear that the vast majority of primary sources are preserved from the French Protectorate Era. Additionally, the majority of these sources are public documents like advertisements, newspapers, and postcards, with some private, governmental correspondences. Amazigh historian Brahim El Guabli encourages researchers to look outside of "brick-and-mortar" archives in order to see what exists outside the margins of official histories:

> While traditional archives are detained, consigned, housed, house-arrested, and confined to a closed, heavily-guarded space—ultimately endowing them with their their official character because they belong to a dead past—other-archives are a part of an unfolding memory and history.[6]

"Other-Archives" are becoming increasingly important within Moroccan historiography. Amazigh historian El Guabli wrote *Moroccan Other-Archives* to uncover lost histories of the "Years of Lead."[7] Within this project, Ifrane's "Other-Archives" consisted of conversations with taxi drivers, walking tours of the town with Dr. Eric Ross, and the Oral History Project currently being conducted by archivists at Mohammed VI Library.

Postcards and other visual culture make up a large source base when it comes to the history of tourism in Morocco. Ifrane is no exception, so it is important to understand how to read and analyze a postcard. Postcards were originally called "correspondence cards," but

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[3] Summaya Ahmed, "Archives du Maroc? The Official and Alternative National Archives of Morocco," *Archives and Manuscripts* 46, no. 3 (2018): 255-268, 255.

[4] Ahmed, "The Official and Alternative National Archives of Morocco," 225.

[5] Ahmed, "The Official and Alternative National Archives of Morocco," 226.

[6] Brahim El Guabli, *Moroccan Other-Archives: History and Citizenship After State Violence* (The Bronx, NY: Fordham University Press, 2023): 1.

[7] El Guabli, *Moroccan Other-Archives*, 1-2.

mass tourism changed how they were used.[8] Verena Winiwarter's inquiry into nature on picture postcards outlined the tourists' desire to share their experience back home: "Postcards provide a link between the social system the tourist finds himself in and his social system at home, making a statement about success and claiming status."[9] Postcards are not only consumed by the people who buy them; they are also consumed by those who receive them. Winiwarter analyzed picture postcards using terms of nationalism, but the same processes she outlines apply to colonialism and empire. She argues that cards tell nationalist stories using pictures that doubled as marketable tourist imagery, whereby "good nationalist imagery often makes good touristic imagery."[10] I concur that colonial postcards in tourist destinations were also effective at promoting empire, but they did not always support the imperial state's vision.

Patricia Goldsworthy's 2010 analysis of the French colonial postcard industry in Morocco expertly challenges the assertion that postcards worked in complete tandem with the colonial state. Instead, she argues that the postcard industry was more concerned with profitability than with supporting a particular settler ideology: "these enterprises operated independently of the French government and produced images geared toward myriad consumer groups who both supported and resisted French imperialism."[11] Previous studies, including my own on William Henry Jackson's photography in the North American Frontier, equated the postcard industry with action of the state.[12] Goldsworthy complicates this assumption by reminding us that visual commodities came about from a private industry. In this sense, colonialism was not only a public venture, but also a private one.

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[8] Verena Winiwarter, "Nationalized Nature on Picture Postcards: Subtexts of Tourism from an Environmental Perspective," *Global Environment* 1, no. 1 (2008): 192-215, 198-199.

[9] Winiwarter, "Nationalized Nature on Picture Postcards," 195.

[10] Winiwarter, "Nationalized Nature on Picture Postcards," 211-212.

[11] Patricia Goldsworthy, "Images, Ideologies, and Commodities: the French Colonial Postcard Industry in Morocco," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 8, no. 2 (2010): 147-167, 148, 151.

[12] Reese Hollister, "Photography, Identity, Power: William Henry Jackson and the American Colonial Gaze." *History Matters: An Undergraduate Journal of Historical Research* 19 (May 2023): 39-96.

Uncovering histories of labor remains perhaps the largest obstacle towards comprehensively researching any histories of a tourism industry. This case is especially challenging in African contexts, but the need for this knowledge has increased within postcolonial inquiries. In 2021, Todd Cleveland published *A History of Tourism in Africa: Exoticization, Exploitation, and Enrichment*. He outlines this historiographical problem quite clearly: "Unfortunately, Africans who labored in the tourism industry in the continent's past remain largely invisible."[13] One of the goals of current inquiries is to uncover and represent some voices of the laborers who made the colonial Moroccan tourism industry.

Formal employment opportunities allowed countless employees, with a range of literacy, to work as guides, translators, porters, mechanics, and builders.[14] Informal employment opportunities would of course pop up for vendors, food salespeople, and craftspeople encircling more official tourist institutions. They would have often spoken languages both local and foreign, African and European. Cleveland reminds us that "the institutionalized racism that pervaded colonial Africa rendered all individuals active in the sector vulnerable and ripe for exploitation. Consequently, their wages were lower, often significantly, than those of their European counterparts in the industry."[15] In the case of Ifrane's later mentioned prison laborers, their wages were sometimes tantamount to zero.

The ways in which we know of African tourism's laborers are extremely limited, only briefly mentioned in imperial travel literature. Archivists at Mohammed VI Library have been conducting Oral History Interviews with residents who labored in service of the French colonial tourism industry and French families more broadly. Sadly, this research project's limited purview is more concerned with French perspectives because I currently lack the Darija language skills to do justice to these Oral History sources and the people behind them.

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[13] Todd Cleveland, *A History of Tourism in Africa: Exoticization, Exploitation, and Enrichment (Africa in World History Series),* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2021): 6.

[14] Cleveland, *A History of Tourism in Africa*, 34.

[15] Cleveland, *A History of Tourism in Africa*, 81.

My next major research project in the Fall of 2024 will center these sources and look deeper into the concepts of Moroccan "Other-Archives." For the time being, this project reads the lines with the grain before I am prepared to read between the lines and against the grain.[16] All translations from French are my own unless otherwise stated by the footnote below.

**The Setting: French Protectorate Morocco**

The French Protectorate in Morocco officially began with the 1912 Treaty of Fes and lasted until independence in 1956, but the French empire's encroachment and after effects appear more fluidly beyond these bookends. Morocco changed rapidly under the French Protectorate, and even more so under Louis-Hubert Lyautey, the first Resident-General of France in Morocco. The Resident-General title signified that France did not see Morocco as a colony, "rather, it was to remain sovereign but 'protected' until that undefined moment when, in [Lyautey's] own words, it would be 'developed, civilized, living its own autonomous life, detached from the metropole.'"[17] After 1912, France created eight colonial departments in Morocco: finance, public works, agriculture, commerce, education, health, communications, and native affairs.[18] As an effect, Morocco's cities changed rapidly in both how they were developed and who lived in them. Colonial officials flocked to the colonies because they could move up the ladder quicker than in France, they had housing allowances, and their costs of travel back and forth were covered.[19] Urbanization under the French also changed where Moroccans generally lived: Moroccans in 1931 numbered half of Casasblanca's residents, and by 1954, it had increased to three quarters of the city's population.[20] A total of 150,000 Moroccans lived in *bidonvilles* (shanty towns) established on Casablanca's

[16] I encourage any researcher reading this article to reach out to AUI's archivists for these Oral History Sources. To reach Mohammed VI Library;'s current archivist Khawla El Akkili, please email k.elakkili@aui.ma.

[17] D. Rivet, *Le Maghreb à l'épreuve de la colonisation* (Paris: Hachette, 2002), 216. In Susan G. Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 90.

[18] Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, 91.

[19] Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, 116.

[20] Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, 115,

periphery.[21] Approximately 170,000 Europeans lived in Morocco, and 60% of them were of French Origin by 1931.[22] The French Protectorate period was one of rapid changes manufactured by a colonial authority that claimed to serve Moroccans. On the same coin, the Protectorate fostered an increasing population of Europeans that served themselves at the expense of the other's autonomy. This research focuses on this colonial contradiction.

Figure B: "A French Soldier with a Group of Locals in Zaouia (of Ifrane)," Photograph, 1950s. Mohammed VI Library, Al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane. Ifrane, Morocco. M6L_PH_0097.

Following the 1912 Treaty of Fes that began the Protectorate Era, the Middle Atlas region also saw a period of rapid change as French authorities bought private land from the Amazigh communities living there. According to Bernhard Venema and Ali Mguild, the population of Azrou (one of Ifrane's sister cities) more than doubled between 1926 and

[21] Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, 115.

[22] Y. Knibiehler, G. Emmery, and F. Leguay, *Des français au Maroc: La présence et la mémoire, 1912-1956* (Paris: Denoël, 1992), 43; A. Ayache, *Le mouvement syndical au Maroc*, 2 vols. (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1982), I: 12-14. In Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, 111-112.

1936.[23] French authorities bought land from the Beni Mguild Amazigh starting in 1920, and gained over 1,000 hectares of land by 1939.[24] At the same time, Mohammed V and Lyautey maintained the yearly *hadiya* (gift) ceremonies around Ifrane with rural nobilities like various Middle Atlas Amazigh leaders.[25] The French also introduced electricity to *Ain Leuh* in 1924.[26] Susan Gilson Miller cited this same year as the date that the Middle Atlas Mountains were subdued.[27]

Before the French subdued Ifrane and the greater Middle Atlas region, there existed a patronage system that vetted newcomers to the land. Newcomers, generally Arab, could enter the society of the Beni Mguild *Imagizen*, but their citizenship was limited with regards to their wartime responsibilities, village participation, and property ownership.[28] Venema and Mguild argued that the lack of a central state was the reason for this adoption process.[29] To be adopted, future citizens would perform a ceremony called *tamghrouste*. This tradition ended in the 1940s because settlers (a majority French, and post-independence a majority Arab) took land outside of this adoptive process.[30] It is important to acknowledge how the French displaced Amazigh communities by breaking their ceremonies, laws, and customs.

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[23] "The population of Azrou grew from a few hundred in turn of 20th century, to 1593 in 1926, 3246 in 1936, and 8494 in 1953." (Beaudet, 'Beni M'Guild', p.71) (Venema & Mguild 40)

[24] Bernhar Venema and Ali Mguild, "Access to Land and Berber Ethnicity in the Middle Atlas, Morocco," *Middle Eastern Studies* 39, no. 4 (2003): 35–53, 41.

[25] Jonathan Wyrtzen, *Making Morocco: Colonial Intervention and the Politics of Identity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015): 253.

[26] Venema and Mguild, "Access to Land and Berber Ethnicity in the Middle Atlas, Morocco," 40.

[27] Hoisington, *Lyautey*, ch. 4; Gershovich, *French Military Rule*, 787. In Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, 97.

[28] Venema and Mguild, "Access to Land and Berber Ethnicity in the Middle Atlas, Morocco," 38-39.

[29] Venema and Mguild, "Access to Land and Berber Ethnicity in the Middle Atlas, Morocco," 40.

[30] Venema and Mguild, "Access to Land and Berber Ethnicity in the Middle Atlas, Morocco," 41-42.

**The Manufacturing of Ifrane**


Figure C: "La Station Estival d'Ifrane: Ville née en six mois." In *La Terre marocaine : revue illustrée*. Casablanca, Morocco: August 1929. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

According to *Vizir Marocaine*, it was "a significant effort on the part of the Protectorate to solve the often-posed issue of summer retreats in Morocco."[31] For this reason, Modern Ifrane was born in merely six months. In the fall of 1928, French authorities in Morocco decided to create *une station climatique* in Ifrane.[32] Less than one year later on July 1st, Mme Lucien Saint inaugurated Ifrane's first summer season.[33] The strong relationship between the colonial state and favored private beneficiaries led to this tight and efficient timetable. Ifrane was an example of the private-public relationship that would later be outlined by *Office Marocain de Tourisme* in 1934. This partnership allowed Ifrane to be grown not organically, but in a way that was manufactured by these two types of colonial actors.

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[31] "Maroc Estival: Impressions D'Ifrane," *Vizir Marocaine* (June 28, 1929). Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

[32] CH. "L'Organisation Foncière d'Ifrane," *Vizir Marocaine* (Date Unknown, Perhaps 1929). Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

[33] "Mme Lucien Saint Inaugurera le 1er Juillet la Station Estivale d'Ifrane." *Vizir Marocaine* (June 28, 1929). Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

Ifrane as a hill station was designed to be different from the rest of Morocco. Generally in French colonial urban planning, cities were divided into a dual form. Even in Rabat today, the lines between the *ville nouvelle* and the *medina qadima* are sharp, and the contrasts remain ever sharper. Ifrane's architecture is starkly different, and its title as the "Switzerland of Morocco" reflects its uniqueness. We can trace Ifrane's architectural style to colonial urban planning policies and philosophies that facilitated its creation.

Gwendolyn Wright's analysis of architecture and urbanism in French colonial policy from 1900-1930 serves as a framework to understand how the French used urban space to juxtapose 'tradition' and 'modernity.' She looked deeply into Resident General Hubert Lyautey's philosophy when it came to rapidly 'modernizing' French colonies, citing his 1926 speech to the Universite des Annales in Paris:

> Touch the indigenous cities as little as possible, (...) Instead, improve their surroundings where, on the vast terrain that is still free, the European city rises, following a plan that realizes the most modern conceptions of large boulevards, water and electrical supplies, squares and gardens, buses and tramways, and also foresees future extensions.[34]

Ifrane was on that allegedly free and vast terrain despite the simple fact that the Middle Atlas was not *terra nullius*. Unlike the old imperial cities of Fes and Meknes, the French conceived modern Ifrane from scratch to contain all those 'modernizing' projects of which Lyautey previously spoke.

Plans to make Ifrane a tourist destination were underway by June 1929 when a functioning post-office and CTM (*Compagnie de Transports au Maroc*) bus station became operational.[35] Later that month, *Vizir Marocaine* publicized plans to install a turbine power plant as well as to transport water to a reservoir of "la future cité" and into its homes.[36]

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[34] Hubert Lyautey, speech to the Universite des Annales, Paris, December 10, 1926, in Lyautey, Paroles d'action (n. 7 above), pp. 452-53. In Gwendolyn Wright, "Tradition in the Service of Modernity," 302.

[35] "Maroc Estival: Impressions D'Ifrane." *Vizir Marocaine* (28 Juin, 1929). Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

[36] "Maroc Estival: Impressions D'Ifrane." *Vizir Marocaine* (28 Juin, 1929). Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

Moreover, the French planned the creation of dairy farms in the meadow, "where lush and evergreen grass will feed Norman or Breton cows [where] this importation of French products will be a guarantee of quality."[37] Down to the cows, Ifrane was meant to be a little France within the Moroccan Protectorate.

According to a 1929 newspaper article about Ifrane's land management, no effort or expense was spared, and in a matter of months appeared "fifty houses brought from Germany, roads traversed and paved, water captured, electricity provided, postal and telegraph services installed, security ensured, a magnificent hotel built, then another, a third, a model farm, and who knows what else!"[38] To finance this project, builders requested long term loans from the state up to 90% of cost, as well as an architect at the state's expense, the use of prison labor, and materials like stones and sand.[39] Moreover, the state gave about 200 non-commercial beneficiaries almost free (*presque gratuitement*) lots of land as gifts with the expectation of positive returns.[40] Ifrane's creators hoped that further infrastructure would spur investors and entrepreneurs to start building.

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[37] "Maroc Estival: Impressions D'Ifrane." *Vizir Marocaine* (28 Juin, 1929). Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

[38] CH. "L'Organisation Foncière d'Ifrane," *Vizir Marocaine* (Date Unknown, Perhaps 1929). Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

[39] CH. "L'Organisation Foncière d'Ifrane," *Vizir Marocaine* (Date Unknown, Perhaps 1929). Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

[40] CH. "L'Organisation Foncière d'Ifrane," *Vizir Marocaine* (Date Unknown, Perhaps 1929). Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.


Figure D: "Prisoners a Ifrane." Postcard. Date Unknown (Perhaps 1929). Mohammed VI Library, Al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane. Ifrane, Morocco. M6L_PC_0305.

The colonial government commanded Ifrane's creation using prison labor to prepare the site and its land. *Le Service des Plantations d'Ifrane* also promised to provide beneficiaries with trees free of charge.[41] One Monsieur Zaborsky, head of this plantation service, left for France in 1929 in order to purchase 50,000 francs worth of trees to plant in Ifrane.[42] Even on "the rocky terrain, where nature deemed it unnecessary to grow anything," teams of prisoners cleared stones to plant said trees.[43] These same prisoners were later expected to keep the city clean.[44] These prisoners numbered nearly 400, and they cleared the land, layed out the streets and squares, leveled the ground, and assembled the aforementioned

[41] CH. "L'Organisation Foncière d'Ifrane," *Vizir Marocaine* (Date Unknown, Perhaps 1929). Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

[42] "Echos d'Ifrane." *La Presse Marocanne*. 7 October, 1929. Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

[43] "Echos d'Ifrane." *La Presse Marocanne*. 7 October, 1929. Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

[44] "Echos d'Ifrane." *La Presse Marocanne*. 7 October, 1929. Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

cottages that came from Germany.[45] One Monsieur Luccioni, head of the penitentiary, and another Monsieur Vaery personally oversaw the 400 prisoners.[46] Corvee labor enabled the French to manufacture Ifrane at a lower cost. This prison labor diverted costs for developers who would have otherwise had to expense labor for clearing and preparing the land.

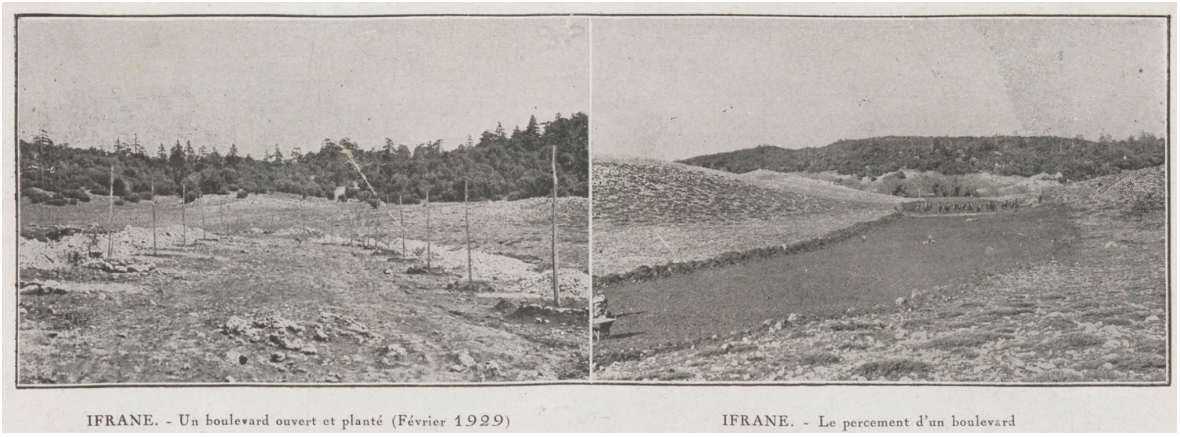


Figure E: "La Station Estival d'Ifrane: Ville née en six mois." In *La Terre marocaine : revue illustrée*. Casablanca, Morocco: August 1929. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Car transport was also a significant development for Moroccan tourism under the French Protectorate for the following reasons. First, automobiles moved touristic routes interioraly. Second, tourism by car was a defining aspect of marketing tourism in Morocco. Third, car travel helped the French justify colonization by using it as evidence of their benefits to the colony. Finally, the French colonial apparatus created Ifrane using car transport as a defining design principle. Car travel in Morocco symbolized leisure and convenience that seemed to benefit the 'natives,' but really benefited French tourists.

Morocco's tourism industry during the French Protectorate depended on and benefited from motorcar transport. As reported by *l'Association des Propriétaires d'Automobiles du Maroc* (L'A.P.A.M.) in their 1934 bulletin on automobiles and tourism, Morocco imported

[45] "Maroc Estival: Impressions D'Ifrane." *Vizir Marocaine* (28 Juin, 1929). Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

[46] "Maroc Estival: Impressions D'Ifrane." *Vizir Marocaine* (28 Juin, 1929). Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

3,745 automobiles for the purposes of tourism, bringing the total amount of automobiles in Morocco to an estimated 14,000. These thousands of imported cars were in addition to 170 trucks and 216 motorcycles, with a total combined value of over 53 million francs. The majority of these imports came from the United States (2,080 units), while a sizable minority came from France (1,528 units). In 1934 alone, the annual petrol consumption capped over 1,117,000 hectoliters. That same year, consumers spent 183 million francs on gasoline, lubricating oil, tires, and spare parts that boosted the private engine of the imperial market. The French Moroccan state collected 57,579,000 francs on taxes related to the automobile industry. 22,923,000 francs of the near 58 million came from the Value Added Tax rate that stabilized around 12.50%.[47] All of these numbers demonstrate that transportation in Morocco was experiencing a transformation induced by participation in French imperial markets.

Regarding the Middle Atlas, car travel unlocked this region and facilitated the creation of Ifrane as we know it today. By June 1929, Azrou and Ifrane's post-offices became operational, and C.T.M. continued its regular daily bus service to these Middle Atlas destinations.[48] Also in 1929, French colonial urbanists established plans for Ifrane to accommodate 400 automobiles in a garage.[49] Before the 1930 *Saison d'Estivage*, C.T.M. worked with C.F.M. to ensure coordination of the bus with the railway from Meknes to Ifrane.[50] Mattéo Brandy's illustration above appeared in the same L'A.P.A.M. bulletin in 1936. This illustrated map demonstrated to potential tourists not only the range of tourist activities, but also the range of the road system. The map centers Meknes as the hub to

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[47] "La Situation Automobile," In L'A.P.A.M. (Organe de l'Association des propriétaires d'automobiles du Maroc). *Bulletin trimestriel de l'automobile et du tourisme* (Casablanca, Morocco: 1936): 28-30. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Philosophie, histoire, sciences de l'homme, 4-O3J-620. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k62020647.r=ifrane?rk=21459;2

[48] "Maroc Estival: Impressions D'Ifrane." *Vizir Marocaine* (28 Juin, 1929). Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

[49] "Une Visite Officielle à Ifrane." *La Presse Marocaine*. 17 Septembre, 1929. Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

[50] Labonne, Eirik (Secrétariat Général du Protectorat). "Saison Estivage de 1930 à Ifrane: Note de Renseignements." *Service des Centres d'Estivage*. Governmental Document. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

explore Morocco's interiors through French roads in the Middle Atlas. Car transport was both the key to the Middle Atlas, but it was also a route towards leisure.

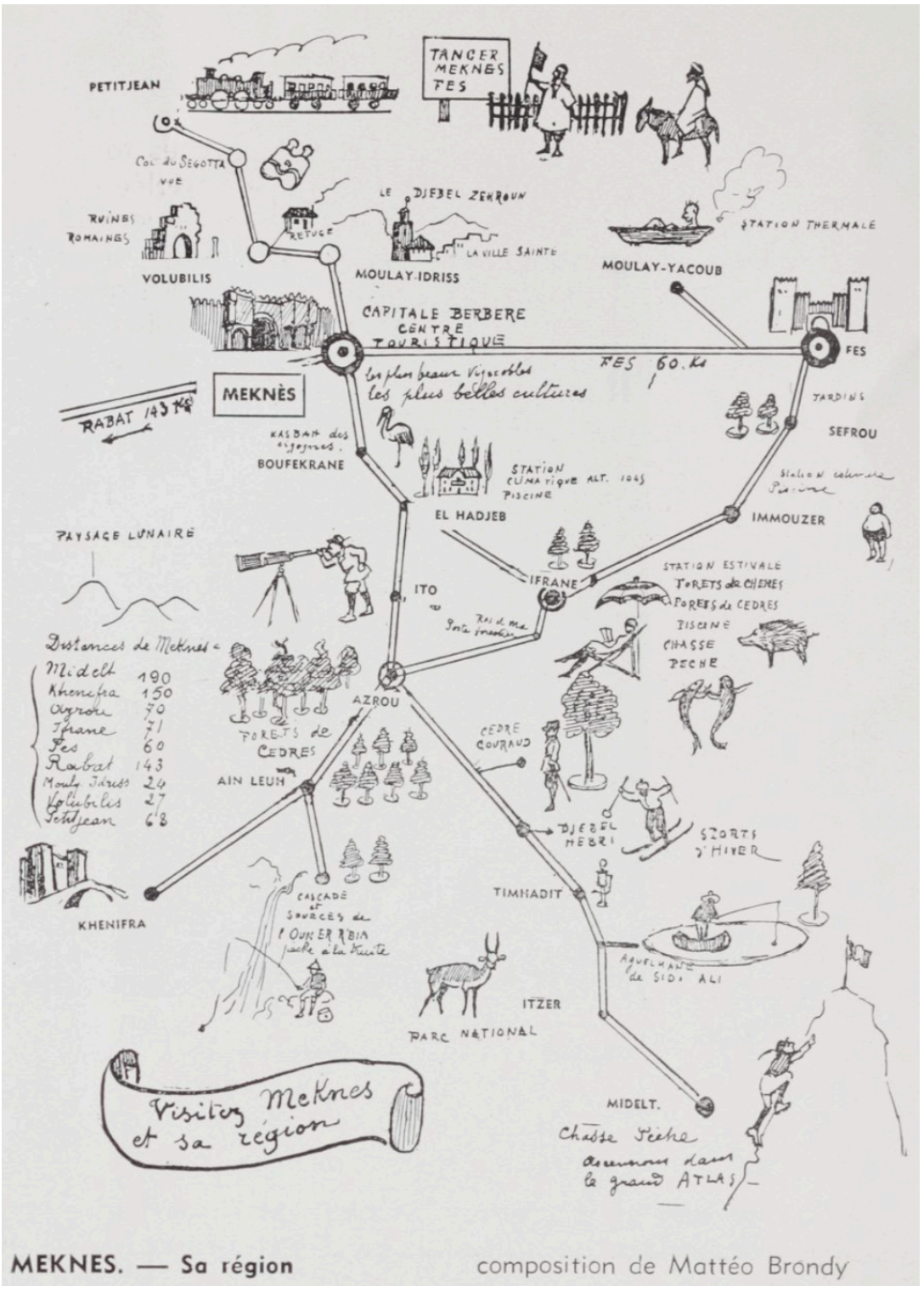


Figure F: "La Situation Automobile," In L'A.P.A.M. (Organe de l'Association des propriétaires d'automobiles du Maroc). *Bulletin trimestriel de l'automobile et du tourisme* (Casablanca, Morocco: 1936): 28-30. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Philosophie, histoire, sciences de l'homme, 4-O3J-620. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k62020647.r=ifrane?rk=21459;2

**Colonial Hill Stations**

Figure G: Editions Aériennes, “Ifrane (Maroc) - Alt 1640m. Station Estivale - Vue Generañe Aerienne.” Postcard. Date Unknown. Mohammed VI Library, Al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane. Ifrane, Morocco. M6L_PC_0064.

Ifrane was a colonial hill station, a form of urban settlement in European colonies, high up and away from tropical environments and colonized subjects. I define the five major requisites of a hill station as: climate, leisure, health, family, and segregation. First, hill stations were located up in the hills and mountains where the climate was cooler. Second, hill stations were seasonal resorts that encouraged travel both into and throughout the colony. Third, colonial settlers believed in the positive health effects of the climate and lifestyle, declaring hill stations as sanitariums. Fourth, hill stations served the families of colonial officials, supporting settler population growth and furthering colonial expansion. Fifth and finally, the indigenous populations that labored in service of colonial settlers generally lived outside of the hill station.

Ifrane occupies a later part of the hill station story. British colonial hill stations began in early nineteenth century India, and French hill stations came afterwards. Hyde Clarke

(1815-1895) reported on British Hill Stations in colonial India for the Statistical Society of London in 1881.[51] To Clarke and many other European imperialists, the allure of the hill station was simple: "in the hills we have cool and cold lands, with our own climates, our own fruits ripening, and children of our own blood thriving."[52] Exclusive ownership and domination over nature would allow the colonizing force to go forth and prosper. This settler colonial ideal was representative of the times, and it was especially reflective of Cecil Rhodes' famous "Confession of Faith."[53] From the beginning, hill stations were urban spaces and symbolic landscapes that represented settler ideology.

The first British hill station in India was Simla in 1819, but Darjeeling from1828 was of more interest to Hyde Clarke.[54] The British regarded hill stations like Darjeeling as sanitaria for sick colonial officials and soldiers. Many wives and children also sought treatment there, but "places of rest became places of pleasure."[55] Picturesque and romantic views of the Himalayan peaks from Darjeeling attracted visitors from both inside and outside of the periphery.[56] By 1872, Darjeeling's population reached 94,712, and it increased by another 62,326 across nine years, reaching 157,038 people in 1881. In Clarke's words, "it has grown from the number of a few savages on a hill."[57] Segregation was paramount for colonial hill stations' allure, especially in this early period. Growth, progress, and a new demographic balance was the colonial ideal.

Judith T. Kenny's 1995 analysis of British hill stations in India argued that hill stations segregated settlers and subjects using scientific racism about climate and health.

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[51] Hyde Clarke, "The English Stations in the Hill Regions of India: Their Value and Importance, with Some Statistics of Their Products and Trade," *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 44, no. 3 (1881): 528–73.

[52] Clarke, "The English Stations in the Hill Regions of India," 528.

[53] "More territory simply means more of the Anglo-Saxon race, more of the best, the most human, most honourable race the world possesses." Cecil Rhodes, "Confession of Faith," 1877. In John E. Flint, *Cecil Rhodes* (Boston, MA: Little Brown, 1974), 248-52.

[54] Clarke, "The English Stations in the Hill Regions of India," 529.

[55] Clarke, "The English Stations in the Hill Regions of India," 529.

[56] Clarke, "The English Stations in the Hill Regions of India," 534.

[57] Clarke, "The English Stations in the Hill Regions of India," 559.

Kenny argued that "hill stations reflected and reinforced assumptions of social and racial difference, and in so doing naturalized the separation of rulers and ruled."[58] These naturalized separations existed in nature and the physical environment: settler rulers lived up in the hills, while the indigenous laborers were relegated to living down-mountain. Nineteenth-century colonial actors saw climate, health, and race as deeply connected, a position strengthened by scientific racism's use of the theory of evolution. Kenny cited *Health Resorts for Tropical Invalids* by W. J. Moore, the Surgeon General of the Bombay Presidency, to show how European colonial officials believed that "periodical escape" from the lowlands would allow Europeans to rejuvenate and heal from the hot environments both mentally and physically. Kenny asserted that "the need to escape 'the heat' meant of course a simultaneous escape from 'the native.'"[59] Kenny's assessment also applies to the later context of French colonial officials in Ifrane. The environmental stratification and physical segregation of uphill Europeans from downhill subalterns was an important social construction that defines the colonial hill station.

This geographic segregation was not exclusive to colonial hill stations in the British Raj. British and French models of colonial urbanism shared practices in using space to segregate rulers and ruled. In 1987, architectural historian Gwendolyn Wright argued that early twentieth century French colonial urbanism separated Europeans and colonized peoples using zoning and city-planning practices. Wright noted how Marshal Hubert Lyautey, the first French Resident-General in Morocco (1912-1925) and central figure in Ifrane's story, used a dual-city approach to urban design. This urban planning practice is precisely why we see such stark contrasts between districts within Morocco's major cities. In Rabat today, it is clear where the *Medina Qadima* (old city) ends and the *Ville Nouvelle* (new city) begins. Notice how the "old city" is referred to in Arabic, while the "new city" is referred to in French. Once

[58] Kenny, "Climate, Race, and Imperial Authority," 695.
[59] Kenny, "Climate, Race, and Imperial Authority," 700.

more, the consistent pattern of growth, progress, and modernity defined the European colonial gaze. The same contrast exists between Ifrane and the sister town of Timdiqin. The British approach of segregation applied not only to French hill stations, but also in French colonial cities more broadly.

Historians have disagreed on whether French and British justification of spatial segregation in colonial hill stations were more similar than they were different. In 1998, Odile Goerg argued that British and French colonial administrators in Africa used similar justifications, namely sanitation and hygiene, in order to segregate. Looking at Conakry in French Guinea and Freetown in British Sierra Leone, Georg concluded that "both the French and English used the hygiene paradigm to enforce a clear division between so-called races and ethnic groups and to make these categories visible in everyday life."[60] Overtime, comfort, quiet, and aesthetics began to take over sanitation in terms of justification.[61]

Ten years later, Ambe J. Njoh reached similar conclusions reevaluating urban planning schemes in British and French colonial Africa. Njoh refined Goerg's argument by questioning the extent to which these policies were explicit about their objective of racial segregation. French policy in Madagascar, French Equatorial Africa, and French West Africa "avoided using ostensibly racist language or arguments in their bid to segregate[.] Rather, they adopted stringent and excessively restrictive building codes and other regulations that effectively excluded Africans from certain areas."[62] The British, however, recommended "racial residential segregation" to protect "British colonial officers from malaria."[63] Both the

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[60] Odile Goerg, "From Hill Station (Freetown) to Downtown Conakry (First Ward): Comparing French and British Approaches to Segregation in Colonial Cities at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century," *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines* 32, no. 1 (1998): 1–31, 3.

[61] Goerg, "Comparing French and British Approaches to Segregation in Colonial Cities at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century," 22.

[62] Ambe J. Njoh, "Colonial Philosophies, Urban Space, and Racial Segregation in British and French Colonial Africa," *Journal of Black Studies* 38, no. 4 (2008): 579–99, 588.

[63] Njoh, "Colonial Philosophies, Urban Space, and Racial Segregation in British and French Colonial Africa," 589.

British and the French used *de jure* segregation, but the French veiled their racist policies to make them seem *de facto*.

Kenny Goerg, Njoh, and my own analyses mark a change from earlier historiography regarding colonial hill stations, which tended to be much less critical of their symbolic landscapes. In 1948, Geographers J. E. Spencer and W. L. Thomas maintained colonial gazes in "The Hill Stations and Summer Resorts of the Orient." Kenny cited this article and concluded that "geographic research on the hill station emphasizes its role in the physical and mental health of the colonials."[64] For instance, Spencer and Thomas questioned whether "the white race" could settle tropical colonies permanently.[65] They additionally believed in the health benefits of the hill station with the gradual transition of hill station to sanatorium.[66] Spencer and Thomas mapped out 108 hill stations in Asia, opting not to depict Africa.

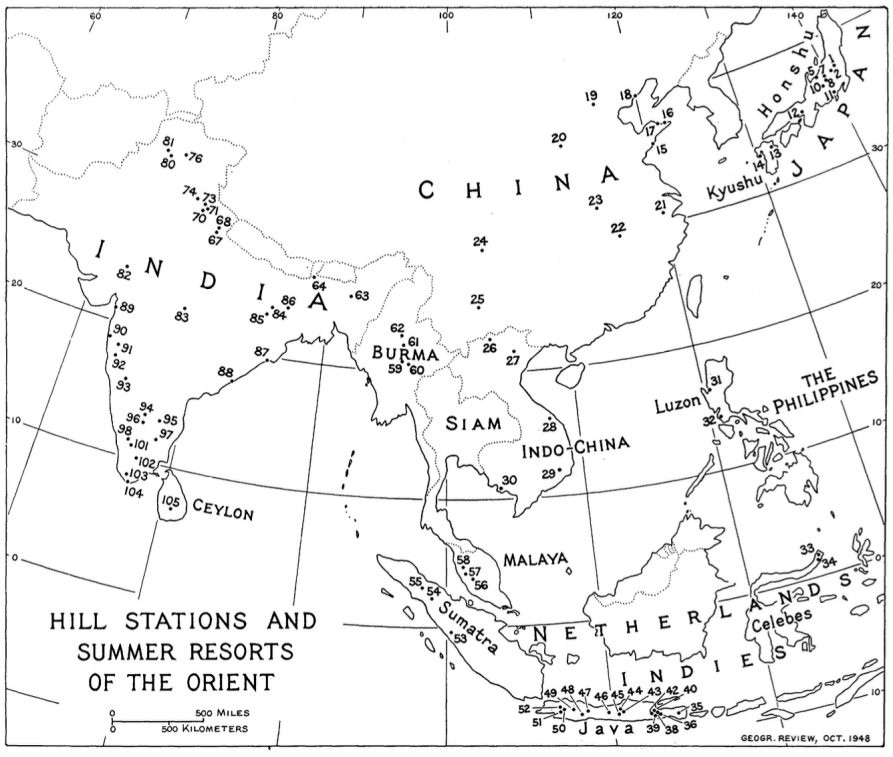


Figure H: J. E. Spencer and W. L. Thomas, "The Hill Stations and Summer Resorts of the Orient," *Geographical Review* 38, no. 4 (1948): 637–51, 644.

[64] Kenny, "Climate, Race, and Imperial Authority," 699.

[65] J. E. Spencer and W. L. Thomas, "The Hill Stations and Summer Resorts of the Orient," *Geographical Review* 38, no. 4 (1948): 637–51, 637.

[66] Spencer and Thomas, "The Hill Stations and Summer Resorts of the Orient," 640.

Spencer and Thomas' colonial perspectives on the hill station is most evident by their definition of its past and vision for the future. They defined the hill station as "not a native institution, but one developed [by] colonial masters in order to make sojourns in a foreign land less uncomfortable."[67] Their word choice makes it seem as if the European superiors ("masters") are taking a brief vacation in what they refer to as the Orient. This was obviously not the case. There is a discrepancy between a temporary "sojourn" and the permanent settlement of the hill station. They curiously acknowledged the hill station's permanence: "Even if the white man, through political maturity of the colonial lands, becomes restricted in his residence in the Orient, the hill station will not die out."[68] They also concluded that "the white man may leave the East as an overlord, but the hill station is one small part of the permanent contribution of the Occident to the Orient."[69] These perspectives make sense because of the geographers' context immediately after the Second World War. European powers were severely weakened, with whole cities razed. Thus, their ability to maintain a grip on their colonies was limited. Spencer and Thomas' judgments of colonial progress thanked European powers for civilizing both the native and the land.

Overall, the body of historical research on colonial hill stations is surprisingly limited considering their local impact and global reach. The historiographical interpretation has changed overtime from celebratory to critical to comparative. This change is reflective of the fully emergent field of postcolonial studies post decolonization.

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[67] Spencer and Thomas, "The Hill Stations and Summer Resorts of the Orient," 637.
[68] Spencer and Thomas, "The Hill Stations and Summer Resorts of the Orient," 649.
[69] Spencer and Thomas, "The Hill Stations and Summer Resorts of the Orient," 651.

**The Moroccan Office of Tourism**

During the Protectorate era in Morocco, the French believed Morocco's tourism was lacking, so they sought to promote Moroccan tourism in order to manufacture an industry that was competitive with that of other Mediterranean colonies. At a Paris gathering, Resident-General Lyautey spoke of the imperial, economic desire to increase tourism in Morocco: "Since the recent, intense development of large-scale tourism, the presentation of a country's beauty has taken on an economic importance of the first order. To attract a large tourist population is to gain everything for both the public and the private budgets."[70] So, the French Protectorate established the Moroccan Office of Tourism (OMT/*Office Marocain de Tourisme*) during the interwar period in Autumn, 1933.

Morocco's National Archives in Rabat contain a colonial governmental document titled *Création, Exploitation*. In this document, the Civil Cabinet outlined the conditions of OMT's creation, its believed necessity, the imperial need of action from Paris to favor Moroccan tourism, and the need of private action from private organizations, as well as its actions, goals, and initiatives.[71] This source is worth studying in depth because it demonstrates both the intentions and actions of French colonial officials collaborating between the metropole and periphery. It shows *how* France and the colonial Protectorate used various mediums of propaganda to strengthen the economic and social ties of French metropolitains to the Moroccan periphery. The colonial apparatus encouraged the private tourism industry to expand by providing travelers with necessary information to experience and consume Morocco.

According to *Création, Exploitation*, large travel agencies neglected Morocco in favor of other Mediterranean countries like Egypt: "This is the truth: Moroccan tourism was

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[70] Hubert Lyautey, speech at the Universite des Annales, in Lyautey, Paroles d'action (n. 21 above), p. 451. In Gwendolyn Wright, "Tradition in the Service of Modernity: Architecture and Urbanism in French Colonial Policy, 1900-1930." *The Journal of Modern History* 59, no. 2 (1987): 291–316, 304.

[71] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme. April 17, 1934. Paris, France. Governmental Document. Tourisme au Maroc, 1930-1958. Fonds du Protectorat. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. F-F280.

asleep."[72] The First World War spurred the need for tourism in Morocco because the global crisis reduced foreign tourism to metropolitan France.[73] The French colonial apparatus also believed that the private, global tourism industry did not always satisfy tourists with regards to Morocco, diminishing the Protectorate's profitability.[74] This deficiency in Morocco's tourism industry highlighted an opportunity for the French to "promote and cultivate affection for the Protectorate, while also taking charge of the commercial aspect that normally escapes official organizations."[75] Promoting the French empire and strengthening its grip on Morocco were explicit priorities for the Moroccan Office of Tourism.

OMT's creation also demonstrates the private-public partnership that was necessary to facilitate an imperial economy. OMT cited models of privatization in Italy and Spain's tourism and travel offices in 1934.[76] This document also references how French Algeria and Tunisia had the same desire to encourage tourism. These official tourism bodies worked with private companies like Thomas Cook & Sons, which facilitated "Grand Tours" that often culminated in an excursion to Egypt.[77] OMT's job was to encourage companies like Cook & Sons to shift from "displaying strong preferences for certain European countries and showing disinterest when specifically requested by tourists wanting to visit Morocco."[78] OMT sought to expand the reach of current private ventures to include Morocco in their itineraries. Thus, The Moroccan Office of Tourism became an informational agency to achieve this end, but it was limited in its scope.

OMT did not provide complete itineraries to Morocco because it did not want to favor certain travel agencies over others. Instead, it supplied travelers with leaflets, brochures, and documentation that they brought to travel agencies, who handled the more practical aspects.

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[72] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme: 2.
[73] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme: 2.
[74] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme: 2-3.
[75] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme: 2.
[76] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme: 5-6.
[77] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme: 6. Cleveland, *A History of Tourism in Africa*, 34.
[78] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme: 6.

OMT's focus on distributing information rather than selling tour packages represents this public-private partnership: "Although it is impossible for an official organization to sell tickets, tours, in short, to 'start' such an organization, breaking with tradition, even if it wanted to do so, would go against the purpose for which it was created."[79] OMT was not a travel agency; it was an intermediary between travelers and travel agencies to encourage tourist excursions into Morocco.

The "Création" portion of the OMT's founding explores *why* the French established the organization, while the "Exploitation" section explains *how* they were going to achieve their goals. Upon a traveler's request, OMT would provide tourist circuits with loads of information, including "(1) Complete itinerary with excursions, (2) Prices and schedules of transportation from France to Morocco, (3) Hotel stay prices and detailed information (luxury hotels, first-class, or second-class hotels according to the request)."[80] OMT's engagement with tourists depended on those with previous interest in traveling to Morocco, so they also used various forms of propaganda to spark interest. OMT placed 12 advertising posters promoting Morocco in *Le Petit Bleu*, 16 in *Le Populaire*, 18 in *Le Journal du Commerce*, and in other publications, reaching 61 advertisements in total.[81] This number does not include posters and editorial articles that appeared every week in *Le Maroc* newspaper.

OMT also promoted Morocco as a destination through conferences and exhibitions. These exhibitions showcased both groups working within Morocco and the products that came from the Protectorate.[82] OMT presented documentary films and Moroccan arts like hand-knitted carpets, pottery from the Middle Atlas, leather goods, jewelry, and ancient gold artifacts.[83] Additionally, the ground floor of the Moroccan Office of Tourism building contained "exhibitions aimed at showcasing artworks inspired by Morocco to French

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[79] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme: 5.
[80] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme: 9.
[81] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme: 13.
[82] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme: 15.
[83] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme: 14, 17.

artists."[84] These artists included François de Herain, Jacques Majorelle, Auguste Durel, Charles François de LaCroix, and Jean-Marie Baumel.[85] OMT did not name any Moroccan artists and craftspersons, only French ones. OMT received approximately 700 visitors during its first quarter and seemed to draw considerable interest from the public.[86] Informational brochures, maps, and itineraries were available at these permanent and temporary exhibitions. Over time, the Moroccan Office of Tourism sought to become economically self-sufficient through ticket sales for its exhibitions, and through its bookstore.[87] OMT planned a multifaceted effort within France to promote Moroccan tourism and the 'benefits' of the French empire more broadly.

In closing out the document *Création, Exploitation*, OMT returned to its plea for moral and material support from Protectorate Services. OMT sought to provide significant services to "the Moroccan cause," indirectly serve as "a first-rate instrument of the Protectorate," and use touristic activity to contribute to an "overall enrichment."[88] This document laid the groundwork for all Moroccan tourism that followed through independence in 1956. The colonial body in both France and Morocco explicitly utilized metropolitan tourism into the periphery to garner support for the empire. Tourism was a wing of a larger colonial project, and this document proves this relationship in both intention and execution.

OMT was also deeply involved with advertising Ifrane to both English and French speaking audiences. A well-preserved and colorful travel brochure for Ifrane is kept at Mohammed VI Library archives at Al-Akhawayn University. This English brochure showcased a range of activities to entice travelers to venture to Ifrane in both summer and winter. The brochure revealed Ifrane's clientele: "very numerous families and above all a

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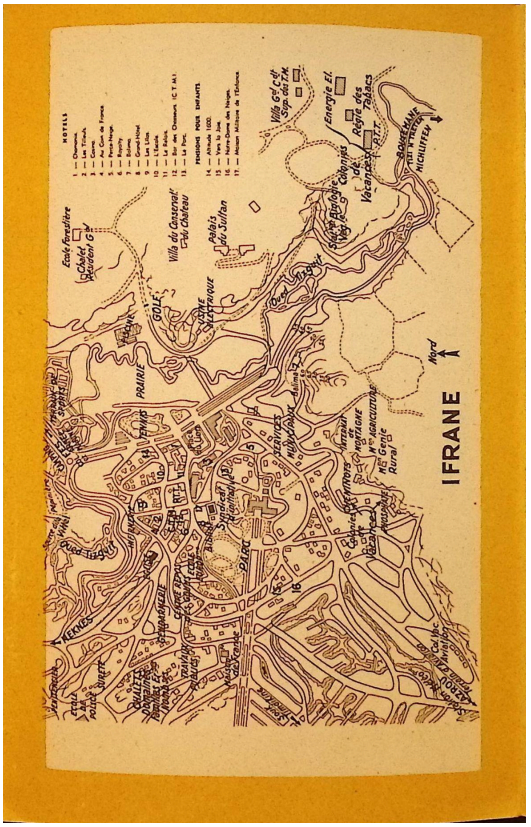
[84] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme: 17.
[85] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme: 17-18.
[86] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme: 18.
[87] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme: 19.
[88] *Création, Exploitation*. Office Marocain de Tourisme: 19.

large number of children arrive at Ifrane from all corners of Morocco and Algeria."[89] Ifrane's permanent population as stipulated was approximately 1,100, but that figure rose to more than 10,000 people in summer.[90] This brochure showcased not only activities, but also facilities from churches (Catholic and Protestant) to trout clubs to "First aid post, doctors, chemist, dentists, architects, land agent, hotels, restaurants, all trades european and musulman schools, forestry commission and police school."[91] All of this is to say that the Moroccan Office of Tourism promoted Ifrane, as it did with Morocco's tourist destinations.


Figures I & J: Office Marocaine de Tourisme, "Ifrane Maroc (Tourism Brochure)," 1950-1959. Mohammed VI Library, Al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane. Ifrane, Morocco. M6L_E_0002

[89] Office Marocaine de Tourisme, "Ifrane Maroc (Tourism Brochure)," 1950-1959. Mohammed VI Library, Al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane. Ifrane, Morocco. M6L_E_0002

[90] Office Marocaine de Tourisme, "Ifrane Maroc (Tourism Brochure)."

[91] Office Marocaine de Tourisme, "Ifrane Maroc (Tourism Brochure)."

**Public-Private Leisure in Ifrane**


Figure K: Photo Flandrin, "Ifrane (Maroc) - Le Gardien de la Forêt." Postcard, Date Unknown. Mohammed VI Library, Al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane. Ifrane, Morocco. M6L_PC_0053.

When French tourists visited Ifrane for the *Saison d'Estivage*, where did they stay? *L'Administration du Protectorat* worked alongside private organizations in order to make "the station of Ifrane represent a sort of official summer resort."[92] In 1932, the French colonial state publicized numbers of chalets available for 21 day rentals, in addition to camping sites, in *La Presse Marocaine* newspaper.[93] Furthermore, the state promoted various private establishments and hotels in the press:

> To realize that the Ifrane station left nothing to be desired in terms of comfort and the helpfulness of the staff. The 'Balima,' the Lilas hotel, and the Marronniers hotel, all managed by Mrs. Widow Bel, along with the restaurant of the Casino, the Parc hotel, and the Central Hotel-Restaurant, offer summer visitors a well-supplied table and meticulous cuisine, along with rooms where every comfort is at their service.[94]

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[92] "L'Organisation Administrative." *Ifrane Centre D'Estivage*. Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

[93] "L'Organisation Administrative." *Ifrane Centre D'Estivage*.

[94] "L'Organisation Privée." *Ifrane Centre D'Estivage*. Newspaper. Ifrane, Centres d'Estivages, 1928-1934. Archives du Maroc. Rabat, Morocco. Box A1552.

*L'Hôtel de la Balima* was the most famous and grand of all these private establishments. Public newspapers advertised Hotel Balima's 150 rooms, all equipped with water and electricity, as well as meeting rooms, ballrooms, and reading lounges.[95] Hotel Balima's prominence in Ifrane's archival paper trail strongly suggests a deep collaboration between Ifrane's governmental promoters and private businesses who benefited from said promotion.


Figure L: "Pour la Colonie de Vacances des P.T.T. à Ifrane" and "Royaume du Maroc Colonie de Vacances P.T.T." Postage Stamps. 1951-1960. Mohammed VI Library, Al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane. Ifrane, Morocco. M6L_E_0026, M6L_E_0027, M6L_E_0028, M6L_E_0029.

A large number of tourists in Ifrane, the Middle Atlas, and Morocco more broadly were children on voyages to various *Colonies de Vacances*. Timely so, historian Patrick Young released an article about these *colonies* while I was researching this project, where he made many overlapping observations using sources from French metropolitan archives. Young uncovered the fact that Ifrane's multiple *colonies de vacances* hosted over 2,000 children from all parts of Morocco between 1932-1935, less than a decade after Ifrane's

[95] "L'Organisation Privée." *Ifrane Centre D'Estivage*.

creation.[96] One *colonie* at Ifrane, "The Petit Cheminots," hosted children in tents before 1931, but changed to more permanent structures with *confort moderne*. [97] French press coverage adapted the *L'Homme Civilis*é from the introduction to include *les jeunes colons* (the young settlers) in a colonial drama of progress and colonial development.[98] Young also briefly noted how the public-private partnership "cast these *estival* sites as projects of continual expansion and modernisation, partly with an eye toward attracting private and commercial investment that, in tandem with still-limited public funding, were necessary to sustain development."[99] *Colonies de vacances* demonstrate how private organizations invested in *estival* since Ifrane's beginnings, specifically targeting a young demographic and their families. The postage stamps above show the public end, where the French colonial state was invested in promoting a private *estival* industry. In tandem, the private groups that ran the *colonies* were supported by a public campaign in both the press and the state's colonial visual culture.


Figure M: Photo Flandrin, "Ifrane (Maroc) - La Distribution de Goûter aux Fillettes des Colonies de Vacances." Postcard, Date Unknown. Mohammed VI Library, Al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane. Ifrane, Morocco. M6L_PC_0084.

[96] Patrick Young, "Dislocations of Empire: Colonies de Vacances and Estivage in Protectorate Morocco, 1912-1956," Journal of Tourism History (Spring 2024): 1-25, 8.

[97] Young, "Dislocations of Empire," 8.

[98] Young, "Dislocations of Empire," 9.

[99] Young, "Dislocations of Empire," 9-10.

Touristic activities and excursions additionally depended on this public-private partnership. Within a period of ten years, private and public promotion transformed skiing in Morocco from a fringe activity into a mainstay in places like Michlifen and Djebel Hibri. According to the skiing group of the *Touring Club du France*, "The Protectorate has taken an interest in constructing roads in the High and Middle Atlas that allow cars of skiers to access the summits."[100] Busses of skiers came from Casablanca, Rabat, Meknes, and Fes on public roads to stay in Ifrane and Azrou's private hotels and enroll in Djebel Hebri and Tizi n'Tretten private Ski Schools.[101] They climbed hills using *Téléskis* (ski-lifts) after learning of the snow conditions from *Radio Maroc*, especially when the radio said that both the roads and slopes were in good condition.[102] Information and infrastructure provided by the state allowed tourists to experience leisure in Morocco in ways similar to within the metropole with its Alps and Alpinism.

The success of Morocco's colonial skiing industry depended on the suppression of autochthonous peoples merely ten years prior. In 1936, P. Oleon (first name unknown), Secrétaire Générale of Casablanca's Ski-Club, stated his pleasure with the development of the skiing industry within the Middle Atlas: "we must be very satisfied with the results obtained in a country that, 7 or 8 years ago, was in a complete state of insecurity, on the edge of rebellion."[103] French colonial Morocco continued to use leisure as evidence of civilizing the land. Within the French gaze, this civilizing mission was met with "the skepticism, and even the clear hostility of the hoteliers in Azrou who did not look kindly on the noisy cheerfulness of these unfamiliar customers."[104] It is assumed that these hoteliers in Azrou were not of

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[100] Groupe des skieurs du Touring-club de France. *Ski-touring.* Paris, France: March 1939. Ville de Paris / Bibliothèque du Tourisme et des Voyages, 2017-203752.

[101] P. Oleon (Secrétaire Générale du Ski-Club Casablanca), "Le Ski au Maroc." In L'A.P.A.M. (Organe de l'Association des propriétaires d'automobiles du Maroc). *Bulletin trimestriel de l'automobile et du tourisme*. Casablanca, Morocco: 1936: 20-23. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Philosophie, histoire, sciences de l'homme, 4-O3J-620.

[102] Groupe des skieurs du Touring-club de France, *Ski-touring*, 5.

[103] P. Oleon (Secrétaire Générale du Ski-Club Casablanca), "Le Ski au Maroc," 20.

[104] P. Oleon (Secrétaire Générale du Ski-Club Casablanca), "Le Ski au Maroc," 20.

French origin, given the French perception of their misunderstanding. This reaffirms that not all private ventures in this tourism industry were French. Nonetheless, the tourists often were. From hotels, *colonies de vacances*, and outdoor activities like skiing, Ifrane depended on private businesses to host and entertain tourists.

Figure N: Edition Gacon. “Ifrane Sous la Neige. Chalet du Ski-Club au Tizi n Tretten.” Postcard, 1960. Mohammed VI Library, Al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane. Ifrane, Morocco. M6L_PC_0153

**Conclusion**

The French Protectorate Era and Interwar period saw a rapid expansion of French authority into Morocco's interiors. Nowhere was this internal incursion more visible than Ifrane. The state built roadways for military conquest, which cheap land, cheap loans, and cheap labor allowed businesses to settle into the Middle Atlas mountains and manufacture a vast tourism industry. The remaining sources from the *Office Marocain de Tourisme* proves this deep relationship between state and private actors that completed the colonial project within Morocco. This public-private partnership was not unique to Ifrane or the French empire; instead, European empires depended on private, capitalist industry to effectively settle colonies.

Ifrane today is not what it used to be, and the reality of post-coloniality has settled in. The lakes have dried up in recent years. Tourists no longer stay for days, only for an hour or two as a rest stop. When I talked with Ifrane's older taxi drivers, they had a sense of nostalgia, not necessarily for the colonial era, but for what came immediately after. My Modern Standard Arabic professor Youssef Sakout had a similar nostalgia to these taxi drivers. Born to Fes on the eve of Independence in 1956, Youssef was both a camper and camp counselor at various *colonies de vacances* in the Middle Atlas. He showed me his personal archive, while I shared with him old photographs of children playing in Ifrane's own *colonies* at the same time of his childhood. Every photograph sparked a dormant memory.

The Ifrane that professor Youssef knew no longer exists. Today Ifrane functions as a college town with Al Akhawayn University, which functionally houses the archives of the town itself. These postcolonial changes are worth an investigation in their own right, and as the collections at Mohammed VI Library grow, so too are chances for deeper inquiries.

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