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Title

Culture Shock in Barbary Captivity Narratives: Royal Tyler (1797), *John Foss* (1798), *Maria Martin* (1807) *and James Leander Cathcart* (1899)

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Abstract

My research paper intends to study the culture shock in Barbary captivity narratives: Royal Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* (1797), John Foss' *Journal of Captivity and Sufferings* (1798), Maria Martin's *History of Captivity and Sufferings* (1807), and James Leander Cathcart's *The Captives, Eleven years a Prisoner in Algiers* (1899).This paper shows that the narratives are the experiences of a passage, the crossing of a boundary that allows for an encounter with otherness to take place. Addressed to their home culture, the narratives deal with the captives' cultural shock upon their first encounter with different and strange culture, in uncomfortable situations interacting with people who are not born nor bred Americans. Being cut out from their culture, the captives were at a complete loss since their host culture involved unusual norms of cultural understanding such as, religion, food, clothing, gender roles, customs and traditions. Therefore, my research paper shows the circumstances and the reasons behind the captives' disorientation. Moreover, it explains how the captives endure and depict their life within Barbary through highlighting the distinct features between America and Algiers through an ethnocentric standpoint.

Contents

General Introduction

For centuries in America, the Barbary captivity narrative has emerged through popular literature reaching millions of readers in various forms. Starting from the eighteenth century, a surprising number of Barbary captivity narratives were published. They were not only among the most popular of captivity but also provided Americans with powerful images of different cultures. The Barbary narratives paved the way to countless books which deal with the clash of the captives' home culture and the host one. These narratives are the experiences of a passage, the crossing of a boundary that allows for an encounter with otherness to take place. Addressed to their home culture, the narratives dealt with the captives' cultural shock upon their first encounter with different cultures; in uncomfortable situations interacting with people who are not born nor bred Americans. Thus, the captives mapped the world rather than the world mapping them by making their masters figures to be feared and shunned. Being cut out from their culture, the captives were at complete loss since their host culture involved unusual norms of cultural understanding such as, religion, food, clothing, gender roles, customs and traditions.

Among the Barbary States which held American slaves, Algiers emerged as the most powerful country, where these captivity narratives took place. According to Osman Benchérif's *The Image of Algeria in the Early Anglo-American Writing* (1984), Algiers naval captivity reached its zenith during the first half of the seventeenth century when the Algerian corsairs' vessels, already active in the Mediterranean, broke out into the Atlantic.[1]Algiers became powerful and synonymous with Muslim piracy and enslavement. A significant number of captives left accounts of their experience and life in Barbary. Virtually, they all follow the same pattern: capture by the corsairs, persecution within slavery followed by their freedom. They provided valuable information on corsair Algiers and on the conditions of Christian captives reduced to servitude in Algiers and the circumstances of their return to freedom, the whole narrative being generally interspersed with the social organisation and the

economy of the country.[2]Much of what was known about Barbary was written by men or women who had a definite interest in painting as black a picture of Barbary and expressing their disorientation and culture shock as they could. **Culture Shock** according to the anthropologist Peter Adler is

> a form of anxiety that results from the loss of commonly perceived and understood signs and symbols of social intercourse. The individual undergoing culture shock reflects his anxiety and nervousness with cultural differences through any number of defense mechanisms: repression, regression, isolation and rejection. These defensive attitudes speak, in behavioural terms, of a basic underlying insecurity which may encompass loneliness, anger, frustration and self questioning of competence. With the familiar props, cues, and clues of cultural understanding removed, the individual becomes disoriented, afraid of, and alienated from the things that he knows and understands.[3]

John Foss' *Journal of Captivity and Sufferings* (1798), Maria Martin's *History of the Captivity and Sufferings of Maria Martin* (1807), James Leander Cathcart's *The Captives, Eleven Years a Prisoner in Algiers* (published in 1899) are samples which widened the gap between the "civilized" America and "primitive" Algiers. It must be mentioned that there are also some captivity narratives that were written before the examples mentioned above, though their writers did not live the ordeal. Royal Tyler's *The Algerine Captive or, the Life of Doctor Updike Underhill Six Years a Prisoner among the Algerines* (1797) is a good example that can illustrate the genre. In fact, Royal never traveled to the West Coast of Africa or the Barbary states. However, he was a voracious reader even by the standards of his time. Undoubtedly, he had read the earliest memoirs and captivity narratives.[4]

The choice of these narratives is not fortuitous. It is justifiable on the grounds that they draw critics due to their role in shaping today's world map. In addition to this, these narratives share the same themes and the same historical background.

Anne G. Myles studies John Foss' Journal *of Captivity and Suffering* (1798) in her article *Slaves in Algiers, Captives in Iraq* (2004). She argues that beyond offering the earliest American portraits of the Islamic world, Foss's narrative about Barbary from the early republic contrasts America as a land of liberty (*"the greatest blessing human beings ever*

possessed," wrote John Foss) with the tyrannies of Muslim ruler, a new set of oppressive masters to fill in for the British rulers the revolution has dislodged.[5] In his turn, Paul Baepler, in *White Slaves, African Masters* (1999), points out that though Foss intends primarily to inform, he nonetheless also instructs his reader through the effect produced by his personal tale of loss narratives but also provides Americans with powerful images of slavery. Foss' captivity narrative reads much like ethnography where he departs from a theological framework toward the emerging adventure tale and sentimental novel.[6] In *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters, White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (2004), Robert C. Davis argues that Foss's account is the experience he underwent, stressing the endemic cruelty and violence he experienced in Algiers. The actual extent of the brutality and hardship that slaves underwent in Barbary remains ambiguous. In other words, it is not clear whether the experiences are true or forged .[7]

As far as Royal's *The Algerine Captive or the Life of Doctor Updike Underhill Six Years a Prisoner among the Algerines* (1797) is concerned, it has been subject to much criticism after its republication in 2002 following the events of September 11, 2001. According to Osman Benchérif (1984), *The Algerine Captive* is *"a picaresque adventure providing an ironic commentary on American life"*[8]. For her turn Malini Johar Schueller, in *Us Orientalism* (1998), sees Royal's novel as an example of imperialistic discourse. Her analysis, like Benchérif's, centers on the contribution of the novel in the domestic affairs and nationhood building:

> Although the novel is ostensibly divided into the New England and Algerian sections-the first dealing with the narrator's struggle to find a vocation in the country, the second with his captivity in Algiers-the ideological trajectory of the two sections validates a discourse of empire.[9]

Though there is little documentation of women's experience of Barbary captivity, they occupy an important place in the American imagination of the Muslim world. It is the case with *History of the Captivity and Sufferings of Maria Martin* (1807) which was among the prominent female captivity narratives at that time. Anne G.Myles contends that:

> Chained woman (Maria Martin) hints at the situation's erotic implications and the narrative's emphasis on the female sufferer's helplessness. Though martin at first "glow [s] with desire" to show her fortitude in suffering, she eventually finds herself struggling with illness and depression, until her liberty is purchased and she was freed.[10]

Paul Baepler argues that James Leander Cathcart's *The Captives, Eleven Years Prisoner in Algiers* (1899) is a kind of ethnographic continuation to what Foss had already recorded, but in a lively and detailed way. James Leander Cathcart represents his enslavement as a national humiliation and portrays the bitter situation where white Christians were enslaved by "black Muslims."[11]

There is, unfortunately, a very limited number of works which deal with these four captivity narratives in particular. However, there exist a large number of scholars who have dealt with Barbary captivity narratives in general. For instance, Baepler makes the point that *"on the surface, the Barbary Captivity narrative appears to invert the situation of the American slave narrative by presenting the testimony of a white slave under African domination rather than a black slave subjugated by a white owner."* [12]

I. Issue and Working Hypothesis

One should not overlook what have been said in the review of the literature about Royal Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* (1797), John Foss' *Captivity and Sufferings* (1798), Maria Martin's *History of Captivity and Sufferings* (1807) and James Cathcart's *The Captives, Eleven Years a prisoner in Algiers* (1899). However, through my readings, no academic research has been conducted on the issue of culture shock within captivity narratives under study. It is clear from the review of the literature written on the accounts that the narratives played an important role in highlighting the distinct features between America and Algiers through an ethnocentric standpoint.

Thus, it is the aim of my dissertation to study the culture shock within these narratives by drawing attention to the circumstances and the reasons behind the captives' disorientation and focus on the same themes, on the one hand. On the other hand, these common themes or

the clues of cultural understanding such as religion, food, clothing, gender roles, customs and traditions will be analysed since they are the focal points from which the captives' culture shock originated. Moreover, it will explain how did these captives undergo their confusion due to the absence of the regular norms prevailing in their home culture with different and "inferior" ones endemic to the host culture.

But how can one deal with the clues of cultural understanding and their significance and role in widening the gap between the two communities, America and Algiers, without using an anthropological framework. Anthropology can be defined as the study of humans' past and present in order to understand the complexity of cultures across all of human history. Anthropology draws and builds upon knowledge from the social and biological sciences as well as the humanities and physical sciences. The central concern of anthropologists is the application of knowledge to the solution of human problems. Thus, I will use Edward T.Hall's *The Silent Language* (1959) for the latter outlines a broad theory of culture and describes how its rules control people's lives. Hall describes categories of communication which can be used to compare two cultures. His theory will be supplemented by other theories in order to analyse each theme mentioned by the captives to draw a difference between their country and the land of their enslavement.

The theme of religion is explored by using Edward Said's *Covering Islam* (1981).It will be explored since the narratives mentioned before portray Islam as synonymous with terrorism and fanaticism. The narratives show the differences between Christian America and Muslim Algiers by underscoring the superiority of the former, reflected by the inferiority of the latter. Since my study investigates the theme of customs and traditions, it is appropriate to use Mircea Eliade's *The Sacred and the Profane: The New Religion* (1987) which will deal with the customs and traditions. The book will be used because the "Algerines" are seen by the American captives as primitive people who build their whole lives around some rituals

that are seen as divine ones. The "Algerines" are entirely lost without their orienting sacred practices which saturate them in reality, according to the American captives.

As far as the theme of women and gender roles are concerned, Mohja Kahf's *Western Representations of the Muslim Woman* (1999) will be drawn from. The book highlights the tendency of the accounts to portray the Muslim women as victimised and oppressed due to the veil and polygamy since the Enlightenment. In the narratives, the Muslim women are represented as oppressed by backward misogynist men. Barbary captivity narratives as a kind of western genre show how Muslim women are used as objects of "Otherness".

Food and Culture (2012),a book edited by Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik , will be made use of to study the theme of food .The narratives deal with food as an aspect of culture and put the emphasis on its signification rather than its substance. As it is mentioned before, food was one of the clues of cultural understanding that marked the difference between the captive's home county, America, and Algeria.

The last but not least, Roland Barthes's *The Fashion System* (1967) will be used to explore the theme of clothing. This theory studies the signification of clothing and its role in identifying people's cultural belonging. The captives considered the natives' clothes as inaccessible to the ideal system they established as Americans.

I will demonstrate the narratives' role in offering the black images of captivity. These images had shaped the western outlook of the Muslim Algiers. Thus, it is my task to highlight the reason behind their portrayal, which is the culture shock they underwent in the land of enslavement.

II-Methods and Materials

a- Methods

In studying the culture shock in Royal's *The Algerine Captive* (1797), Foss' *Journal of Captivity and Sufferings* (1798), Martin's *History of Captivity and Sufferings* (1807) and Cathcart's *The Captives, Eleven Years a prisoner in Algiers* (1899), I will rely on Edward T. Hall's *The Silent Language* (1959).The book's key message is that one must learn to understand the unconscious aspects of communication. Its ultimate purpose is to reveal the broad extent to which culture controls our lives. In this book, Hall analyses-the ways in which people talk to one another without the use of words. Hall places great emphasis on time and space as elements in intercultural communication.[13]The book is a complex and detailed anthropological theory about the nature and vocabulary of culture. Hall looks at categories of communication which can be used to compare any two cultures. He analyses not only conversation, but also a number of non-verbal communication areas, with good illustrative scenarios, for the variety of attitudes toward personal space, and use of time. Hall states: *"In addition to what we say with our verbal language we are constantly communicating our real feelings in our silent language, the language of behavior."*[14]

As print media, the Barbary captivity narratives will also be analysed through Edward Said's *Covering Islam* (1981). Said reveals the hidden distortions underlying the coverage of the Islamic World. He explains the politics of interpreting Islam. The book is critical of the fact that unfavorable circumstances and misleading facts did not allow proper interpretation of another culture.[15] In this work, Said argues that from the eighteenth century and perhaps before, western culture had fabricated the image of Islam. This image reveals the illusions and the work of the Western imagination more than it does about the culture of the "Other". Consumers of popular culture were given the sense that they understood Islam ignoring that a great deal in this coverage is based on far from objective material. In the age of information,

Said claims that media, as one of the ways of Islamic coverage, has selectively determined what westerners should and should not know about Islam and the Muslim World.

As far as the theme of customs and traditions is concerned, I will use Mircea Eliade's *The Sacred and the Profane: The New Religion* (1987) which attempts to describe how people experience the sacred. Religious people ideas and rituals are recapitulated periodically to sustain and renew their world.[16]According to the work, religious people were entirely lost without their orienting sacred practices, whereas non religious people who are considered profane no longer possess these values. Eliade's book is a work of comparative religion that characterised what irrational states experienced universally across world cultures. It extends the comparative concept by describing how sacred impulses manifest themselves in space, nature, and human society, contrasting the religious viewpoint with non religious or profane persons.[17]Traditional man often expresses this opposition as real versus unreal and he seeks as much as possible to live his life within the sacred, to saturate himself in reality. According to Eliade the sacred becomes known to man because it manifests itself as different from the profane world.

As far as Mohja Kahf's *Western Representations of the Muslim Woman* (1999) is concerned, it assumes that since the Age of Enlightenment, the modern Western narrative's representation of the Muslim woman has produced the same discourse. The dominant theme expressed in the narratives has been that Islam was naturally oppressive to women, that the veil and segregation symbolised that oppression, and that these customs were the fundamental reasons for the general and comprehensive backwardness of Islamic societies.[18]She provides an interesting account of Western representations of the Muslim woman from medieval times to the period of Romanticism in the early nineteenth century prior to the beginning of Western colonialism. Her basic thesis rests on the idea that Western representations of the Muslim woman are neither essential nor timeless, but rather they are products of specific moments and developments in culture.[19]

Food and Culture (2012) is edited by Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik. It addresses both core classic and contemporary issues in food studies, and brings food to life as an prominent vehicle for engaging students in a wide range of critical cultural issues that are central not only in food courses but in every course. The book shows how food touches everything important to people and marks social difference and strengthens social relationships. The work takes a global look at the social, symbolic, and political-economic role of food, and includes the perspectives of anthropology, history, psychology, philosophy, politics, and sociology. It examines some of the meanings of food and eating across cultures, with particular attention to how men and women define themselves differently through their food ways.[20] The thirty-six articles included within this book reveal how food habits and beliefs both present a microcosm of any culture and also contribute to our understanding of human behavior. The articles are categorized under four major subjects including "Foundations", "Gender and Consumption", "Food and Identity Politics", and "Political Economy of Food."

Roland Barthes's *The Fashion System* (1967) explains how in the fashion world anything could be endowed with an idealistic significance by the upper classes. According to Barthes, if popular fashion says that any kind of garment is ideal for certain situation, this idea must be naturalised and accepted as a truth and cannot be discussed.[21]Though it was based on French magazines, Barthes' study can be seen as a reference to clothing's sociological and historical significance. This work is a framework that can be used to examine the discourse made by the elite and not accessed by their social inferiors. His theory can be applied to study the political life of signs within particular time and place for the fashion system is endowed with ideologies and ideas that are transmitted through clothing. It is the latter he sets to examine; these sign systems do not produce clothing, nor women, but the abstract notion of fashion. In order to understand a certain fashion, it must be understood in relation to the system of social, technological, and ideological circumstances it coincided with.[22]

b- Materials

This section of my study includes the material I will rely on in the discussion section. This material consists of the narratives' summaries, Royal Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* (1797), John Foss' *Captivity and Sufferings* (1798), Maria Martin's *History of Captivity and Sufferings* (1807) and James Leander Cathcart's *The Captives, Eleven Years a prisoner in Algiers* (1899).

Summary of Royal Tyler's *The Algerine Captive*

Royal Tyler's the *Algerine Captive* is a captivity narrative; published in 1797 narrated by the protagonist Updike Underhill. The novel is considered as the first post-independence American novel. It is divided into two parts: the first part is mainly about the life of Updike in New England, while the second is about his captivity and enslavement in Algiers.

The novel opens with a short historical account of Updike's great ancestors who celebrate freedom as soon as they settle in Massachusetts in the seventeenth century. Then Updike narrates to us his early career. From his early age Updike was a remarkable genius child. Unfortunately, his father sends him into college where he learns useless Greek. Later on, Updike is appointed as a school teacher, a job that he abandons soon since he faces some problems. After that, Updike, under the encouragement of his family and friends is determined to study physics with a famous physician. At this level of the story, Updike visits several regions and experiences different events that he narrates heroically. Updike in his narration uses satire to depict both the ignorance and the hypocrisy of his society that prevent him from becoming a successful doctor. As a result, he accepts to work as a surgeon aboard a slave ship through which he discovers the cruel treatment of African slaves.

At the beginning of the second part, the narrator tells us how they were violently attacked and captured by the Algerine corsairs in 1788 *"...fall(ing) into the hands of barbarous people which infested this coast, was truly."* [23]Updike was then sold in a slave market. As a slave in Algiers, he suffers a lot from hard work, insult, misery, and separation

from his family and country. In spite of this harsh situation, Updike never accepts to convert to Islam under the insistence of a "Mahometan" priest "Mollah" who promises him wealth and liberty in return. Updike considers his Christian faith as his only shelter that protects him from the ignorant and savage people. After some years of enslavement Updike is appointed in a hospital "to the care of the medicine room", and within a short period of time he becomes the most successful doctor in Algiers. Updike along his narration provides a detailed egocentric description of Algiers and the "Algerines". He describes some places like "Mussulman" College, and the Algerine city. He also provides sketches of the government, judicial system, language, history, religion and customs of the "Algerines" and some Arab countries and their people that he discovers on his trip to Medina. Before embarking for the voyage, Dr Updike recounts his partnership with a Jew whom he will meet again in Scandaroom (Alexandria) at his return from the "House of God". The same Jew puts him in the hands of a pirate crew initially intending to make him escape from captivity.

After seven years of captivity and enslavement in Algiers, Updike regains his freedom with the help of Portuguese officers and succeeds to escape back to his counter in 1795.

Summary of John Foss' Journal of Captivity and Sufferings

Foss's narrative contains a "simple statement" of facts about his sufferings in Algiers. Foss was captured with his followers by Barbary pirates in 1793; they were embarrassed when they discovered that they fell in the hands of "Algerines" knowing that they used the most severity toward Christian captives. Aboard the ship they were not just humiliated but even their clothes were stripped off their backs. Once in Algiers, they were surprised by the people who were shouting and thanking God for the great success and victories over many Christian dogs. The Dey of Algiers did not welcome them since he had sent to America to negotiate for peace and the latter refused. The reversal of their fortunes made them lose hope of any spark of humanity until the French **priest** appeared. The latter offered them delicious bread from his own pocket instead of the coarse one given by the taskmaster. Once in prison,

Foss witnessed the miserable conditions the captives lived in. The work not only was done from day break till the afternoon, but heavy chains were put on each man's leg, reaching up to the shoulder. Blowing rocks in the mountains was among the hard labours, which according to Foss, ran without a pause for lunch. In case of exhaustion, the captives were simply beaten until they rise again.

According to Foss, the slaves were burned or rather roasted in case of capital offenses, whereas the Turks were pardoned. The provisions, allowed to subsist on, did not enable them to perform their laborious slavery. Only those who could pay a monthly tariff were allowed to sleep in small rooms with animals, otherwise they sleep on the stone floor. In addition to the astonishing hardships and backbreaking labour, the captives suffered from a torrid climate and a diet of coarse bread and olives. When the American ambassador came to negotiate peace with the Dey, he provided them with sufficient quantity of provisions. Foss makes the point that no nation of Christendom had ever done this but America. Their relief according to him was a matter of admiration for the barbarians who endeavored to take their liberties. Because the fledgling United States had few monetary and diplomatic resources with which to negotiate these captives' release, Foss and his followers remained hostage until the summer of 1796, when Joel Barlow, helped to free the eighty-eight remaining sailors but Foss did not return to his home, Massachusetts, until August 23, 1797.The price for freedom was around a million dollars or roughly one-sixth of the federal budget.

Summary of Maria Martin's History of Captivity and Sufferings

Captured and enslaved in Algiers, Maria Martin was one of the earliest American survivors of the nineteenth century captives. She wrote her account upon her experience in captivity on her way to Cadiz to visit an aged uncle. She fell in the hands of the "Algerines" to whom she referred as "barbarians", dating the beginning of her sufferings. After their arrival to Algiers, a group of men and women appeared to rob them of whatever they please without a mere resistance. While she was deprived of her jewelleries and shoes, her fellow

mates were stripped off their clothes in return for “old duds”, hardly sufficient to cover them. Once in Algiers, people were given the opportunity to spit in the face of these Christian captives. Being selected in the slave market, separated from her mates, she was conducted to a dirty hut, with a new slave suit. The Turk brought her some “inferior” food and ammunition to make slave clothes.

Though she fulfils her work as it should be, she was not given enough food to subsist on or a comfortable place to sleep but a few branches of calabash tree. After twelve months of her confinement in this desolate and dreary hovel, one of her old mates who became his master’s favourite comforted her with his promises. She was so pleased with her mate’s announcement to be her attendant, providing her with excellent food she used to subsist on in America. He also informed her that she should not compel to do any kind of work, in case she would not be ransomed by her country, he will help her to escape. Soon, her kind fellow determined to escape with her since the indulgence for her is to embrace the religion of Mohamed. Indeed, she was said that her situation would be improved if she embraces Islam and renounces Christianity. Six weeks after her imprisonment, her trial to escape was a failure. Thus, her mate was punished and reduced to terrible conditions. Later on, she subsisted on water and coarse bread, but she was also enchained by heavy chains. Two years later, her liberty was purchased by her country.

Summary of James L. Cathcart’s the Captives, Eleven Years a Prisoner in Algiers

Aboard a ship named **Maria,** James Leander Cathcart sailed from Boston to Cadiz in 1785. The future U.S consul general to the Barbary States was among the captives who fell in the hands of the Algerines. The opening pages of his journal are an overview of Algiers and its maritime relationships and conflicts. He relates his sufferings in the very beginning of his captivity, when his articles were taken from him and his clothes were stripped of his back in exchange of old dirty shirt and brown cloth trousers. Though they met an old Arab who

comforted and welcomed them, Cathcart and his fellow men lost hope of any spark of humanity, especially when they were served a dish of black olives, rank oil and some vinegar.

His sufferings during his first days in captivity pushed Cathcart to resolve himself to bear his captivity and not give the "Mahometans" the satisfaction of seeing him rejected. Later on, he devoted the second chapter to speak about the economy of the Dey's palace and the way it runs under the different workers and slaves. Though lived in better conditions in the palace than the other slaves, he felt offended by the humiliation that the other slaves undergo and the cruelty of the Dey towards the Christians. In several occasions, the Algerines tried to convert him to Islam and abandon his Christian faith which was seen by Cathcart as the only tie which connects him to his dear country. Opening his first year in captivity, he was sent to the bagnio Belique to fulfil hard labour with a team of ugly slaves, whereas the handsome youths were sent to the palace.

In the third chapter, he fetches a detailed description of the "Bagnio Belique" and the sufferings of his fellow captives in inhuman conditions. Their situation worsened by the plague of 1785 which caused the increase of hard labour because of the death of so many slaves. After the death of so many clerks, Cathcart was appointed as a clerk of the "Bagnio Galera". His facing of the plague everyday through duties among the slaves made him believe that his being alive was under Divine Providence. As a clerk of the Bagnio Galera, he was allowed to keep a tavern in the prison, and pays only half duty of the Regency. His new life conditions enabled him to improve his situation and help his fellow sufferers. As he was trusted by the Dey, his position raised to enable him to own the "Mad House Tavern", half tavern in the Bagnio Galera, and another in "Bagnio Liddi Hamuda". In 1792, he became the secretary of the Dey and Regency of Algiers to attain the higher post a Christian can attain. His property enabled him to purchase a vessel in which he sailed to Philadelphia in 1796 after being entitled to redemption.

II. Methodology

To achieve my aim, this research paper will be divided into two chapters. The first one is a historical background which highlights the circumstances that set the ground for the captivity narratives. For the narratives I intend to deal with were written by American captives enslaved in Algiers, under the same circumstances, dealing approximately with the same themes and the same way of description. Barbary captivity narratives convey the captives' culture shock in Algiers; by drawing comparisons of every feature they encounter in their daily life through underscoring the superiority of their home culture implied by the inferiority of the land of their enslavement.

The second chapter will deal with the culture shock which is a comparison which was drawn by the captives between their country and the land of their enslavement. In fact, they seized every opportunity to distinguish themselves as opposed to "barbaric" oppressors that threaten the world's peace. This binary relation is established and highlighted through the diversion of the social norms that were prevalent in their community. Once in Algiers, they confronted not only a different religion, customs and traditions, and different ways of subsistence, clothing and gender roles. In order to reveal the signification and role of each norm in creating the captives' culture shock, I will devote a section for each. As I have already mentioned, each different clue of cultural understanding will be supported by a theory to better understand and elucidate the relevance of these clues in determining the culture shock endured by the slaves. This chapter comprises five sections in which the common themes or the clues of cultural understanding such as religion, food, clothing, gender roles and customs and traditions will be analysed since they are the focal points from which the captives' culture shock is originated.

The first section deals with the theme of religion; a subject which is prevalent in all the targeted narratives. Islam is seen as an oppressive and despotic religion through its followers' "inhuman" deeds. It is also seen as opposed to Christianity since the Muslims are known not

only for their cruelty toward Christian slaves but toward their fellow citizens. As far as the second section is concerned, it deals with the natives' sacred relation to their traditions and customs (especially weddings and funerals) which were seen as divine laws that maintained their life, whereas they were considered by the Christian captives as useless and a sign of primitiveness. As for the third section, I will highlight the notion of gender roles which also widened the gap between the captives' home culture and the land of enslavement. The captives felt a kind of sympathy toward the "Algerine" women who were oppressed and victimized unlike their American counterparts who enjoyed freedom. Their oppression is demonstrated through the veil, and the fact of being bound to their husbands.

The fourth section will deal with the theme of food which was highly emphasised by the captives for its importance in maintaining their laborious life within slavery. The inadequacy and inferiority of natives' food, according to the captives, is because it consists only of some olives, vinegar and coarse bread. Thus, the American captives reduced the natives to helpless people whose weak economy prevented them from enjoying what the American nation promotes for its people.

As far as the last section is concerned, it will deal with the theme of clothing which was grossly treated by the captives in their accounts. Aboard the ships towards enslavement, the captives were stripped off their clothes in return of some clothes that were seen as unsuitable and strange to be worn. The theme of nakedness is explored by the captives is a sign of savageness and the natives' garments are seen as contradicted to the American ideals of civilisation.

Notes

[1]. Benchérif, Osman. *The Image of Algeria in Anglo-American Writings, 1785-1962*. Maryland: Maryland University Press, 1984, p.23.

[2]. Ibid

[3]. Adler, Peter. *Culture Shock and the Cross-Cultural Learning Experience*, in Reading in intercultural Education, vol.2, 1972, p.08.

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CHAPTER ONE:

Historical Background

September 11, 2001 released the American desire to know more about the historical baggage shared by the United States of America and the Muslim world in general, and the Barbary Regencies in particular. This event pushed the Americans to ask more informed questions about the maritime relations and conflicts between the most powerful Barbary Regencies and the US which existed centuries ago. The history of seaborne conflict centred around the most famous Barbary States, Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers, as well as the Morocco which owed their allegiance to the Ottoman Empire. Actually, they were practicing piracy against the foreign ships especially Christian ones.

During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Western powers came into close contact with the Islamic cultures of the Barbary Coast of North Africa which was an area of influence. The region was of strategic military importance, and because of the strength and reach of the Ottoman Empire, it was also a rich market for overseas trade. Nevertheless, the expansion of the empire into North Africa had considerable negative consequences on the West especially America. Barbary Corsair fleets targeted Christian shipping vessels, raiding the goods and holding the people on board. Those who have been captured were returned to North Africa and either sold as slaves or imprisoned. While some individuals died in captivity or remained slaves, others managed to acclimatise and enter North African society. But few captives were able to escape and return home.[1]

From the late sixteenth century the galleys of the Moors had been preying on Christian shipping in the Mediterranean, enslaving Christian mariners and offering sanctuary to outlaws. After the loss of the British protection following the Declaration of Independence (1776), as well as the right of sailing peacefully in the Mediterranean Sea under the Algerian British treaties, Algerian corsairs then struck fear into the hearts of sailors of the new born

nation. After gaining independence from Great Britain (1783), the United States had little money to create and maintain a strong military. Under President George Washington (1789-1797), the Americans chose to protect American merchant ships by negotiating with the Barbary powers. Maintaining peace with North Africa, however, proved to be difficult. In 1795 and 1796,the secretary of State Timothy Pickering signed treaties with Algiers ,which allowed Algerian privateers to hold Americans as slaves legally if they did not produce official passports.[2]

The cross-cultural encounter between these people from different nations and opposed faiths allowed a culture clash between East and West to dominate their discussions of the Mediterranean. In the process, piracy in the Mediterranean has been falsely epitomised as a culture clash between East and West.[3] In order to facilitate their piratical acts, the corsairs often disguised their vessels as merchant ships and flew false colours to attract the Christian ships into their traps. **Renegadoes,** the Christians who were converted to Islam, often hailed the prey in the same language spoken on the merchant ship.[4]In fact, Barbary was Europe's nightmare from the twelfth to the eighteenth century. As far as the enslaved women are concerned, they were prized for their fair complexions to be served as concubines in the Dey's harem. Mrs. Maria Martin's *Journal of Sufferings* tells the story of her imprisonment in a lightless cell for over two years, simply for refusing to serve as a concubine.

Some captives converted to Islam to flee oppression and misery; sometimes they serve their rulers as advisers or join the pirates as renegades. However, some captives waited to be ransomed by their families or their governments.[5] In order to weaken Great Britain, Americans relied heavily on privateering during the American Revolution. In reality, the governments allowed their Barbary pirates to plunder vessels of their enemies and rivals. Like the Americans and French privateers, the Barbary States shared the spoils with their governments.[6]During the first four decades of its struggle for survival and national

sovereignty, the United States faced severe challenges: a fragile economy, rampant inflation, ineffective foreign diplomacy and internal and external warfare.

Today, the complex dimensions of the United States' political, military, economic, and cultural engagement with Muslim countries marked the political relationship on both sides. The conflicts between America and the Barbary Regencies of North Africa should not be contended to a dry past, yet, the US foreign policy and the way it determined itself as a prime example of a new type of nation-state is related to those sea conflicts. Lawrence Peskin in *Captives and Countrymen, Barbary Slavery and the American Public, 1785-1816* (2009) argues that the crisis between the US and Algiers will have further implications and it was the focal point which directed the US to adopt its foreign policy and shape itself as the chosen land.[7]

In her article, *Slaves in Algiers, Captives in Iraq* (2004), Anne G. Myles gives an explicit and a brief history of the Barbary corsairs' origins. Historically speaking, the Barbary captivity reaches back to 1492, when the Moors, were violently expelled from Catholic Spain, culminating centuries of crusading violence between the two religions. This expulsion generated intense hostility among Muslims toward Spain and other Christian countries. Thus, the Barbary States of Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis, and Morocco, where the Moors settled after being driven from their homes, began an extensive programme of privateering designed to attack European shipping and take slaves.[8]

Marry Louise Pratt has called the Maghreb or North Africa a **"contact zone",** or *"a special place where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often is highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination."* [9] North Africa is a place where the American captives met their African masters and where the clash of cultures occurred. The pretended superiority of the American captives and the supposed inferiority of the natives widened the gap between the two cultures and resulted in an ultimate conflict. The effect of Barbary captivity on America was not a temporary one, but it represents one

fundamental element of the American definition of itself as a free nation.The Barbary captivity was not a mere crisis in the American history, rather it shaped the first elements of American foreign policy. Paulo Fernando de Moraes Farias suggests that the word **Barbary** was a categorical label used to refer to the African slaves who opposed communication and trade, *"whose nature was like the nature of animals…behind such classification is the notion of trade as a metaphor for language or vice versa ,i.e., the symbolic equivalence of the exchange of goods."* [10]

At that time, Algiers' natural harbour was a strategic place for the pirates to launch their attacks. After successful hunts, feasts were organised to celebrate their victories and divisions of spoils occurred. The Pasha, ruler of Algiers, received one-seventh of the seized treasure and slaves. The corsair captains and their associates received the remaining slaves and cargo, while the soldiers, who boarded and captured the prey, divided the silver. Aside from plundering captured ships and selling Christians into slavery, the Barbary corsairs enslaved many men, about two hundred per vessel. These slaves were forced to fulfil hard labour and lived in terrible conditions.[11]

As it has been already mentioned, the U.S was no longer under the protection of the British navy after 1776, and some believed Britain was encouraging the attacks as their own form of vengeance. As a young nation, America could not afford to pay such heavy tribute to ransom the enslaved Americans. As a result, accounts of Barbary began to pour forth from the presses in every conceivable genre, looking to impress the readers at home. Some of these were published as part of efforts to raise money towards freeing the captives. A goal that would not be achieved until 1796, after prolonged struggle and negotiation, the New England poet and U.S. consul Joel Barlow managed to secure their release for the astonishing sum of one million dollars.[12] *"If there were no Algiers, it would be worth England's while to build one,"* quippes Benjamin Franklin, to assert the popular belief that British were encouraging

the pirates.[13]However,North Africa needed no encouragement from Britain or any other European power to attack ships of the United States. The latter was defenceless, and impoverished to pay tribute.[14] For those already enslaved, negotiation for ransoming or exchange lasted months, as America is far from Algiers. In order to arouse pity and hasten ransoming, Western captives in general described in their narrations how they *"suffered from the savagery and maltreatment of the Algerines."*[15]

One still wonders how well the American public understood those stereotypes or even had a solid idea of who or what the "Algerine" pirates were. What America knew about the Muslim world until 1970s is owed to the Barbary pirates' affair, claims Marwan Obeidat.[16]The racist portrayals and the exaggerated accounts, as well as the orientalist language which were widespread through the country in the Tripolitan War of 1801 and the Algerine War of 1815, justified the American public opinion which supported the military operations against the Barbary powers. The language used in the accounts of the Barbary captives, in the colonial American newspapers, and by the Founding Fathers demonstrates that the legend of the Barbary pirates shaped American views of the Orient, which led to the acceptance of aggressive foreign policy in the Mediterranean. In the dehumanisation of the exotic and terrifying Other, the writers of the Barbary Pirate slave narratives convinced the American public of the young nation's need to assert itself and triumph over a barbarous oppressor.[17]

Many slaves suffered from hunger, lived in terrible conditions, vulnerable to harsh punishment and hard work. However, one cannot deny that some slaves did very well in Barbary, that they did not want to return home. They had the option of converting and then were free to live as any North African Muslim. They could marry, hold titles, and will family fortunes to their Muslim children. For those who preferred to keep their faith, they could succeed in business, hold high positions in the country of captivity. James Leander Cathcart

who suffered eleven years of captivity, for instance, became an entrepreneur. He owned taverns in the bagnios, financed maritime adventures, and obtained the enviable paid position of Chief Christian Secretary to the Algerian Dey. In his position, he was able to help resolve diplomatic crises between Algiers and America, and intervene on behalf of other American slaves. After negotiating his release, Cathcart voluntarily returned to North Africa as the US Consul to Tripoli and Tunis. Several of the slave narratives mention certain freedoms they held despite their subservient status.

If a slave did have the money or leisure, he was free to enjoy the amenities of the city. Dr. Johnathan Cowdery, for example, was treated reasonably because of his medical skills which had saved the Bashaw's son. It must be mentioned that during the eighteenth and nineteenth-century, American and North African economies also had a dependence on slave labour in common. Because the captives' families were obliged to pay the ransom demanded by the North African captors, white Christian slaves were important revenue for the Barbary pirates. While the captives waited for their freedom, they were put to work to earn their freedom and profit for their masters. They did a number of things: rowing on the galleys, working on a chain gang performing construction work, or using their skills (sailing, literacy, sewing, mathematics, etc.), *"Barbary economy and society rested on slavery and slaves could be found in practically every occupation."* [18]

Much of the outrage surrounding Barbary piracy stemmed from the fact of enslaving Christian captives by Muslim privateers who demand ransom to release their captives from hard labour. Upon returning to their counties, some captives write books or publish their diaries written in Barbary. These journals describe and dramatise their time as prisoners in North Africa, sensationalised experiences and focused in exotic aspects of their captors' society. Many of the captivity accounts were published multiple times in different places and

formats. Their accounts were aimed to raise sympathy at home, in order to collect money to ransom them back to their countries.[19]

The captives' simple words of mouth circulated throughout the whole world, telling the stories of Christians, enslaved and confined to hard labour in Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. The slaves within Barbary were tallied each morning by their guardian bagnio (their keeper) in order to make their labour more organised and fruitful.[20] A Neapolitan captive wrote home from Tunis: *"we are mistreated ,beaten with sticks, starved, and called faithless dogs ,[such] that I would willingly to die and God alone knows what will happen."*[21] Those slaves helped to raise the naval power and support their national economy .In several Barbary captivity narratives, Christian captives faced the danger of conversion to Islam. Sometimes, they convert not by direct demand of their masters, but to free themselves from deplorable situation.[22]

The invention of print journalism and public sphere, in addition to events in the exotic Barbary had remarkable effect on the American mind. As a young nation, the United States of America has to build itself as an independent country. Aside from being humiliated, the captives suffered from despair and cultural shock .According to Lawrence Peskin,

> the events of the Algerian captivity crisis were among the first foreign happenings to be discussed within this developing public sphere, and consequently they both shaped and men were shaped by it.[23]

The cultural interaction that occurred centuries ago became an important issue to modern historians. The Barbary crisis was not a mere event but it influenced the history of America. It is important because it occurred when the US nation was constructing its identity. According to Lawrence Peskin, the US nation was the ideal type that was defined by the mass-media, as it is described by Benedict Anderson as the creation of *"imagined communities, rather than the notions of lineage, ethnicity."*[24] The American crisis did a favour for the Americans because it produced a sense of the necessity of a public treasury and

to get rid of the external enemy; England. Americans saw the Algerian crisis as part of the British destructing plan against USA. The Crisis contributed a great deal toward creating a shared national identity.

The crisis with Algiers taught them the real meaning of the ideal independent nation more than the American constitution did. It questioned the nature of the new nation's involvement and showed to the Americans the role that they should play on the world stage.[25]Later on, their emphasis on large fleets shifted from the Barbary crisis to defeat its European rival giant fleets. The Barbary captivity narratives according to Peskin, is the genre that could be best described as popular orientalism through its depiction of the exotic Islamic East.[26]By the end of the nineteenth century, serious construction of a US navy began as a response to North African powers which exercised great pressure through heavy ransoming funds.[27]

Though these narratives should not be relied on as strictly accurate accounts, they provide insights into daily life in Ottoman North Africa, in addition to the fact of being expressions of how one culture views another. Some captives, such as William Ray in *Horrors of Slavery* (1808), uses his experience as a Barbary slave to criticise slavery in America. Barbary slaves suffered hard labour, poor diets, and demeaning circumstances, much like their African counterparts in the United States. However, white captives could often escape slavery by converting to Islam and adopting North Africa as their home. Whether accurate or forged, the narratives helped to shape the public views of Barbary at home, and contributed to the public's support for sending naval forces to the Mediterranean. Letters from the captives, even from illiterate ones, played a central role in moving the information to and from North Africa. These letters in addition to newspapers had bombarded the readers with valuable information about Barbary life in Algiers. The captives who started writing from

their arrival in Algiers had great effect not only on their recipients but on the whole republic who heard about them.[28]

Humphrey Fisher, in his study of slavery in Muslim Africa, concludes that while Christian whites were a very small minority of the slaves taken for ransom, they represented the loudest slave voices from north Africa.[29] By the 1620s, the Barbary captivity narrative had begun to establish itself as a recognisable genre in Europe. The genre gained height of popularity in the colonies during the American Revolution and were soon thereafter compared with black American slave narratives, argues Angela Sutton in her article, *Atlantic Orientalism* (2009).[30] According to Paul Baepler, Barbary captivity narratives didn't flourish in the United States until the early nineteenth century. During these years, Barbary captivity narratives emerged to depict the captives' life and sufferings in North Africa. These accounts defined what the Americans think about African rulers. The American government with its funding problems as a young nation not only was forced to free the captives by paying ransom funds, but also to build its own fleet in order to assert itself against its rivals.[31]

These accounts helped to shape and change US history down to its very roots. They explore cultural changes, divisions, and differences occasioned by the captives' cultural crossings. The fact of being captured in remote and exotic North Africa pushed the Americans to establish identities and hierarchies through their narratives. For the captors, the narratives were the means with which they can convince the Americans at home to pay the ransom funds to free the captives from their plight in Barbary. The language they rely on in the narratives was the language of sensibility to impress the readers. Though the captives' narratives were less spread, they revealed the power of written word to men whose freedom depended on the efficacy of communication web at that time.[32]

Upon their first arrival to Algiers, the American captives were stripped of their clothing. Later on, they were put on a sale as Christian slaves, who were disoriented and anxious about

their situation. In order to keep the crisis in the public eye, the narratives were loaded with heavy sensibility and Christian rhetoric in order to impress the readers by desperate appeals to the sentiments of their correspondents. In their narratives, they asserted that their suffering was beyond their imagination, the language of human beings cannot describe their miserable situation. Some captives lost hope of escaping slavery especially after serious plagues. They even felt themselves as the victims of American independence.[33]

In fact, the Americans wanted to build a strong fleet not only to defeat the Algerians and save their countrymen, but to show for its enemies, namely Great Britain, that they are maintaining the honour of the US when the idea of America as a new nation was just a new one. Even churches were collecting donations to save the captives from their plight. At first, the Americans did not take actions to redeem the slaves. First of all, because they were interested in resolving the economic and political problems which were the roots of this crisis. Furthermore, they were not acquainted with Barbary captivity.[34]

In 1797, Royal Tyler, a respected New England jurist and a voracious reader of Barbary accounts, published *The Algerine Captive*, the fictitious diary of a ship surgeon named Updike Underhill. Captured and enslaved by the corsairs, Underhill suffered hunger, insult and fatigue within Barbary. However, none of these prevents him from criticising the institutions of the enslaving country. Tyler concludes his tale by reminding Americans of the necessity of uniting their federal strength to enforce a due respect among other nations and that their first object is union among themeseves.[35]Following the abolition in Massachussets,1788,Captain Isaac Stephens, who suffered in captivity blamed the Americans whom he described as hypocrites for freeing the "negroes" and leaving the American captives suffer in Barbary.[36]Events in Algiers influenced the public imagination, through the publication of captivity narratives which compared the Algerian slavery with the American one. Influenced by the widespread impact of post-Revolutionary movement, the captives frequently contrast

slavery with the secular ideals of the Declaration of Independence than with the teaching of Christianity.[37]

Much as an explorer ,the captive recounts the discovery, noting the place ,the climate, the natural resources, and especially the manner and physical appearance of people encountered within Barbary.[38] Through underscoring their superiority reflected by the inferiority of their captors, the captives dramatised the conflict between Western civilisation and African barbarity. Most of the captives returned home, bringing their tales within slavery. Usually, they relied in their journals on biblical references to relate their ordeal. These references were used to depict their sufferings as Christians within Muslim slavery. In the Bible, the prison is the potential means for reforming criminals so they could be returned to society as upright citizens. That is why the captives are seeing their captors as tyrants for imprisoning them without being accused of doing anything wrong. The notion of suffering is repeated through the narratives in reference to Jesus Christ' sufferings.

Thus, they define boundaries between the captive's identity and that of the captor. Upon their first arrival to the land of captivity, the captives establish themselves in opposition to their masters by making themselves superior. In *Orientalism* (2003), Edward Said argues that Orientalism is a discourse informed by notions that the West is strong, upright, and rational, while the Orient is weak, passive and irrational.[39] Their pretended superiority and the product of the enlightenment and the scientific revolution pushed the captives to claim the civilising mission in order to free these savages from the shackles of barbarism. These narratives painted such a black image of their captors who were shown as monstrous figures. James L. Cathcart describes bizarre episodes in a land where the comfort of wild animals is favoured over the health and safety of civilised men:

> The greatest inconvenience in this prison is in consequence of the lions and tigers being kept which creates an insufferable stench, which joined to the common shore of the hospital which communicates with that of the prison corrodes the atmosphere that in summer season it is nearly suffocating […]Cats are likewise eaten from mere

> necessity[…] During the plague this prison, in consequence of its communication with the hospital, had the greatest number of its inhabitants destroyed with that contagion.[40]

The slaves slept in overcrowded bagnios, a place where the slave sleep, and were vulnerable to harsh corporal punishment by arbitrary drivers for minor diseases, and many died before returning home. The slaves suffered greatly in captivity and were forced to live under miserable conditions, sleep with droves of vermin, bake under the desert sun, strain at the galley oars, and face inhuman punishments. For instance, Cathcart describes the miserable conditions he lived in the bagnio "*in which they sleep…several small rooms, where the slaves sleep. And they must pay a certain sum, and many are obliged to sleep every night upon the cold stones with nothing but heathens to cover them, for want of money to pay the tribute*".[41]The suffering of the captives is also demonstrated through their depictions of the notorious prison, the bagnio belique. In Cathcart's portrait of Algiers, the world is turned upside-down. In her turn, Maria Martin in *History of the Captivity and Sufferings* (1807) relates her sufferings and imprisonment in Barbary. After her trial to escape slavery with her mate ,she was chained and her conditions were reduced to worse than ever:

> They no sooner entered than they began the barbarous work of chaining me; an enormous collar was fixed round my neck, and another still larger round my waste [sic].This ring was five feet from the ground, and only allowed me to sit down on the stool above mentions. They next riveted [sic] two iron rings around each of my wresters, to each of which a chain was fixed […].The enormous iron round my neck pained me, and prevented motion. The chains that descended from the neck collar were obliged to be supported first with on hand, and then with the other, for, if thrown behind, they would have strangled me, and, if hanging forwards occasioned most excessive headaches.[42]

Sometimes, the Barbary captives were threatened not only by being cast into the strange wilderness, replete with spectacular physical dangers but by being dragged into the heretical Islamic world where a person's soul might be lost forever.[43]This is particularly the case for the captives who were forced to travel across great expanses of the desert and mountains. According to John Foss in his *Journal of Captivity and Sufferings,* the fulfillment of hard work was without a pause even for lunch. Furthermore, he comments on the circumstances in which the labour runs, *"the greatest part of their work is blowing rocks in the Mountains.*

While some are drilling the holes, others" diging" the earth of those rocks…They roll them to the bottom of the mountain."[44]

Four decades later, the theme of hardship within Barbary captivity was issued by Elijah Shaw (1843).Upon his capture, Shaw took his place alongside a team of men who were forced to transport four ton stones to reinforce the ramparts that had been damaged by U.S. cannonades: "*we worked bare-headed and bare-footed; and the climate being very warm, our necks and feet were burnt to a perfect blister. Add to this the soreness of our backs from the frequent application of the whips, and famished condition of our bodies, and the reader can form some idea of our suffering."*[45]

The tortured slaves suffer further when they complain about their treatment and receive the bastinado (beating with a stick) : "*if anyone chance to faint, and fall down with fatigue, they generally beat them until they are able to rise again… the most Tyrannical guardian, or taskmaster…If anyone chance to faint, and fall down with fatigue, they generally beat them until they are able to rise again."*[46] Foss and his followers felt that they were victims of arbitrary power and barbarous despotism due to the strange land where they were enslaved, far distant from all the connections. Added to this, they lived in miserable exiles from their countries and suffered cruel punishments.

In *Christian Slaves, White Masters* (2004), Robert. C .Davis claims that *"between 1530 and 1780 there were almost certainly a million and quite possibly as many as a million and quarter White, European Christians enslaved by the Muslims and their world."*[47]Mathew Carey in *A Short History of Algiers* (1794), like Foss, notes that most rivers there might be used for transportation but not one was even bridged. Such arguments resemble contemporary descriptions of the Native Americans as lacking civilisation because they lived in a supposedly unimproved wilderness.[48]According to Peskin, *The Journal of Captivity and Suffering* (1798) of John Foss is the most ambitious eighteenth-century narrative. Although

slavery is a central theme in Foss' narrative, no hint was found about slavery in America, the author's home country.

It must be mentioned that, James L. Cathcart's account is a kind of continuation of what had already been written by John Foss. Despite Foss' no elite maritime background, he was one of the earliest eyewitness accounts of Algiers written by an American. Actually, he was among the individuals who found their way into the growing public sphere and influenced the public opinion.[49] Foss seems sympathetic to the North Africans when he writes, *"still, we may derive some useful lessons from these barbarians."*[50] When a man that he met early in his captivity offered Foss an entire cake. The latter writes that it *"was the greatest deed of charity I ever knew from a Mahometan during my residence in this wretched place."*[51]Edward Said has noted that a major part of western culture is the idea of western identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-western peoples and culture.[52]

It is clear that the majority of captives used their accounts to demonstrate their cultural superiority. The captives employed a range of binary oppositions in their work to contrast the law abiding Americans against the Muslims. In discussing the differences in governance, Thomas Pellow cited in Paul Baepler' s *White Slaves, African Masters* (1999) observes:

> Here (in Morocco) we may see the dangerous Consequences of arbitrary power, and thank GOD that we are governed by such wholesome Law […] whereby everyone is allowed fair Trial in Matters of Life and Death […], those unhappy People who are subject to Arbitrary Tyrants, are To-day rich and great, To-morrow Beggars, often losing their Lives and Estates, all without being heard, or any daring to enquire for why or whereof.[53]

As he has argues, in captivity narratives Africans are commonly depicted as barbaric savages, rarely if ever portrayed as noble or exemplary.[54]The captives' accounts contain numerous religious analogies, and they describe their experiences using biblical language and imagery. For example, when Thomas Pellow first landed, he writes: "*fell to my Knees, offering up my most hearty Thanks to Almighty God, for my so wonderful and miraculous Deliverance, and the Sight once more of Christian Land."*[55]The captives frequently pay

homage to the exemplary American nation and emphasise their national identity to demonstrate their commitment to the state. Captivity accounts depict Americans confronting differences in race, religion, and nationalities. These stories remind the reader that Islam has long occupied the minds of Westerners through captivity and encounter, had a tremendous impact on the culture and climate of the west in general and America in particular.

According to Paul Baepler, the Barbary conflict became a part of American public spectacle; wax museums exhibited Barbary scenes and shows held benefit performances for the ransomed captives. The American public was already familiar with the Barbary conflict through the captivity literature which painted the picture of this despotic world.[56]The so-called despotism of the Arabs was reinforced by Archibald Robbins who was not sure if the Arabs could be called human beings.[57]They were always compared to wild animals with red flashing or fiery eyes. The Arabs were portrayed as not entirely human; they were rather monsters in human shape. He argues that by recalling when the Arabs in her caravan devoured half a camel like "ravenous wolves."[58] Robbins states that these Arabs are not only barbarous but also ignorant, who conduct beastly manners.[59] In addition to Archibald Robbins, James Riley notices that their Arab masters were accustomed to hardships, did not complain about fatigue, and endured thirst and hunger better than any other people under heaven.[60]

Whether fiction or real, the narratives tackled the test of conversion of the narratives' protagonists. Cathcart's account is a sample which best illustrates this theme, as well as the fictional Maria Martin narrative, John Foss, and Royal Tyler. As a rule, the protagonists of these stories endure their miserable situation instead of accepting to abandon Christianity in favour of Islam. Tyler's debate with the Mullah does not bring any change in his faith, rather, it helps to construct a stable identity.[61]It becomes clear that early notions of American identity found its origin in the heart of that cross-cultural encounter, within the prisons and the

dungeons of Barbary Captivity. Paul Baepler contends that the Indian captivity narrative has completely overshadowed the story of North African abduction. While the prevalence and influence of the Indian captivity narrative should not be denied, the Barbary captivity narrative was also popular and important to American culture.[62] In fact, he draws a comparison between Indian and Barbary captivity narrative, describing the former as being the first literary genre in America. Baepler argues:

> A closer examination of these narratives suggests a reciprocal influence between the representation of Indian and Barbary captivity in which Africans are viewed as Indians and natives of North and South America are pictured as Africans. The Barbary captivity narrative also invites a comparison between white slaves in Africa and black slaves in America. It is through this reflection that the figure of the vengeful black master emerges and the threat of slave insurrection intensifies. Scholars of American literature have often made the claim that the Indian captivity narrative represents this country's first literary genre, perhaps because the violent clash between indigenous people and colonists created the unique context for the development of what would become the prevailing culture of this nation, one predicated on liberation and freedom even as it colonized and enslaved.[63]

The description of the native Indians shifted to conceptual images associated with indigenous Americans to describe the Africans. Foss describes the Moors as a *"spare set of people, not much inclining to fat, and very dark in complexion, much like the Indians in North America."*[64] Just as the American Indians were described as demons, the North Africans were also seen with the same racist views. The Barbary captivity narratives and their Indians counterparts influenced each other for the connection they establish between the black slave writer in America and the white captive narrator in Africa. Thus, they can be viewed both as two facets of a single story of captors and captives. Baepler questions the adaptability of the Barbary captivity narrative, its evolution, and its rise in popularity just as the country began to define itself.[65]

Actually, the narratives helped to construct the American identity and portrayed a susceptible phase in the US and the world's history. *"Unfortunately, no scholar has extensively collected the publication data on the Barbary histories in the way that the publication history of the captivity narratives has been documented,"*[66] states Paul Baepler.

Thus, what was already known about captivity was known from Barbary literature prevalent at that time. In his commentary on nineteenth-century travel writing, Edward Said notes that people, places, and experiences can always be described by a book, so much so that the book (or text) acquires a greater authority, and use, even than the actuality it describes.[67]

Notes

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CHAPTER TWO:

The Culture Shock

> Whenever an American moves overseas, he suffers from a condition known as **"culture shock."** Culture shock is simply a removal or distortion of many of the familiar cues one encounters at home and the substitution for them of other cues which are strange. A good deal of what occurs in the organization and use of space provides important leads as to the specific cues responsible for culture shock.[1]

These are the words Edward T.Hall in *The Silent Language* (1959), analysing the situation of any American who moves from his context to embrace another world with new cultural norms. He claims that, *"our senses are bombarded by a strange language, different smells, and gestures, as well as a host of signs and symbols. However, the fact that those who have been in a foreign country for some time talk about these things provides the newcomer with advance warning."*[2]What happens to this American is called **"Culture Shock"** which was faced by thousands of Americans within Barbary Captivity. Hall identifies Culture Shock it as being *"the way of life of a people, for the sum of their learned behaviour patterns, attitudes, and material things."* [3] He further asserts that Culture is not one thing, but many, where no one basic unit or elemental particle, no single is isolate for all culture.[4]

Hall, he gives an explicit definition not only of culture, but also for culture and its intrinsic relationship with people: "*The one thing that is quite clear, however, is that man is bound as long as he remains ignorant of the nature of the hidden pathways culture provides for him."* [5] Moreover, he shows the best way that enables Man to use culture to make his life more ecstatic, *"Man did not evolve culture as a means of smothering himself but as a medium in which to move, live, breathe, and develop his own uniqueness. In order to exploit it he needs to know much more about it."*[6] He asserts that the most difficult point to clear is that not only is culture imposed upon man but it is man in a greatly expanded sense. Thus, Culture can be defined as the link between human beings and the means they have of interacting with

others.[7] As it has been already mentioned in the introduction Culture Shock is defined by Peter Adler a *"a form of anxiety that results from the loss of commonly perceived and understood signs and symbols of social intercourse* […] *disoriented, afraid of, and alienated from the things that he knows and understands."* [8]

This chapter is actually intended the show the culture shock witnessed by the captives in Barbary.Browsing their journals, one can notice the antagonism between America and Algiers through every aspect and feature they encounters in their daily life in slavery. Being separated from their home culture, the captives were confronted with different culture which involved unusual norms of cultural understanding such as, religion, food, clothing, gender roles, customs and traditions.Hall states that:

> In the cross-cultural situation the first thing that a person will learn about another society is the existence of certain formal sets. These are either pointed out right away or they are so obvious that they cannot be missed. Yet in many cases the newcomer never gets beyond this first step.[9]

In dealing with their Culture Shock within Barbary, these captives were determined to mark this Shock by accentuating their superiority as Americans, and the Algerines' inferiority. These narratives highlight the distinct features between America and Algiers through an ethnocentric standpoint. Thus, an anthropological framework will be adopted, since two communities will be compared. In *The Silent Language* (1959), Hall states that*"what I am dealing here are the various ways in which societies and their components are organized or structured."*[10] The book outlines a broad theory of culture and describes how its rules control people's lives. Hall explains the importance of the silent language in our daily lives for he states that:

> most of our silent language even though they use it every day. They are not conscious of the elaborate patterning of behavior which prescribes our handling of time, our spatial relationships, our attitudes toward work, play, and learning. In addition to what we say with our verbal language we are constantly communicating our real feelings in our silent language- the language of behavior. Sometimes this is correctly interpreted by other nationalities, but more often it is not.[11]

This chapter will be supplemented by five sections in which the common themes or the clues of cultural understanding such as religion, food, clothing, gender roles, customs and traditions, will be analysed since they are the focal points from which the captives' culture shock is originated.Collen Ward in *The Psychology of Culture Shock* (2005) states that the effective intercultural interactions are often hampered by the fact that participants are unaware of the subtle, culturally-defined rules and regulations that govern social encounters. These include verbal and nonverbal forms of communication as well as etiquette, the use of time, and strategies for resolving conflict.[12]

Indeed, this culture shock was due to the different cultural norms that they met within Barbary. Thus, the conflict between the two nations, America and Algiers is cultural rather than political or economic one. Accordingly, the variations and differences which exist in what have already been defined by Edward Hall is the heart of the conflict between the two communities, originating from the captives' experience within Barbary captivity. Thus, it is useful to rely on Thomas Huntington's *The Clash of Civilisations* (1993):

> It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future.[13]

Huntington's theory principally revolves around the clash between the civilisations of "the West" and "Islam", recognising the "bloody borders" between Islamic and non-Islamic civilisations. By constructing North Africa as monstrous, Americans were able to portray their country as just and honourable. The way in which Americans view the Barbary powers, therefore, allowed the young republic to construct itself as a free nation. The idea of the American identity as superior to that of the Barbary States allowed America to invoke principles in its wars with North Africa. Although America did not go on to colonise North

Africa, it did inherit the European views of imperial expansion. The Barbary Wars were one of the early manifestations of this mindset.

Beyond embodying the problems facing Americans, the captivity narratives offer a story of American strength, endurance and even prosperity. They persistently explore cultural changes, divisions, and differences occasioned by the captives' cultural crossings. In telling a different story structured on different cultural values (food, clothes, religion, gender roles, and customs and traditions),the narrator portrays the host culture as not only different from the one left at home, but also inferior and exotic. Hence, the captives paved the way to future conflicts between the nations involved in the play:

> Contact between culturally diverse individuals is as old as recorded history. People brought up in one culture have always visited other societies to trade with, learn from, or exert influence in foreign lands. Most societies have experienced visitors from abroad, welcoming them if their motives were seen to be benevolent, or resisting the newcomers if they came to invade, pillage, or exploit.[14]

The Barbary captivity narratives at the very moment of change and unrest, in young America, expressed the panic produced by the destabilisation of categories of whiteness and U.S. citizenship. In *The Declaration of Independence* (1776) in which Americans attempted to shake off the yoke of the British leviathan, Thomas Jefferson proclaims : *"we hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable right; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."*[15]The fact of being created equal and free did not imply the right of living so within the Barbary Captivity. As it has been already mentioned, during the eighteenth century, a large number of Americans were captured by the Algerian Barbary pirates and enslaved in Algiers. They were persecuted and suffered till their death or their liberation. Actually, during the eighteenth century America was nothing more than a new nation.

It is widely argued that crossing cultures entails travellers' entrance into different sets of languages, rituals, and institutions, making identities as discursive practices. The captives'

plight within Barbary raised the possibility that whites have a cultural identity that can be named, evaluated, and revised. The captives' experience of captivity and crossing cultures occasioned their revision of identities and of the genres that constitute them.The American man is, in reality, a "New Man". He viewed himself as a blessed human being, his thought as the basis of what Franklin Roosevelt requires: *"we must be the great arsenal of democracy."*[16] This New Man sought to define the rich meaning that human nature contained the twin concepts: liberty and equality. The American saw liberty as individualistic and natural concept giving every human being the right of exercising his will in a defined society. America was settled as the first paradise that the future American had dreamed of; a new land where he could live free, equal and far from persecution.

Influenced by the ideas of Enlightenment, the Americans built their nation, shaking off what they inherited from the British to give birth to their Imagined Community. According to Lawrence Peskin, the US nation was the ideal type that was defined by the mass-media, as it is described by Benedict Anderson as the creation of *"imagined communities, rather than the notions of lineage, ethnicity."*[17]This community was built thanks to the initiative of people who believed in the concept of freedom based upon an autonomous human subject who is capable of acting in a conscious manner. Peskin argues that *"the new nation was a product of the very Enlightenment-era liberalism that Jurgen Habermas found so necessary for the development of what he termed the "bourgeois ," or liberal ,public sphere."*[18]

According to Alexander Hamilton *"In its simplest sense the Enlightenment was the creation of a new framework of ideas about man, society and nature, which challenged existing conception rooted in a traditional world-view ,dominated by Christianity."*[19]Empirical observation, reason and science are major themes of the Enlightenment project. It was the Age of Reason during the second half of the eighteenth century. In The *Sacred and the Profane* (1957) Mercia Eliade argues:

> Modern nonreligious man assumes a new existential situation; he regards himself solely as the subject and agent of history, and he refuses all appeal to transcendence. In other words, he accepts no model for humanity outside the human condition as it can be seen in the various historical situations. Man makes himself, and he only makes himself completely in proportion as he desacralizes himself and the world. The sacred is the prime obstacle to his freedom. He will become himself only when he is totally demysticized. He will not be truly free until he has killed the last god.[20]

The "Algerines" are considered as primitive people because they limit themselves in the same spot drawn by their ancestors without questioning or understanding what surrounds them. Instead of a God-ordained society, Americans "*spoke of reason; instead of regarding sin as inherent in man, they pinned their faith to human perfectibility and believed that education could the human personality."*[21] Primitive people undertake to attain a religious ideal and attempt to imitate mythic models that are already present in their communities. They keep sacredness in their life and obstinate themselves from progress. They believe that everything is predestined by God. In this way, they show a faith in the power of human beings to eradicate misery and eventually create happiness. William Shaler in *Sketches of Algiers* (1984) declares that the Algerines *"affirmed* that *the destiny of every man was indelibly imprinted by the hand of Allah upon his front."*[22] In his turn, Mercia Eliade comments about this argument saying that the religious man is not given, but he makes himself by approaching the divine models. Thus, this religious man regards himself as made by history of gods. Whereas the profane insists that he is constituted only by human history.[23]

Once in America, the captives identified themselves with Hebrews who fled tyranny of Egypt. However, many Americans linked the imprisonment of the captives to that of the nation .Thus, they wanted war with Algiers instead of paying ransom funds following their leader, Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson provided so many reasons for going to war. Firstly, justice demanded that the captors of American citizens would be punished. Secondly, America's honour as a free nation required defense. Jefferson was adamant that going to war would cost less than paying tribute. Furthermore, going to war would centralise and therefore

strengthen the federal government by providing it with "*the instruments of coercion over its delinquent members."*[24] In her turn, Maria Martin, in *History of the Captivity and Sufferings of Maria Martin* (1807), insists that *"the imprisoning of female captives would be considered barbarous [sic] in other countries, and was contrary to the law of nations."* [25] By fighting Algiers, America would earn respect in Europe, which would lend an advantage in future economic, dealings with the current European superpowers. However, John Adams, who ardently opposed warring with the Barbary powers, nevertheless looked upon North Africa through Orientalist eyes as well, presuming that *"if we could even send a force sufficient to burn a town… their unfilling governors would only insult and deride."*[26] Thomas Jefferson's reply to such ideas was that it would be humiliating to the United States to treat with *"such enemies of the human race,"* [27] as if the Barbary pirates or their regencies are not a part of that race.

This spirit of American exceptionalism manifest itself in Foss' belief that the United States' government and citizenry served as idealistic templates for the rest of the world to emulate. The slaves exclaimed that though they are slaves, they are gentlemen, *"the American people must be the best in the world to be so human and generous to their countrymen in slavery."*[28] Foss' perceptions of Americans, after his experiences with the inhabitants of Algiers, harken back the stereotypes that preachers in the United States have been establishing for generations. Instead of seeing themselves as victims, the captives consider themselves as heroes who acted bravely against savages in Africa defending their raising republic. They view themselves as civilising savages of all sorts.[29] An American in Tripoli observes: *"how delightful it was see the stars and stripes holding forth the hand of retributive justice to* the *barbarians, and rescuing the unfortunate, even of distant but friendly European nation ,from slavery."*[30] Due to their capture, white captives found themselves in contexts that necessitated a revision of the discourses of knowledge and identity that control the borders of white

society. In other words, crossing cultures forced white captives to question the constitutive binaries of civilised and savage, free and captured, Christian and Muslim, race and nation, on which their identities were based.

Like Foss, Cathcart connects his imprisonment to that of the American nation, *"I was convinced that the honor of our country was connected with our redemption."*[31] Their country at that time lacked direct diplomatic means to negotiate the captives' release. The United States at that time was not totally free, though it separated itself from Great Britain, because it could not free its own citizens. Cathcart writes of the feeling of being cast off:

> Why are we left the victims of arbitrary power and barbarous despotism, in a strange land far distant from all our connections, miserable exiles from the country of which we have fought, forgotten by our co(n)temporaries who formerly used to animate us in all our expedition with tales of liberty.[32]

Browsing the captives' accounts, one can notice their use of Biblical references to depict their sufferings as Christians within Muslim slavery. The notion of sufferings is well repeated in the narratives. Maria Martin's captivity narratives is a case in point which best illustrates the overuse of this notion:

> My fortitude after some time, began to revive; I glowed with the desire of convincing the world I was capable of suffering what man had never suffered before […] What must the sufferings of a female be who is confined in a dungeon so damp, so dark, so horrible, without bed or straw ,her limbs loaded as mine were, with no refreshment but dry mouldy bread, without so much as a drop of broth, without a consoling friend, and who under these afflictions, trust for her recovery to the efforts of nature alone.[33]

Through their narratives, the captives drew a kind of comparison between their ideal Christian teachings and the harsh treatment they suffered from within captivity. In the Bible, the prison is the potential means for reforming criminals so they could be returned to society as upright citizens. That is why the captives look at their captors as tyrants for imprisoning them without being accused of something wrong. The notion of suffering is repeated through the narratives as a reference to Jesus Christ' sufferings. Though different in conditions, prisons are the source of great suffering, for they hurt because they contradict the American

captives notion of humanity. Indeed, Americans perceive themselves as free creatures in the image of freedom, loving God. In the New Testament, prison often serves as an instrument of religious persecution.[34]Prisoners in the Bible are thus always depicted as the victims of injustice, and stories about prisoners are invariably told from the point of view of the prisoner, not from the perspective of who did the imprisoning.[35]

According to the Christian teachings, Jesus Christ ministry of feeding the hungry, healing the sick, forgiving the guilty, embracing the outsider, loving the enemy and confronting the oppressor is a fleshing out of his proclamation of release to the captives.[36]The New Testament calls on believers to demonstrate practical care for those in prison .It is also concerned with those who finished their sentences and face the struggle of re-entering the hostile community as it is the case with the captives ransomed back from Barbary.

The Americans not only praise themselves as the blessed human beings, but their values and social norms are also considered as being the ideal norms that the other nations must follow. Through his study of the anthropology of different counties, Hall comments on the notion of time by saying that the Americans not only schedule time, but look ahead towards the future. They are preoccupied with change and want to know how to overcome resistance to change. According to him, time is handled much like a material, and somewhat immoral to have two things going on at the same time.[37] He further asserts that *"there are those, of a psychological bent, who would say that we are obsessed with time [….] We have stressed this aspect of culture and developed it to a point unequalled anywhere in the world, except, perhaps, in Switzerland and north Germany."*[38] In America, individuals are much more direct in how they express themselves. They place a greater emphasis on explicit communication and telling it as it is, even if that may cause pain.[39] Moreover, the Other's lack of culture is another Western construction. The "Other" is projected as the opposite to the civilised West.

The notion of time is one of the focal points on which the captives based their own outlook of the Barbary world and its inferiority. The way of appreciating or handling time marked the difference between the so-called civilised America and the inferior Algeria. According to Collen Ward, people from complex cultures pay attention to time which is seen "*as money, to be spent, to be saved or, in unfortunate circumstances, to be wasted."* [40] Hall gives a concise definition of the time in the Western world, and specifically in America where the Americans tend to think of time as something fixed in nature, something from which they cannot escape. Whereas in other cultures time is ranked much lower than Americans.[41] When meetings between persons from more and less complex cultures , the latter may be perceived as rude, and lazy.[42] In the narratives, people within captivity are shown as idles, without any consideration to time:

> The Turks were not only despotic in comparison to the Arabs and Moors, but they were also stereotyped as lazy and indolent. In commenting on the inhabitants of the metropolis of Algiers, Stevens wrote, ―Both the men and women spend a great part of their time in indolence, the men in drinking coffee and smoking, and the women in dressing, bathing, conversing on their sophas, visiting the tombs of their relations, and walking in their gardens.[43]

The "Algerines", according to the captives, are just slaves of sensual appetites; they devote their entire days to useless things such as smoking and sipping coffee in coffee houses. They do not devote time to reading or improving their mind.[44]Whereas Americans tend to function independently, primarily looking after themselves and their immediate families. Competition rather than cooperation is valued, unlike the "Algerines" who emphasise collectivism, where the notion of family is overestimated .As far as the native women are concerned, they spend their whole time in partying. They keep busy continually going to weddings and feasts that other women host throughout the year. They are not only content to dance away the whole day, the women dance well the night too, and a husband has to be all the time looking out that his woman returns to her home.[45] This notion of carelessness is repeated through the narratives to accentuate the lessening of time importance in the

"Algerines" ' daily life, on the one hand. On the other hand, Americans are shown as the most vigilant people in the use of time. Hall States that the eastern Mediterranean Arabs make fewer distinctions than the Americans do. In the Arab world, it is almost impossible to get someone to experience the difference between waiting a long time. Arabs simply do not make this temporal distinction.[46]

The idea of the Americans' progress is one of Enlightenment principles. The quest for better future is highly issued through the narratives and strengthened by what has been written by Hall, *"As a rule, Americans think of time as a road or a ribbon stretching into the future, along which one progresses. The road has segments or compartments which are to be kept discrete ("one thing at a time"). People who cannot schedule time are looked down upon as impractical.*" [47] The "Algerines" are portrayed as aimless wanderers. As if they are living their daily life in a haphazard way, as animals which are looking for their biological needs. Hall issues this idea in order to put the United States of America in an invulnerable state while other people are born just to dwell in without paying attention to what surrounds them:

> Yet there are millions of people in the world who know exactly what they are going to have, if they are to have anything at all. They will eat the same thing they had today, yesterday, and. the day before. For us it is a matter of importance whether or not there is variety in life […] without constant innovation we could never keep our industrial plant expanding.[48]

The Orient is labelled backward, savage childlike ,immature and described by the westerners as living in a time and a way manner that is very distant from the " Self ", which is portrayed as cultured, matured and so no. This hegemonic form of difference was a construct that conformed to western ideology.[49] The image of white captive in Africa nevertheless evokes comparison to the black slave in the United States and affirms Africans as "barbarous" ,"*these Africans of every name and feature and complexion, take delight in enslaving each other,.....it can hardly be expected that an American, who has for months and years been enslaved by then ,can feel so much compassion towards a slave here as these do who have always enjoyed the blessing of humanity and liberty."*[50]

The captives and their followers felt that they were victims of arbitrary power and barbarous despotism due to the strange land where they are enslaved, far distant from all the connection, *"people who are imprisoned away from light where they cannot tell whether it is day or not apparently lose practically all sense of the passage of time. They become disoriented and if kept away long enough they may lose their minds,"*[51] affirms Hall. They also lived in miserable exiles from their countries and suffered cruel punishments. In this sense, Foss comments:

> There is a cruel punishment, for Christian captives, for capital offences. Sometimes they are burned; or rather roasted alive. At other times they are impaled. This is done by placing the criminal upon a sharp iron stake, and thrusting it up his posteriors, by his back bone' till, it appears at the back of his neck.[52]

While Americans sympathise with each others, the Arabs quarrel among themselves. In captivity narratives, the Arabs are portrayed as cruel towards their own men. James Riley describes an important scene in which two Arabs clash over who properly own American captives:

> The cut each other over my head, and on every side of me with their bright weapons, which fairly whizzed through the air within an inch of the naked body, and on every side of me, now hacking each other's arms apparently to the bone, then laying their ribs bare with gashes, while their heads, hanbs, and tights, received a full share of cuts and wounded. The blood streaming from every gash, ran down their bodies, colouring and heightening the natural hideousness of their appearance.[53]

The notion of "barbarism" is also used in Maria Martin's account. From the first sight of the "Algerines", upon her capture abroad the American ship with her fellow men, she refers to them as "barbarians":

> From this moment I must date the commencement of my sufferings. The barbarians were no sooner on board, than they began their favourite work, cutting, maming [sic] and literally butchering, all that they found on deck. Having succeeded in clearing the deck of the sloop's people, they clouded the hatches upon those who had sought shelter below, and took charge of our vessel, altering her course.[54]

Those "barbarians", according to Foss, are also cruel and severe even toward their fellow citizens. The Dey is the absolute monarch who commands deeds of inhumanity to be

committed. This is well demonstrated in Foss's account through the tyranny of the Dey of Algiers who is mentioned various times. Whereas the Dey lives in extravagance and luxury, his people live meanly though their country produces conveniences and luxuries of life, "*the people in the country, have no houses, but live in tents, and as many other accidental circumstances may happen."*[55] Furthermore, his cruelty is evident through the rigid laws he imposes on his people, Foss notes:

> The Dey inform the Bey what sum he must pay him the ensuring year and then the Bey goes with a large number of cavalry, and if they make the least resistance, or even intimate that they are dissatisfied with his proceeding, he cuts off their heads and sends them in triumph to the Dey's Palace to the gate Babazoon, and exposed to public view, then they bury it .[56]

George Washington's government did everything to free the captives: *"government took the most effectual measures, and the most liberal means were provided, to redeem the unfortunate men."*[57] He even proclaimed a fast day to ask God to help them to release the captives. In a letter, Washington's government addressed its citizens of the United States of America held in Algiers, comforting them:

> There is not a good man in the United States of America who is not you hearty friend, and who would do everything in his power for your assistance…wherever I may go, or however I may employed, I will never cease to think of you or to labour in your behalf…that you may yet live to embrace your friends, to see good days, and to be convinced that no country in the world has greater regard for its suffering sons than you own .[58]

Browsing his Journal, one can notice the tendency of Foss to show the superiority of America over Algiers .It is the case with Western texts in general, where the primacy and centrality of the West over the Orient as a guiding force. Therefore, the Oriental is generally regarded as primitive whereas the Westerner is civilised. This myth is among the first popular ones that can be found throughout the captivity narratives.[59] Foss describes the Turks as *"well built robust people, their complexion not unlike Americans tho 'somewhat larger, but their dress, and long beard, make them appear more like monsters than human beings."*[60] He was captured in the coast of Algiers ,undoubtedly, there were some ethnically Turkish people of

the Ottoman Empire present, but Foss referred to everyone in the area as Turkish, indicating that he knew a little of the ethnic makeup of the region and was unable to tell apart the various people residing in Algiers. From the extract, it is also apparent that the criterion for what qualifies a human being is decidedly Western and those that do not conform are portrayed as "monsters". The dehumanisation of the "Algerines" due to the Orientalist ideas is strongly evident. In his 1730's account, Thomas Pillow writes: *"The enemy seemed to me as monstrous ravenous creatures, which made me cry out .Im afraid they kill us and eat us."* [61] Foss in his account compares the savagery of the inhabitants of Algiers with the savagery of wild animals. In addition, he even portrays them as more hostile than the indigenous wild animals. He comments: *"Indeed a considerable part of the back country is savage desert, abounding with Lions, Tigers, Leopards, Jackals, Buffaloes, with Boars, Porcupines, […] and must be acknowledged of this country."* [62]

Moreover, some captives note that Africa under Western domination is called the garden of world, but it is so inferior though its richness under its people. The pointed aversion within the captivity narratives to all things Oriental contributed to gradual Orientals dehumanisation of the Barbary powers and their corsairs. By opposition, they praise their Christian America; the land of liberty that ever had existed as it was claimed by the Founding Fathers. In this sense, Foss states:

> Our country also furnished us with sufficient quantity of clothing, decent and comfortable. This was happy news for us, for from the time of our being captured, to this day, we had been dragging out a miserable existence, scarce worth possessing with no king of subsistence […]. The generosity of the United States to us their enslaved countrymen was of inestimable value. I was more precious for being unexpected. No nation of Christendom had ever done the like for their subjects in our situation.[63]

According to William Shaler, "Algerine" women seldom travel, describing them as secluded dames who *"bloom as it were in the desert, from the complaints of their husbands respecting their extravagance in dress."*[64] Mathew Carey notes that Arab women, subsequent to marriage are obliged to wear a veil and for a month after marriage, and they are in general,

never stir from the hut. The "Algerines" by their law may have four wives, but they usually content themselves with two or three at most.[65]

Unlike American women who played a new role after the American Revolution, "Algerine" women exercised inconsiderable portion of influence in society at that time. American women gained enormous political importance. In order to persuade women to support political movements, men discussed politics and government with their wives and daughters for the first time on a national scale. Suddenly, interested and involved in the public sphere, women dared to take a more active role in the revolution as it was the case with Abigail Adams. While barbarism and ignorance had stripped women of their rights, the women of Algiers were slaves to their husbands, according to William Shaler. [66] Moreover, through his observations on the treatment of women in Algerine society, he does not only highlight how early Americans may have viewed the "Algerines", but he also suggests a great deal about how these narratives' authors, and their contemporary American audience viewed the place and role of women in their own society. Barbary captivity narratives challenged the conventions by portraying white bodies as the property of their black masters. Foss portrays his Algerian captors as savage more than wild animals:

> Indeed a considerable park of the back country is a savage desert, abounding with Lions, Tigers, Leopards, Jackals, Buffaloes, wild Bears, Porcupines, And it must be acknowledged, that these animals are not the least amiable inhabitants of this country.[67]

Sometimes the landscapes appear horrid with the harsh climate of the land of their enslavement. However, the captives have the ability to recognise beauty in the wild. The captive working and aesthetic appreciation for the African landscape, though they suffered in travelling across deserts and mountains. [68] The captives circulate the vocabulary that allows them to criticise and establish themselves as superior in comparison to the "Algerines". In Susana Rowson' s play, *Slaves in Algiers, or a Struggle for Freedom* (1794) ,Zoriana who offered help for Olivia to escape tyranny within captivity says: *"be not alarmed sweet Olivia,*

I am a Christian in my heart and I love a Christian slave, to whom I have conveyed money and jewels, sufficient to ransom himself and several others."[69] Zoriana sought liberty for herself and Olivia from the land of captivity because she was a Christian and American in her heart, according to Rowson. Indeed, she portrays Christianity as the religion of liberty and freedom, which left Islam as the religion of despotism and subjugation.[70]The Algerian slaves learn about liberty from the Americans as it is quoted by Anne G. Myles in her article *Slaves in Algiers, Captives in Iraq* (2004).She contends that Rebecca and Olivia have subversively indoctrinated the Muslim women around them with their beliefs. Ben Hassan's daughter fetnah who says that Rebecca is the one who taught her that women were never formed to be the abject slave of man.[71]

According to Miranda Paul in her article, *'Captive In Barbary: The Stereotyping Of Arabs, Turks, And Islam In Early American Society* (2012), Shaler makes explicit references to the potential that the Algerian soil held and all three believed that the inhabitants of Algiers had, in some form or another, depleted or failed to use the soil properly.[72] Even Archibald Robbins, spent considerable time discussing how stupidly ignorant this barbarous race of beings and their stupid conduct and beastly manners.[73] James Riley contends that the Arabs could endure hunger, thirst, hardships, and fatigues better than any other people under heaven.[74] The masters were accustomed to such hardships, and did not even complain of fatigue.[75] In a letter, Foss thanks his countrymen for sending the captives a small allowance, but he complains that the ''Jews, Moors, or Turks,'' who actually act as purchasing agents for the Americans, diminish the value of the funds by charging the Americans doubly for every item through such scenes. These Arabs are shown to be savages and lacking self-discipline and hold a strong appetite towards self-destruction, according to Baepler.[76]

As far as *The Algerine Captive* (1797) is concerned, at the beginning of the novel, Tyler introduces us to the idea that the Algerines are innately savage and inhuman via the

interpretation of the nightmare of Updike's mother. Before Updike's birth, his mother saw in a dream the Indians kidnap her son, and play foot-ball with his head in the fields. Updike's mother was very preoccupied with her dream that Tyler comments: *"dear women! she had the native Indians in her mind, but never apprehends her poor son's sufferings many years, as a slave, among barbarians more cruel than the monsters of our own woods."* [77]Tyler represents them as camel drivers, nomads, pirates, and expert slave traders, especially in the way in which his main character is exposed and inspected in a slave market before being sold. The "Algerines" are, most of the time, reported as ferocious people since Tyler says that their Dey is usually threatened to be overthrown if he is not able to declare wars.

During his short travelling to Medina, the author fabricates also an exaggerated evil picture of the natives' character; he reports them as "cruel banditti" or "wild Arabs" who live in unending misery. But the most extravagant ethnocentric description was that of the "most holy Mohametan saint" who was reduced to "mere idiot". Furthermore, he represents the Algerines as ignorant and barbarians with a very low education using such epithets "ignorant physicians" and "barbarous people". He adds that they are naturally inferior to the Americans, as they behave in uncivilised way and backward manners; "sit cross-legged on the ground" or "they eat with their fingers". As it is the case with Orientalist texts which portray the Arab's personality as associated with violence, dishonesty, irrationality, degeneration and these illusive features do not change and never would. Tyler presents the "Algerine" culture as a poor one that reflects the underdeveloped and the primitive life in the regency of Algiers. In *Orientalism*, Said claims that the orientalist believes that *"there were-and are-culture and nations whose location is in the east and their lives and customs have a brute reality obviously greater than anything that could be said about them in the West."* [78]

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a-Section One: Religion

This section deals with the clash between Christian America and Muslim Algiers in Barbary Captivity Narratives: Royal Tyler (1797), John Foss (1798), Maria Martin (1807) and James Leander Cathcart (1899).This section is important for the dichotomy, Islam and Christianity, is one of the most outstanding reason behind the captives' culture shock. This theme is widely issued within the four Barbary narratives. Its importance stems from the fact that the captivity narratives shaped the readers' views of Islamic societies, leaving a lasting impression on the American psyche. The authors intend to use their experiences for the sake of contributing to the fabrication of the image of Islam in the West. Said claims that "untruth" and "falsehood" about Islam and the Muslim World are consistently propagated in the media, in the name of "objectivity", "liberalism", "freedom", "democracy" and "progress". According to him, the West treated Islam and Muslims within an invented framework filled with passion, defensive prejudice, sometimes even revulsion. He thinks that Americans represent Islam as a threat of the democratic order of the Western world.[1]

Said argues that western reactions to Islam have been dominated by a radically simplified type of thinking that are called Orientalist from at least the end of the eighteenth century. Islam, representing the Orient, is the image of everything inferior to the West represented by Christianity. As it is the case with the narratives mentioned before, which is a kind of contrast of Islamic Algiers and Christian America by underscoring the superiority of the latter over the former. Early American culture managed and produced the Muslim Orient and gained in strength by defining itself in opposition to it.[2] This is why the Barbary narratives of Christian-American captives say more about early-America and Western intentions regarding the Muslim Orient than they do about the actual Barbary pirates and their cultures. In the captivity narratives, American ideals were often pitted against the stereotypical views of the Muslim people of the Barbary Coast: lawful versus lawless, freedom versus despotic

oppression, and Christianity versus Islam.[3] The labels of debauched and cruel Muslim pirates are repeated, in one form or another, throughout all of the captivity narratives. The common idea of Christians' superiority over Muslims is also present in the accounts. Fictional or real, these tales of captivity, that were already circulating throughout America, advertised as true stories and recited by those who publicly declared themselves to be good Christian victims of Muslim cruelty.

The primary focus of the Barbary captivity narratives is the captives' encounters with their Muslim masters, specifically on the ways in which they responded to slavery, the religion of Islam, and "Algerine" society in general. The narratives emphasize Christian and Western moral superiority over Islam and speak of their unremitting loyalty to America. These captivity narratives inform the reader that the Muslim world was to be feared. Thus, the acts of the Barbary corsairs and the oral and written reports about these acts had a significant bearing upon the American psyche. Captivity is a destabilising force for the budding national identity in America. Therefore, the captives seize the opportunity to undermine Muslims and speak of the absolute superiority of Christianity in their captivity narratives.[4] In doing so, the captives hoped to gain the confidence and support of the local community to be ransomed back from slavery.According to Paul Baepler (1999), the United States of America inherited the centuries old ideological schism between Christianity and Islam. In battles over trade and shipping rights, Christian knights and Islamic pirates justified enslaving each other. *"Like Indian captivity accounts, Barbary captivity narratives predictabely emphasized the victimization of the Christian and the inhumanity of the non-Christian,"* he further asserts.[5]

As one way of dealing with the theme (religion), Foss, in his narrative, compares the sympathy of the French priest who gave them (Foss and his fellow men) white and delicious bread out of his own pocket instead of the coarse one given by the task master to show Christians' sympathy versus Muslims' cruelty :*"and received each man a small loaf of very*

black; sourbread weighing about three ounces and a half; which we ate ,although it was not so delicious as the bread we received from the French priest who brought us two baskets full of white bread from his own pocket." [6] Another evidence is given to show the charitable work done by the Spanish in favor of the Christian slaves. The slaves are provided with a comfortable sanctuary in case of ailment under the care of Christian doctors and priests. For such human deeds, Foss writes: *"this hospital was erected by the Spaniards for the benefit of the Christian slaves."* [7]

The captivity narratives share another element which is the portrayal of the Muslims as childlike, and cruel. In Maria Martin's account, she describes the Muslim pirates as "barbarians" who *"began their favorite work, cutting maming (sic) and literally butchering, all that they found on deck."*[8] The expressions such as "monsters", "savages", "cannibals", and "torturers" typify the descriptions the captives give to the Muslim " Algerines" they encounters.Joshua Paddock confesses that his reading of travel literature had done little to prepare him for the first contact with Muslim Africans. He comments:*"Their figure, and ferocious look, to say nothing of their behavior, were a savage, and even exceeded in savageness, anything that ever have read in narratives of voyages before."*[9]

Foss describes the "hypocrisy" of the "Algerines" who drink to excess when they are out of sight ,despite the fact that Islam prohibits spirituous liquor ,he writes: *"Many of them will however, drink to excess when they are out of sight of many others of their religion. Mustafa, an Algerian, and sit down and drink among them."*[10] Once Foss asks him if he knows that he is doing he answered: *"Hold your tongue you unbeliever, if you do not tell me, I shall not know".*[11] Foss adds: *"He (the Dey) is of a very malicious disposition, and often when he is in rage, commands deeds of inhumanity to committee, of which he repents afterwards."* [12]James L. Cathcart responded with a sense of indignation, all the while emphasising the similarities between Christianity and Islam, *"I do not know Mahomed as a*

prophet, but I believe him to have been a very great law-giver, who converted millions of Idolaters and induced them to worship the only true God as I do." [13] Cathcart then proceeded to humble the Sherief in the presence of other Muslims by recounting the teachings of the Qur'an and important facts from Muhammad's life.

According to Foss, whereas the slaves were severely punished, the Turks were pardoned. It is clear that a great difference was established between the slaves, the Turks and "Algerines" in general according to Islamic principles. Thus, Foss notes: *"Those Marabout Mosques […] and their religion teaches them to pardon a Mohametan having committed any crime whatever, if he flees to those saints for protection."*[14]The above quotation manifests the severity used by the "Algerines" towards the Christian captives. The latter were persecuted not only because they were slaves but also because they were Christians. Foss comments: *"tenderest mercies towards the captives, are the most extreme cruelties; and who are taught by the religion of mohamet (if that can be called a religion which leads men to the commission of such horrid and bloody deeds) to persecute its opposers."*[15] Thus, it is clear that within the Muslim world, Christians are labeled as enemies.

From the very opening of Foss's Journal, one can notice that Christians and Muslims were involved in wars of rivalry and competition. Foss was scared at the first sight of those "barbarians" who were shouting and thanking God for their great success, and victories over many "Christian dogs". The Dey of Algiers felt a sense of revenge to capture those Christians with whom he is used to conceive a enemies. Foss quotes what the Dey of Algiers declared from their first contact *"now I have got you; you Christian dogs, you shall eat stones."* [16]This shows, according to Foss, that Islam is a religion that persecutes non-Muslims. Those "barbarians" were also cruel and severe even toward their fellow citizens. In this regard, he writes:

> There are cruel punishments, for Christian captives, for capital offences. Sometimes they are burned; or rather roasted alive. At other times they are impaled. This is done by

> placing the criminal upon a sharp iron stake, and thrusting it up his posteriors, by his back bone' till, it appears at the back of his neck.[17]

According to American captives, Islam threatens America because it is a religion which hates the American values of freedom, democracy, and equality.[16]Muslims will always represent a threat to democracy, freedom, and equality.[18] In his turn, Royal Tyler in *The Algerine Captive* (1797), describes Islam as a religion of violence, ethnocentricity and anti-civilisation. Tyler tries first to prove that Islam is not a sacred religion, just a calculated system. The prophet "Mahomet" is portrayed as an "imposter" who has borrowed from each religion: Christianity, Judaism and even the Paganism, something to create his new religion while satisfying everyone. Tyler comments:

> The stories of Mahomet having retired to a cave with a monk and a Jew to compile his book, and falling into fits of epilepsy, persuading his disciples that these fits were trances ,in order to propagate his system more effectually.[19]

Most of the time, the Christian captives face the danger of conversion to Islam. The test of faith is common in both fictional and non-fictional versions of these narratives. All these narratives feature Barbary captives who were tempted by their captors to abandon Christianity and submit to Islam. As a rule, the protagonists of these narratives do not renounce Christianity in favor of Islam, but instead they endure misery within captivity in favor of their faith .Underhill does not identify himself as a Christian ,but he refuses to submit to Islam. While the Mullah was combining convincing rational arguments with his firm faith to Islam, Underhill realises that he must be united with his countrymen to construct American identity by fusing the Christian teachings and the Enlightenment principles.[20]

The Orientalists as well as Tyler use to insist that "Mohamed" during his "writing" of "Alcoran" was surrounded by Arian Christians.[21] For them, this is what can only explain the different similarities that exist between these religions. According to Norman Daniel in his book , *Islam and The West: the Making of an Image* (1999), this is an old story spread among Christians. To enforce this idea, Norman Daniel quotes Thomas Aquinas who argues that

:*"since the preceding prophet had not borne witness to Mohammad, the later had corrupted the Scripture, as is clear to anyone looking into his law."*[22]This confirms Said's assertion that Westerners used to affirm that *"Islam is by definition a plagiaristic culture."*[23]

Besides rejecting Islam as a sacred religion, Tyler argues that Muslims are too rigid in their religious conviction. This is why they remain undeveloped, passive and doomed to live in eternal misery. In his novel, Tyler gives the example of Galileo's and Newton's discoveries, claiming that, Muslims accept these general truths, not because they are scientifically proved, but, because they are exactly mentioned in "Alcoran". Otherwise, Muslims will still believe to the present day that the earth is flat and the sun revolves around it. Tyler in his novel objectively outlines some prohibitions and fundamental bases of the "Algerine" faith such as the belief in the unity of God and in "Mahomet" as his prophet, the five prayers," "Rhammadin", acts of charity and also pilgrimage. In *The Algerine Captive*, Tyler draws of the Prophet a cruel picture. He first introduces "Mahomet" as a founder of Islam then writes, *"This fortunate imposter, like all other characters in drama of life, has been indignantly vilified by his opponents, and as ardently praised by his adherents."*[24]

In accounting for his life, Tyler mocks the fact that he was a "mere camel driver" which is repeated four times. Tyler adds that "Mahomet" among his people was known for his business skill, refined manners, " a man of beautiful person". Thanks to his marriage with a wealthy woman "Cadijah", "Mahomet" becomes rich and very optimist to head his tribe; this is why one day he comes to announce that he is indeed a Prophet, claiming the unity of god and that he is his last messenger on earth. Concerning the prophet successors, Tyler depicts them with a bad character, that of non-loyalty and greedy ambition. He declares that as soon as the Prophet had passed away, his followers started conflicts since they were all immersed in the succession debate. In this regard, Tyler writes, *"his more confidential friends gathered*

around the corpse; and, being impressed with the policy of immediately announcing his successor ,they held a fierce debate upon the subject." [25]

Furthermore, Tyler believes that Mohamed's successors are held responsible for dividing Muslims into the sects of Ali and Omar. He mentions that The Algerines are of the sect of Omar. Inaccuracy, distortion, subjectivity and intolerance, this is how Tyler deals with the "Other" religion, *"I would not bring the sacred volume of our faith in any comparative view with the Alcoran of Mahomet…"*[26]Eventually, Tyler's goal behind his negative representation of Islam is not much different from the Orientalist tradition which consists of glorifying Western religion while reducing the Orientals. Edward Said borrows from the ideas of Gustave Von Grunebaun. Thus, he writes:

> He has no difficulty presuming that Islam is a unitary phenomenon ,unlike any other religion or civilization, and thereafter he shows it to be antihuman, incapable of development, self-knowledge, or objectivity, as well as uncreative ,unscientific, and authoritarian.[27]

Antonio de Sosa in his *Topography of Algiers* (1612) contends: *"Other Europeans affirmed that Muslims lacked the fundamental beliefs needed for the constitution of modern societies."*[28]He was determined to prove the flaws of Islam in general, and focused on the horrors of white slavery in the Barbary regencies. Sosa suggests that captives within Barbary, unwillingly, were transformed into an intimate observer of another culture, different from the one they used to live in.[29]According to de Sosa, Algerians are obstinate, *"one can hardly find somebody who wishes to listen to reason, let alone obey."*[30] Like de Sosa, Foss' narrative portrays Muslims as brutal overlords lacking any sense of human compassion.

Cathcart shows the tyranny of Muslims towards Christians, *"take this Christian and give him one hundred blows on the soles of his feet, that he may not have so great a miracle to tell his countrymen when he returns to his home."*[31] In Susana Rowson' s play ,*Slaves in Algiers* (1794),Zoriana who offered help for Olivia to escape tyranny within captivity says: *"Be not alarmed sweet Olivia, I am a Christian in my heart and I love a Christian slave, to*

whom I have conveyed money and jewels, sufficient to ransom himself and several others."[32]Zoriana sought liberty for herself and Olivia from the land of captivity because she was a Christian and American in her heart. Rowson depicted Christianity as the religion of liberty and freedom, which left Islam as the religion of despotism and subjugation.[33]

According to, Peter Markoe, in *The Algerine Spy in Pennsylvania* (1787), contends that "Mahomet" taught them in his "Alcoran", that all those who die fighting against Christians enter into paradise, in triumph; even their houses, if they die in battle are immediately translated to heaven.[34]In his preface, Foss writes:

> The tears of sympathy will flow from the humane and feeling, at the tale of the hardships and suffering of their unfortunate countrymen, who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Algerines whose tenderest mercies towards Christian captives, are the most extreme cruelties; and who are taught by the Religion of Mahomet (if that can be called a Religion which leads men to commission such horrid and bloody deeds) to persecute all its opposers.[35]

Direct colonial encounters with Native American people surely helped American colonists to articulate stereotypes of supposedly inferior North African and Muslims. Joshua Gee was captured in 1680 during a voyage from Boston. Gee records the "viciousness" of his master who once *"swore he wo[u]ld the next daye boare o[u]te my eyes with his knife"* and gave him *"many evell treatments."*[36] He uses the narrative to highlight the comforting power of scripture, and portrays his Muslim captors as influenced by his prayers.[37]In Archibald Robbins' words, Christianity was the religion of giving, kindness, and self restraint; whereas Islam inspired its followers to seek gratification for their every desire and in a direct parallel to many twenty-first century writers.[38] As for Eliza Bradley, after receiving a copy of the Bible from her Arab master, she remarked, *"My feelings on receiving so rich a present from the hands of one whose very nature was at enmity with our Christian religion, may be perhaps perceived, but I cannot attempt to describe them."* [39]

In Cathcart captivity narrative Islam it barely figures into his work. In his turn, James Stevens writes, *"such is the virulence of Mahometan antipathy to everything that bears the name of Christian, that their contiguity to Europe has perhaps tended to render them even more ferocious."* [40] His view does share some parallels with the modern belief that Islam and Muslims have a natural tendency to hate and commit violence towards Christians. But this is, in reality, a line of thought that has existed in the American mindset. Stevens mentions that the "Mahometans" never *"game for money, nor even trifles, and what cannot be said of Christians, they never profane the name of the Deity."*[41] In his construction, Islam may have made the Arabs, Turks, and Moors more hostile, and perhaps violent, towards Christians, but Islam seems to be the sole responsible for their more specific flaws.[42]

Conclusion

For early Americans who knew little about Islam, the captives' statement about Islam's natural antipathy to Christianity would have been a horrifying discovery. William Shaler takes a much different view of Islam than either of his predecessors; he believed, *"there does not appear to be anything in Mohammed on faith more contrary to civilization and social order than in any other religion when unconnected to the strong arm of power."*[43]Shaler suggests to his readers that Islam is not responsible for the uncivilised tendencies seen in the Algerines because Islam is no more incompatible with civilisation than any other religion. But he seems to suggest that when Islam is connected to the ruling government that to an uncivilised, barbarous, and perhaps, despotic society.[44]

In the light of his human treatment, Johnathan Cowdery was relatively sympathetic towards his Muslim captors; a response that was not too popular in the genre of the captivity narrative. Quite significantly, some captivity accounts were written as a direct refutation of Dr. Cowdery's publication. In fact, what they sought to correct the most was the relative comfort that American captives enjoyed at the hands of the Tripolitans. James L. Cathcart's story in Barbary is also more sympathetic than the other narratives. Cathcart attained the higher position a Christian can attain by becoming the secretary of the Dey and Regency of Algiers. If life in Barbary is, as described by the captives, Cathcart would not willingly choose to return back to Barbary lands as a **consul.** Moreover, female captives are said to be treated with respect to their sex,[45]albeit Maria Martin describes her situation as a miserable one and beyond human imagination. In *The Algerine Captive*, the Mullah who tried to convince Underhill to convert to Islam insisted that Christians force their baptised slaves to continue at hard labour. Unlike the white captives who returned home from captivity, the African Americans were legally enslaved for life. Added to this, Underhill received better treatment when they learned that he was a ship's doctor.

Notes

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[9]. Paulo Fernando de Moraes Farias in Baepler, Paul Michel .*The Barbary Captivity Narrative in American Culture: Early American Literature*.USA: The University of North Carolina Press .Volume 39, Number 2, 2004, pp. 220.

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[11.] Ibid.

[12.] Ibid.

[13]. Cathcart J. Leander (1899).*The Captives, Eleven Years a Prisoner in Algiers* in Baepler, Paul. *White Slaves, African Masters*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999.142.

[14.] Foss, John (1798).*Journal of Captivity and Sufferings in* Baepler, Paul *White Slaves, African Masters*. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, 1999, p.11.

[15.] Ibid: 73.

[16.] Ibid: 05.

[17.] Ibid: 11.

[18.] Paul, Miranda (2012). Captive In Barbary: The Stereotyping Of Arabs, Turks, And Islam In Early American Society. [online]
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[19.] Tyler, Royal. *The Algerine Captive: or Life and Adventures of Doctor Updike* Underhill. Hartford, CT: Peter B. Gleason and Go, 1816. [online]
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[27.] Said, Edward. W. *Orientalism.* London: penguin Book ltd, 2003, p.296.

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[31.] Cathcart, J. Leander (1899).*The Captives, Eleven Years a Prisoner in Algiers* in Baepler, Paul. *White slaves, African Masters*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999, p.114.

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[37.] Ibid.

[38.] Ibid: 102.

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[45.] Shaler, William. Sketches of Algiers. Boston: Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 76.

b- Section Two: Customs and Traditions

This section of my dissertation deals with the way the "Algerines" customs and traditions are seen in Barbary Captivity Narratives: Royal Tyler (1797), John Foss (1798), Maria Martin (1807) and James Leander Cathcart (1899).This section is important because the "Algerines" are considered as "religious" people, live in the realm built by their ancestors. In imitating sacred models, these people are depriving themselves from initiation in favor of imitation, *"He does not consider himself to* ***be truly man*** *except in so far as he imitates the gods, the culture heroes, or the mythical ancestors."*[1] By opposition, the American captives consider themselves as "profane" people who refuse traditional religion, *"the nonreligious man refuses transcendence, accepts the relativity of "reality," and may even come to doubt the meaning of existence."*[2]

Drawing upon the work of Mercia Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* :*The Nature of Religion* (1957), I will show the authors experiences that widened the gap between the religious community (Algiers) and the imagined community (America). Eliade claims that the religious man seeks to imitate, and believes that he is imitating, his gods even when he allows himself to be led into acts that verge on madness, depravity, and crime.[3]In particular, the religious man experiences the world as having a sacred centre and seeks to live there. The book describes two fundamentally different modes of experience: the traditional and the modern. Traditional man is open to experiencing the world as sacred. The Modern man, however, is closed to these kinds of experiences because the world is experienced only as profane, *"primitive man undertakes to attain a religious ideal of humanity, and his effort already combines the germs of all the ethics later elaborated in evolved societies. Obviously, in modern nonreligious societies initiation no longer exists as a religious act."*[4] Eliade states that

> the perspective changes completely when the sense of the religiousness of the cosmos becomes lost. This is what occurs when, in certain more highly evolved societies, the

> intellectual elites progressively detach themselves from the patterns of the traditional religion. The periodical sanctification of cosmic time then proves useless and without meaning. The gods are no longer accessible through the cosmic rhythms.[5]

Americans, in reality, praise freedom which is derived from Individualism which regards human agents as autonomous and transcendental through the exercise of reason, *"for the men of the Enlightenment saw themselves as liberators, potentially of the whole world. They sensed that the Enlightenment represented a clean break with a corrupt, benighted, and barbarous past, and the inauguration of a period of radical change, freedom and progress."*[6] With the beginning of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the individuals could make sense of their world and could build their modern world, with a new social order, which was characterized by a new dynamism, a rejection of earlier traditions, a belief in progress and the potential of human reason to promote freedom. As a result, the individual emerged as subject of the world. Experiencing the world, the individual could claim to have a transcendental source of certainty within himself. He could set out to realise himself by realising the world within himself.[7]In this regard, Lawrence Peskin argues that :*"the new nation [USA] was a product of the very Enlightenment-era liberalism that Jurgen Hebermas found so necessary for the development of what he termed the "bourgeois ," or liberal ,public sphere."*[9]

Enlightenment witnessed an increasing rationality that would enhance social understanding, order and control, justice, moral progress and human happiness. Martin D. Henry defines Enlightenment as:

> not an organized movement, but more a pervasive mood of freethinking, critical questioning, a mood that spread throughout the Western world from the seventeenth century onwards. It was the intellectually revolutionary period in modern times, that began in England in the middle of the seventeenth century, reached Scotland, America and France in the eighteenth, and spread finally to Germany and the rest of Europe by the end of the eighteenth century.[10]

The Enlightenment saw itself, rather, for the most part as combating religion that claimed to have a privileged access to truth. While the Enlightenment tended to acknowledge a rational doctrine of God, it saw the world itself as the sphere of human endeavour and

regarded humanity's fate as an experiment to be conducted by human beings alone. During the age of Enlightenment, different doctrines and innovations issued were thanks to philosophers and thinkers who used science to save the western world from the Middle Ages. Thus, science and reason were the major factors that led to the emergence of western rationality and the Enlightenment project. These ideals pushed the Americans to establish the ideal nation which rose from nothing, despite the difficulties they faced in the road toward achievement. The "Algerines" were seen as primitive people because they inhabit the plains of their country; they live in tents, and are constantly changing their houses according to the seasons and abundance of pasturage. Whereas Enlightenment leaders believed in progress and reason, the "Algerines" are superstitious people, believing in sorcery.[11] Moreover, the captives describe Algiers as ill-fated country because of people' ignorance and opposition to progress:

> If this unfortunate country should ever, in the course of events, again come into the enjoyment of the benefits of civilization, the city of Algiers, through the natural resources of the plain of Metidjah, must become one of the most opulent on the shores of the Mediterranean. Through the silent operation of the barbarous despotism of the Algerine government, it has become a perfect desert, without inhabitants or culture.[12]

The captives argue that it would be vain to speak of the sciences in Algiers because they are unknown or disregarded. The knowledge of the healing was centred around charms and amulets. Their whole literature is confined to the "Koran" which was taught for the Algerines as the whole course of literature. Shaler comments on this by saying: *"banditti like the Algerines, who, in the pride of barbarism and ignorance, despite the arts, the science, and the improvements of civilized society, would not merit the attention of history if they had not by a strange fatality, alike dishonourable and injurious of civilization, been incorporated into political system of Europe."*[13]

Recent studies in early American literature have demonstrated the complexity in these authors' efforts to construct notions of American identity at the early, turbulent stages of the republic. Gesa Mackenthun points out that *"early* American *novels suggest that identity, whether individual or collective, was a very volatile thing indeed in the period of economic*

and intellectual transition."[14] In the life of Updike Underhill, Royall Tyler contends that early American *"identities were often forged out of the experience of cultural heterogeneity and geographical, which in the Age of Sail included oceanic, displacement."*[15]

Tyler writes that early constructions of American identity situated the United States against its "Other", the country's first foreign enemy after the war for independence: the Islamic states of the Barbary Coast. Like Underhill, the captives in the other Barbary narratives such as, John Foss, Maria Martin, and James Leander Cathcart found themselves in a position in which they need to construct a clear notion of American identity. The cross-cultural encounter between the Americans and the "Algerines" was the beginning of Americans' quest to construct their identity, beyond the boundaries of the United States.

In the Declaration of Independence, the American revolutionary leader Thomas Jefferson was certainly influenced by the ideas of John Locke in emphasising the twin concepts of liberty and equality. In *Two Treatises of Government* (1690), Locke outlines a theory of politics based on people's natural rights: life, liberty, and the ownership of property. To Locke, the task of the state was to protect these rights. Government was a contract between ruler and subjects, and rulers were granted power in order to assure their subjects' welfare.[16]However, in Algiers, the Dey was the absolute monarch who commands deeds of inhumanity to be committed. This is well demonstrated in Foss's account through the tyranny of the Dey of Algiers which he mentions various times. Whereas the Dey lives in extravagance and luxury, his people live meanly though their country produces conveniences and luxuries of life, *"the people in the country, have no houses ,but live in tents, and as many other accidental circumstances may happen."* [17]Furthermore, the Dey cruelty is evident through the rigid laws he imposes on his people, Foss notes:

> The Dey informs the Bey what sum he must pay him the ensuring year and then the Bey goes with a large number of cavalry, and if they make the least resistance, or even intimate that they are dissatisfied with his proceeding, he cuts off their heads and sends them in triumph to the Dey's Palace to the gate Babazoon, and exposed to public view, then they bury it.[18]

Tyler belittles the role of the judge and the "Algerine" Court, by referring to the interference of the Turkish Court and the Dey in making judgments as well as in directing the domestic affairs of Algiers, he writes, *"justice is administered in his name [the Dey] .He even determines controversies in his own person, besides being supposed virtually present in persons of his cadis or judges."* [19]Tyler mentions some illegal affairs committed by the "Algerines" like frauds in weights and measures. He intends to mock and condemn the "Algerine" judicial punishments set on the inhabitants such as "beating on the sole of the feet", "cut up the right hand."

As far as men of high rank are concerned, the priests, the military, the consuls or their family members, the Dey is responsible of blaming them in case of behaving badly. Tyler gives this detail to show that equality in Algiers does not exist and the Americans belief in equality is far from being applied in Algiers. Furthermore, he writes about his country's system of justice and its ability to solve problems and ensure equality:

> I confess that, when I left the United States, the golden free, the long bill of cost, the law's delay, and the writings of Honesties ,had taught me to view the judicial proceedings of our country with a jaundices eye ;and, when I was made acquainted with the Algerine mode of distributive justice, I yearned to see a cause determined in a court where instant decision relieved the anxiety and saved the purses of the parties, and where no long-winded attorney was suffered to perplex the judge with subtle argument or musty precedent.[20]

The Algerines' customs and traditions were seen by the American captives as primitive ways of life. The belief that non-Westerners were barbaric and homogenous is evident through Dr. Cowdery' s comment about marriage in Barbary , *"marriages are proclaimed in Tripoli, by one or two old women, who run through the streets, making a most hideous yelling, and frequently clapping their hands to their mouths, similar to the American Indians in their pow wows."*[21]

Tyler claims that travellers used to exaggerate in narrating facts about the Orientals' customs and traditions. However, throughout the novel, he provides the reader with

information that he obtained from Orientalists who either have travelled on the East or have experienced servitude, he writes: *"I never was at an Algerine marriage, but obtained some authentic information on the subject."* [22] Tyler stresses first, the prudent contact between the two sexes who never gather in the public places. He shows that the Algerine society being Muslim would not allow men and women to know each other as Americans do. Tyler aims to attract the reader's attention to the fearful image of Islam and the severity of the Algerine court, which forbids the meeting of the two sexes in public places.

Concerning marriages, Tyler and Foss hold the position of defenders. On the one hand, they proclaim the bridegroom's right, who is allowed neither to choose his bride nor to see her face, until the end of the marriage ceremony, though he can rely on the help of old people and generally by regarding her father's rank and reputation among people. On the other hand, Tyler pleads the forgotten right of the woman to take part in selecting her future husband. This does not mean that the authors display sympathy to the "Algerines", however, Tyler aims to show that there is no liberty in Algiers even in choosing the future partner. To dramatize this forced choice, the bridegroom has to sign a "contract of marriage" in the "Cadi" 's presence witnessed by relatives from each side .At this level, the man has to pay a given sum of money to the bride's father.

Tyler and Foss convey to the reader some "Algerine" traditions in celebrating the marriage to insist on "the abnormality" and "aberrancy" of the Muslim society. After the ceremony, the bride is going to see the face of his partner for the first time. Tyler mocks the Algerine traditions when he writes, *"and for the first time discovers whether his wife has nose or eyes."* [23]Tyler reports that women's liberty is limited, whereas Foss writes, *"the husband never sees his wife before marriage but accepts her upon the description of her father."*[24]

Concerning the Algerines' funerals, Tyler's description is brief. He reports that the corpse of the dead is "carried up on a bier" by men, and a priest escorts them reading

"Alcoran" with "dolorous tone". Tyler writes that Islam is a violent and harsh religion which threatens the Algerines with the cruel punishments even when dead. In this sense Foss describes the funeral as "disorder":

> They bury their dead in the following manner, the corpse is washed, then sewed in a winding sheet, put upon a bier, and carried to the grave, where they are buried in a sitting posture [….]: All the followers sing while they are going. They imagine all Mahomatans who die with this disorder, are called by the supreme Being, and are happy to eternity. But people of any other religion, who die with it, they suppose are damnes.[25]

Actually, Tyler has never been to an Algerine funeral. However, he intends to show the inhuman side of the Algerines and their hostility even in funeral days by mentioning that: *"When these processions pass the slaves throw themselves on the ground with their faces in dust...."* [26] The captives throughout their narratives transmit to the reader their knowledge about the local culture that they characterise as being primitive and insignificant because of the harshness of Islam that prevents the natives from progress in any aspect of life. In *Orientalism* (2003), Edward said portrays such an Orientalist negative view by commenting:

> And to very extent the Orientalist provides his own society with representation of the Orient[…] that respond to certain cultural, professional, national ,political, and economic requirements of the epoch […]The role of positive knowledge is far from absolute.[27]

According to Tyler, the internal revenue comes from the taxes raised by the Dey upon the people under their protection: the Moors and the Jews, and from the presents. He also receives presents in his birthday from his people and from foreigners. To show that the "Algerine" economy is founded on unethical supports and corruption, no reference is made to the "Algerines" work on land, trade and building "frigates" ,following in this the traditional image given to Eastern population as being "violent" and "lazy".The narratives show the natives' need to make wars against western countries either to steal their money or benefit from the peace treaties they obliged them to sign. In addition, these wars have also positive advantages for the Dey such as the gain of people's support. According to Tyler, this revenue is a good supply for the army, to strengthen Algiers navy and to augment the Dey's prestige among his people.

The captives present the "Algerine" culture as a primitive one. In *Orientalism*, Edward Said claims that the orientalists believe that: *"there were-and are-cultures and nations whose location is in the east and their lives and customs have a brute reality obviously greater than anything that could be said about them in the West."*[28]The Orientals in general and the Algerines in particular, as religious people tend to share not only their traditions and rituals, but their daily works, marriages and funerals. As far as Americans are concerned, these events concern only individuals, and cannot be shared with other. According to Eliade, for the nonreligious man, birth, marriage, death are events that concern only the individual and his family.[29]Foss in his narrative portrays the Algerines and their idealisation of their customs and traditions. Through his life in Barbary, he conveys an image of the way these "religious" people were living. Eliade describes this category as follows:

> Everything that the gods or the ancestors did, hence everything that the myths have to tell about their creative activity, belongs to the sphere of the sacred and therefore participates in being. In contrast, what men do on their own initiative, what they do without a mythical model, belongs to the sphere of the profane; hence it is a vain and illusory activity, and, in the last analysis, unreal. The more religious man is, the more paradigmatic models does he possess to guide his attitudes and actions. In other words, the more religious he is, the more does he enter into the real and the less is he in danger of becoming lost in actions that, being non paradigmatic, "subjective," are, finally, aberrant.[30]

Conclusion

Tyler's narration of inaccurate facts in also symbolised in the misspelt names of the brothers Barbarossa, for they are called in the novel, "Horric" and "Hayraddin" instead of Arouj and Khayr al-Din.[31] Undoubtedly, there were some ethnically Turkish people, but Foss referred to everyone in the area as Turkish, indicating that he knew very little of the ethnic makeup of the region and was unable to tell apart the various people residing in Algiers.

In his trial to convince Updike Underhill, the Mullah uses rational arguments with his firm faith in Islam. Thus, Underhill realises that he and his countrymen must do something similar in order to stand united. The Islamic world represented by the Mullah perceived power and unity as the result of conjoining reason and religious principles. Therefore, Underhill understands that the construction of American identity should do the same. Defining himself and his countrymen against the Islamic other, Underhill must reach back to his Christian piety for the moral component of this new construction of American identity and fuse it with the Enlightenment principles upon which the founders imagined their new country would stand.[32]

In the light of what has already been said, one can say that through their pretended superiority, the Americans learnt how to construct their identity thanks the "Algerines" who were portrayed as inferior. Furthermore, the Americans realised their need to go back to religion (Christianity) as a moral code, in addition to the rationality that characterises the Enlightenment. Yet, the Enlightenment for the most part saw itself as combating religion. The former served as the pragmatic logical component of the developing nation.

Notes

[1.] Eliade, Mircea. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. California: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987, p.99-100.

[2.] Ibid: 202-3.

[3.] Ibid: 104.

[4.] Ibid: 187-8.

[5.] Eliade, Mircea. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. California: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987, p. 107.

[6.] Martin D. Henry. *The Enlightenment and Romanticism from a Theological Perspective.* [online] Available: http://eprints.nuim.ie/626/1/2_Enlightenment_and_Romanticism.pdf. (Accessed on the 5th May 2014).

[7.] Luhmann cited in *The Enlightenment and the Development Of Social Theory*. [online] available:http&q=The+Enlightenment+and+the+development+of+social+theory&gbv=2&oq=The+Enlightenment+and+the+development+of+social+theory&gs_l=heirloom-hp.12..0i19.4359.4359.0.18406.1.1.0.0.0.0.1700.1700.8-1.1.0....0...1ac.2.34.heirloom-hp..0.1.1699.RTY5YmmRbr8 05 (Accessed on the 5th May 2014).

[8.] Peskin, A. Lawrence.*Captives and Countrymen, Barbary Slavery and the American Public, 1785-1816*.United States of America: acid-free paper, 2009, p, 03.

[9.] Ibid.

[10]. Martin D. Henry. *The Enlightenment and Romanticism from a Theological Perspective.* [online] available: http://eprints.nuim.ie/626/1/2_Enlightenment_and_Romanticism.pdf. (Accessed on the 5th May 2014).

[11.] Shaler, William. *Sketches of Algiers*. Boston: Cambridge University Press, 1984,p.75.

[12.] Ibid: 83.

[13.] Ibid: 104.

[14.] Cordano, Matt. *Reason, Religion, and the Construction of American Identity in Tyler's the Algerine Captive*. [online] available:http://www.google.dz/search?hl=frDZ&source=hp&q=Reason%2C+Religion%2C+and+the+Construction+of+American+Identity+in+Tyler%E2%80%99s+The+Algerine+Captive&gbv=2&oq=Reason%2C+Religion%2C+and+the+Construction+of+American+Identity+in+Tyler%E2%80%99s+The+Algerine+Captive&gs_l=heirloom-hp.12...5433.5433.0.6640.1.1.0.0.0.0.1023.1023.7-1.1.0....0...1ac.2.34.heirloom-hp..1.0.0. X41EaM1A4u0 (Accessed on the 21th January 2014).

[15.] Ibid.

[16.] Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, *and Rousseau on Government* .[online]available: http://coachdgraham.weebly.com/uploads/1/0/9/2/10920199/gov_1.1_hobbes_locke_roussou_debate.pdf (Accessed on the 10th March 2013).

[17]. Foss, John (1798).*Journal of Captivity and Sufferings in* Baepler, Paul *White Slaves, African Masters*. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, 1999, p.15.

[18.] Ibid.

[19.] Tyler, Royal. *The Algerine Captive: or Life and Adventures of Doctor Updike* Underhill.Hartford, CT: Peter B. Gleason and Go, 1816. [online]
Available: http//www.archive.org/details/Algerine captive00tylerch (accessed on Mars 5, 2013)

[20.] Ibid: 200.

[21.] Cowdery, Johnathan cited in Sutton, Angela 2009.*Atlantic Orientalism How the language in Jefferson's America defeated the Barbary pirates.* [online] available: http// www.darmatter101.org/site/2009/12/20/atlantic-orientalism-how-language-in-Jefferson %E2%80%995-Ameica-defeated-the-Barbary-pirates (Accessed on the 19th December 2010).

[22.] Tyler, Royal. *The Algerine Captive: or Life and Adventures of Doctor Updike* Underhill. Hartford, CT: Peter B. Gleason and Go, 1816. [online] available: http// www.archive.org/details/Algerine captive00tylerch (accessed on Mars 5,2013)

[23.] Ibid: 183.

[24.] Foss, John (1798).*Journal of Captivity and Sufferings in* Baepler, Paul *White Slaves, African Masters*. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, 1999, p.89.

[25.] Ibid: 93.

[26.] Tyler, Royal. *The Algerine Captive: or Life and Adventures of Doctor Updike* Underhill. Hartford, CT: Peter B. Gleason and Go, 1816. [online] available: http//www.archive.org/details/Algerine captive00tylerch (accessed on Mars 5,2013)

[27.] Said, Edward. W. *Orientalism.* London: penguin Book ltd, 2003, p.273.

[28.] Said, Edward.W, *Orientalism.London*: penguin Book ltd, 2003, p.05.

[29.] Eliade, Mircea. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. California: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987, p.186.

[30.] Ibid: 96.

[31.] Panzak, Daniel. *Barbary Corsairs, The End of a Legend 1800-1820.Vol.29.Translated by Victoria Hobson and Completed by John E. Hawkes*. Boston: Brill Leiden, 2005, p.10.

[32.] Cordano, Matt. *Reason, Religion, and the Construction of American Identity in Tyler's the Algerine Captive*. [online] available: http://www.google.dz/search?hl=frDZ&source=hp&q= Reason %2C+Religion%2C+and+the+Construction+of+American+Identity+in+Tyler%E2%80%99s+The+Algerine+Captive&gbv=2&oq=Reason%2C+Religion%2C+and+the+Construction+of+American+Identity+in+Tyler%E2%80%99s+The+Algerine+Captive&gs_l=heirloom-hp.12...5433.5433.0.6640.1.1.0.0.0.0.1023.1023.7-1.1.0....0...1ac.2.34.heirloom-hp..1.0.0.X41EaM1A4u0 (Accessed on the 21th January 2014).

c- Section Three: Gender Roles

The Algerine women are seen as oppressed, unlike their American counterparts who are emancipated. In her work *Western Representations of the Muslim Woman* (1999), Mohja Kahf explores the tendency of these accounts to portray the Muslim women as victimised and oppressed due to the veil and polygamy since the Enlightenment. In the course of analysing the historical transformation that occurred in the western narrative on the Muslim woman, Kahf provides us with well-documented, detailed and close readings of major western literary texts.

Hence, Kahf focuses on the discrepancies of the Western narrative of the Muslim woman. The Barbary narratives through the representations of Muslim women as oppressed by backward misogynist men. This means to "liberate" them from the shackles of their "heathen" and "barbaric" societies. Barbary captivity narratives as a kind of western genre shows how Muslim women are objects of "Otherness". Following the works of Edward Said and Mohja Kahf, Jasmin Zine argues that the politics of representing Muslim women has been tied to the material and ideological conditions characterising the relationship between the West and Islamic societies. According to Zine, Muslim women exercise inconsiderable portion of influence in society, and are perhaps silently preparing the public for a restoration of the rights, of which barbarism and ignorance have defrauded them.[1] While barbarism and ignorance had stripped women from their rights, the women of Algiers were seen as less slaves to their husbands. The captives' view of women restriction at home was not derived from their beliefs that the "Algerine" society actively forced women into this role, but it was more the result of inherited tradition and mainly religion (Islam).

In times gone by, women in America were confined to traditional gender roles, which forced them to remain in the domestic or private sphere of society. Women's roles as daughters, wives, or mothers were considered their most significant function in society. For

the elite members of society, the importance of women lied in giving birth to male inheritors in order to determine inheritances and maintaining the family line. However, the attitude toward women started to gradually improve, particularly through the medium of literature. Broadly defined, the Enlightenment was a cultural and intellectual movement in Europe and America that sought to reform and improve society through the advancement of knowledge and education.The philosophers and thinkers of the Enlightenment advocated the use of rational thought and science over religion and superstition.

Throughout the Age of the Enlightenment women found ways to combine the new intellectual movements evolving in the public sphere with their appointed place in the domestic private sphere. Furthermore, the Enlightenment saw some of the first signs of feminism, through the writings of figures such as the British writer Mary Wollstonecraft. During her lifetime Wollstonecraft wrote several novels, treatises, and other works of nonfiction. She is best known for *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects* (1792).In this work, she offers a response to the writings of eighteenth-century theorists who argued that women should not receive a formal education. Indeed, she views female education as an integral aspect of the advancement of society as a whole. Women, according to Wollstonecraft, are important in educating children and, as a result, consequential in furthering the strength of the nation. Wollstonecraft believes that women should receive a level of education that matched their social standing, so that they could be both ornamental figures and intellectual companions for their husbands.[2]

Inspired by the United States *Declaration of Independence* (1776), Elizabeth Cady Stanton issued the *Declaration of Rights and Sentiments,* signed in 1848.It aimed to gain the civil, social, political, and religious rights of women. American women found themselves in a very similar position after the War of Independence. If Enlightenment has proclaimed reason in all, then it must also be available to women:

> It was this notion that the feminists seized upon so avidly. Mary boldly proclaimed the radical thesis that God had given all mankind the same intellectual potential , whether ancient or modern, rich or poor, male or female. Circumstances determine the extent to which men and women may exercise their rational faculties, but the faculties are present in all.[3]

The "Algerines", according to Maria Martin, who did not show any respect to her, though she was a woman, in contrast to the officer of the British ship,where she tried to escape showed sympathy and respect for her. The former comforts her saying :*" give yourself no uneasiness, madam;(said the captain) in three weeks, if the wind favours us, we will land you in a Christian country."* [4] In Foss narrative, the Muslim woman's abandonment and betrayal of the Muslim male in favor of American-Christian enemy is an emasculating denouement "*and the woman, is put into a sack and carried about a mile at sea, and thrown over-board with a sufficient quantity of rocks, (or bomb) to sink her. For suspicion of being with them the slave is castrated, and woman bastinadoed."* [5]

Foss recalls that women in Islamic Algiers are imprisoned by men. On the one hand, "*few white women walk in the streets, except prostitutes. And those far advanced in years, and when these do they were obliged to be veiled."* [6] On the other hand, men have the monopoly of complete freedom, sometimes he has the right to trade even in women. He adds :*"men by their laws, and religion, are allowed to have four wives (if they are able to purchase them) but they generally content themselves with two or three(wives)."* [7] According to Foss, women are not only oppressed but bound to their husbands. This is done by marriage, when the bride promises her husband not only to be faithful, but also to be dependent and bound to him. Thus, he notes*:*

> when a young man would marry, […] she (the bride) receives a stick from her husband, which she thrusts into the ground, and holding her right hand upon its end, she repeats some words to the following effect: As this stick is fastened in the ground so am I bound to my husband, as nothing can remove it, but violence so naught but death, shall force from his love.[8]

Early writers emphasise the enclosure and sexual objectification of Muslim women, and representations of female Christian captives in the Barbary States similarly dwelt on their confinement and sexual vulnerability to predatory masters. Such images are sentimentally affecting, but they had political meaning as well. Historian Robert J. Allison explains that "*Westerners saw the eighteenth-century Muslim world as a wicked mix of political tyranny and wild sex* […] *[S]exual tyranny became the ultimate form of Muslim political tyranny*." [9] This tyranny was exemplified through the image of the seraglio, where beautiful women were kept. *The History of the Captivity and Sufferings of Maria Martin* (1807), for example, culminates in an account of Martin's two years of "close confinement" loaded down with irons and chains in a specially built dungeon. Though Martin at first "glow[s] with the desire" to show her fortitude in suffering, she eventually finds herself struggling with illness and depression, until her liberty is purchased and she is freed.

Such scenes of gendered oppression are alluded throughout *Slaves in Algiers* by Susanna Haswell Rowson (1794). Although she emphasizes is moral and emotional pain rather than spectacles of physical suffering, Rowson dwells on the pain faced by both Muslim and captive American women, who are both ,in one way or another, in bondage to male tyrants and their lusts.[10]Moreover, Americans felt uneasy about the veiled women, at the same time, the veil became highly eroticised. Elijah Shaw writes that: *"the Orient has become a metaphor for sexuality is encapsulated by the recurrent figure of the veiled woman. The inaccessibility of the woman, mirroring the mystery of the Orient itself, requires a process of western unveiling for comprehension."* [11]

Historically, the relationship between the "West" and Islamic societies was marked by shifts in the balance of power between the two societies. These shifts, in turn, engendered corresponding shifts within archetypal paradigm of the Muslim women as a literary invention and later as an object of the western feminist gaze.[12] Tyler writes that women outside used to

cover their bodies so that even their husbands would not identify their wives. These women's hiding clothes bothered a lot the author because he is sexually attracted by them. Tyler's desire to look at an "Algerine" woman is also displayed in his great disappointment of not succeeding to see or inspect the "sick body". In his narrative, John Van Dike accused the "Algerines" of their inconsideration for women, *"the bad usage of slaves in that country and their buying and selling women, as we do for horses and cattle."* [13]

Mathew Carey notes that Arab women, *"subsequent to marriage [are] obliged to wear a veil and for a month after marriage, Arab women, never stir from the hut."*[14] As far as William Shaler is concerned, he writes that the restriction of women to the home is a barbarous defrauding of their rights, but he did not seem to think that men in "Algerine" society actively forced women into this role. He argues that it was more the result of inherited tradition:

> And when they (women) go abroad, a white veil that falls from the top of the head to the heels: thus they have the appearance of phantoms gliding through the dark streets of the city. Ladies of condition seldom or never walk abroad. Though these secluded dames bloom as it were in the desert, and are perhaps silently preparing the public mind for a restoration of the rights, of which barbarism and ignorance have defrauded them.[15]

In Martin's narrative, the miserable conditions of women within Barbary were considered as inconvenient in other countries, as it is argued by her mate who was also captured in Algeria, *"that he had represented to him that the imprisoning of female captives would be considered barbarous [sic] in other countries, and was contrary to the law of nations."* [16] Her fellow man expresses his great zeal to liberate her, since his Christian and American ideals were against women's imprisonment. He even expresses his willingness to die in order to save her, *"if I suffer thus inhumanly, it is a consolation that I suffer for no other crime than that of attempting to liberate from unjust and cruel slavery an innocent woman,"*[17]

In her play, Rowson gives a sympathetic view of the native women and considered their liberation a Christian women's burden. The Moorish women are portrayed as sexual objects to the Turks. The ways in which Fetnah discusses liberty makes her appear more like an American. Selima, on the other hand, has no desire for liberty and wilfully accepts her subjugation because her religion and society teaches her to.[18] Such scenes of gendered oppression throughout *Slaves in Algiers* (1794).The play's complicated plot involves American male captives who, as they seek freedom, are pursued by Muslim women, who wish to escape gender oppression by escaping with Christian lovers, and American female captives who teach and inspire the women of Algiers.

The American women, Rebecca and Olivia, are pressured by Ben Hassan and Muley Moloc, respectively, to marry them. American women, they are given strength by their belief in liberty as persons rather than sexual objects and their right to choose their partners. They believe that liberty should extend to "liberty in love". Rebecca and Olivia have subversively indoctrinated the Muslim women around them with their beliefs. The most eager student is Ben Hassan's daughter Fetnah, who says of Rebecca, *"It was she . . . who taught me, woman was never formed to be the abject slave of man . . . She came from that land, where virtue in either sex is the only mark of superiority–She was an American."*[19]

The plight of Muslim women, according to the captives, is worsened through the veil and polygamy. For these two aspects set the ground for westerners to claim their right and mission to free these oppressed and secluded women. The emancipation of the native women was seen by the Americans as their legitimate mission. Mathew Carey notes that women, subsequent to marriage are obliged to wear a veil and for a month after marriage, and those Arab women never stir from the hut.[20]

The "Algerines" not only hide their wives, but they do never mention them not because of jealousy, but inconsideration. James Stevens notes that the Turks regarded their women as

inferior in creation, and consequently they are not entitled to similar distinction.[21] The ways in which Stevens, Carey, and Shaler reports their observations on the treatment of women in Algerine society not only highlight how early Americans may have viewed the Algerines, but it also suggests a great deal about how these authors, and their contemporary American audience, viewed the place and role of women in their own society.

While the American women were gathering in salons, in order to discuss political and government affairs with their male counterparts, "Algerine" women were gathering in houses' terraces, for the sake of amusement. Moreover, they spent their time in baths and attending parties. The places where women gather were prohibited for men, as it is argued by Shaler:

> It is forbidden to all Mussulmans, on very severe penalties, to visit the terraces of their houses during daylight, which are held sacred to the women; but as this prohibition is not extended to Christians, we sometimes, on fine evenings, obtain a sight of those fair recluses, who, availing themselves of his scanty privilege ,take the air on flat-terraced roofs of their houses.[22]

Conclusion

While these authors follow the same language in showing the degraded role of women within Algiers, they do not pay attention to the details they offer to the reader about the luxuries enjoyed by the "Algerine" women .In fact, "Algerine" women were attending parties they held in public baths which attracted the westerners who visited Algiers at that time. Women in America were not enjoying freedom as it is claimed by Enlightenment's philosophers. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) is one of those philosophers, who wrote about women emancipation, continued to separate women as the opposites of men. Women were still perceived to have designated roles in society, particularly as mothers and wives.[23] Furthermore , Elizabeth Cady Stanton' *Declaration of Rights and Sentiments* was described in an article in the *Oneida Whig* published soon after the convention as *"the most shocking and unnatural event ever recorded in the history of womanity."* [24]Many newspapers insisted that the declaration was drafted at the expense of women's more appropriate duties.

It is widely argued that Martin's account is plagiarised because of the sufferings that cannot be endured by human beings, especially women. As far as veil is concerned, Carey did not see the use of the veil as abnormal because modest dress was the expected norm for women in contemporary American society. While the veil may have differed from what was worn by women in turn of the eighteenth century United States, its intent and purpose did not differ.[25]

Rowson's staging of Moorish women with American and Christian influences trying to liberate themselves from the oppressive yoke of a sexually deviant, violent, and threatening Turkish despot was meant as an allegory of sorts to inspire American women to realise their natural equality, if not superiority, over the male sex, and their lack of rights in the newly liberated United States.[26]

Notes

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[3]. Kinnaird cited in *The Enlightenment and the Development Of Social Theory*. [online] available:http&q=The+Enlightenment+and+the+development+of+social+theory&gbv=2&oq=The+Enlightenment+and+the+development+of+social+theory&gs_l=heirloom-hp.12..0i19.4359.4359.0.18406.1.1.0.0.0.0.1700.1700.8-1.1.0....0...1ac.2.34.heirloom-hp..0.1.1699.RTY5YmmRbr8 (Accessed on the 5th May 2014).

[4.] Martin, Maria (1807). *History of the Captivity and Sufferings of Maria Martin* in Baepler, Paul (1999).*White slaves, African Masters*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, p.155.

[5.] Foss, John (1798).*Journal of Captivity and Sufferings in* Baepler, Paul *White Slaves, African Masters*. Chicago. The university of Chicago Press, 1999,p.11.

[6.] Ibid: 18.

[7.] Ibid: 16.

[8.] Ibid: 15.

[9.] Allison cited in Sutton, Angela (2009).*Atlantic Orientalism How the language in Jefferson's America defeated the Barbary pirates* [online]available: http// www.darmatter101.org/site/2009/12/20/atlantic-orientalism-how-language-in-Jefferson %E2%80%995-Ameica-defeated-the-Barbary-pirates (Accessed on the 19th December 2010).

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[11.] Shaw, Elijah (1843) cited in Baepler, Paul (1999).*White slaves, African Masters*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, p.153.

[12.] Zine, Jasmine 2008. "Muslim Women and the Politics of Representation" in *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* Vol. 19, N.4 [online] available :http://i-epistemology.net/attachments/691_Ajiss19-4%20-%20Zine%20-%20Muslim%20Women%20 and%20the%20 Politics %20 of%20 Representation.pdf(Accessed on the19th May 2011).

[13.] John Vandike. *Narrative of the Captivity of John Vandike, who was taken by the Algerines in 1791* (1794; reprint, Leo minster, MA: Chapman Whitcomb, 1801) p:6.

[14.] Carey, Mathew cited in Paul , Miranda (2012). *Captive In Barbary: The Stereotyping Of Arabs, Turks, And Islam In Early American Society*. [online] available: http://udspace.udel.edu/handle/19716/11552 (Accessed on the 21th January 2014).

[15.] Shaler, William. Sketches of Algiers. Boston: Cambridge University Press, 1984,p. 76.

[16.] Martin, Maria (1807). *History of the Captivity and Sufferings of Maria Martin* in Baepler, Paul (1999).*White slaves, African Masters*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, p.153.

[17.] Ibid: 155.

[18.] Rawson, Susana. H (1794).*Slaves in Algiers, or a Struggle for Freedom*. Acton, Massachusetts: Coppley, 2000, p.61.

[19.] Myles, G. Anne (2004).*Slaves in Algiers, Captives in Iraq.* [online] available:http//www.common-place.org:vol-5/no-01/Myles/index.shtml (accessed on the 19th December 2010).

[20.] Carey Mathew cited in Paul, Miranda (2012). *Captive In Barbary: The Stereotyping Of Arabs, Turks, And Islam In Early American Society*. [online]available: http://udspace.udel.edu/handle/19716/11552 (Accessed on the 21th January 2014).

[21.] Stevens, James cited in Paul, Miranda (2012). *Captive In Barbary: The Stereotyping Of Arabs, Turks, And Islam In Early American Society*. [online]
available: http://udspace.udel.edu/handle/19716/11552 (Accessed on the 21th January 2014).

[22.] Shaler, William. Sketches of Algiers. Boston: Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 76.

[23.] Feldstein, Emily (2012) .*Women from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment.* [online]
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available:https://www.google.dz/?gws_rd=cr,ssl&ei=OdxEVJbSHsTmyQPYpYKADQ#q=Elizabeth+Cady+Stanton%E2%80%99 (Accessed on the 21th January 2014).

[25.] Carey, Mathew cited in Paul , Miranda (2012). *Captive In Barbary: The Stereotyping Of Arabs, Turks, And Islam In Early American Society*. [online]
available: http://udspace.udel.edu/handle/19716/11552 (Accessed on the 21th January 2014).

[26.] Ibid.

d- Food

"Tell me what kind of food you eat, and I will tell you what kind of man you are"[1]

The phrase *"You are what you eat"* is true for what we eat forms the bones and organs in our bodies. Human bones reflect the general health and nutrition of the individual. One of the basic interests to archaeologists is the diet or subsistence pattern of the peoples they study. Since seasonal patterns of movement are often linked to subsistence regimes, archaeologists frequently study the overall settlement subsistence pattern. Other major topics of study related to food are the origins of agriculture, the process of plant and animal domestication, and the study of foodways. [2]

This section is important for food is one of the cultural norms that caused the American captives' culture shock. The "Algerine" food is portrayed as inferior to the American one. The American captives consider the natives' food as inferior and inadequate because it consisted only of some olives, vinegar and coarse bread. As an important social phenomenon, food is part and parcel of culture and the means of creating, affecting and making statements about one's identity. Thus, the Americans realised their need to construct their identity in opposition to the Algerine one because of the way of subsistence that marked the wide gap between U.S.A and Algiers.

In order to analyse this theme, it will be useful to draw upon *Food and Culture (*2012), edited by Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik. This work provides a compendium of studies of the meanings of food, where the editors argue that *"food touches everything... It is a central pawn in political strategies of states and households. Food marks social differences, boundaries, bonds, and contradictions."* Food is said to be a medium of culture: *"food marks social differences, boundaries, bonds, and contradictions. Eating is an endlessly evolving enactment of gender, family, and community relationships […] Men and women define*

themselves differently through their foodways, and […] women across cultures […] often speak through food and appetite."[4]

It is important to insist on the significant role of food in the biological, social, political, cultural as well as the very personal spheres of our everyday lives. It is a mundane object, but of great social importance. Food is part and parcel of all cultures around the world, thus having a universal significance. However, food is associated with a variety of practices and endowed with diverse meanings across cultures, and therefore it has a potential to represent cultural specificities and differences. In cross-cultural encounters characterised by meeting and mingling of cultures, food can serve as the means of establishing the awareness of diversity and cross-cultural exchanges.

Food and its link to identity has been one of the most fruitful topics of food studies to date. The significance of food for human life rests on its simultaneous contribution to the biological and the social, and it is also the act of incorporation that gives food its unique status. In view of semiotics, food functions as communication. It transmits messages about identities and social relationships, and it develops and transforms over time due to social shifts. It can also facilitate transcultural communication through food sharing across cultural boundaries, and through altering and re-creating food habits: [5]

> Food is surely used for communication just as any other type of verbal or non-verbal communication. It transfers messages about identities and relations which are all transformed in time due to social changes. Even if researchers may sometimes find food codes complex and difficult to deal with, what is really important is that ordinary people understand the messages communicated through food and use them in their lives on a day-to-day basis.[6]

It is an anthropological saying that food is both substance and symbol, providing physical nourishment and a key mode of communication that carries many kinds of meaning. Many studies have demonstrated that food is a particularly symbol of personal and group identity, forming one of the foundations of both individuality and a sense of common membership in a larger, bounded group,

> what is much less well understood is how such a stable pillar of identity can also be so fluid and changeable, how the seemingly insurmountable boundaries between each group's unique dietary practices and habits can be maintained, while diets, recipes, and cuisines are in a constant state of flux.[7]

However, food is much more than just a means of survival. It pervades all other aspects of our lives since it is a key factor in how we view ourselves and others. Roland Barthes contends that food is communication because it is a nonverbal means by which we share meanings with others. He states that food is a system of communication, body of images, a protocol of usages, situations, and behaviour.[8]According to the Encyclopaedia of Food and culture, what distinguishes the anthropological study of food from that of other disciplines is

> its focus on food within a cultural and often cross-cultural context. Anthropologists study humans and human culture across space and evolutionary time; this includes the study of their own culture and social institutions. Subfields of the anthropological study of food include cultural, linguistic, biological, and archaeological anthropology […] Food requires hunting, gathering, growing, storage, distribution, preparation, display, serving, and disposal, all of which are social activities.[9]

Sometimes, food is used to communicate with others and as a means of demonstrating personal identity, group affiliation and disassociation, and other social categories, such as socioeconomic class. In this sense, *"food is a product and mirror of the organization of society…, a prism that absorbs and reflects a host of cultural Phenomena,"*[10] writes the editors of *Food and Culture* (2012).Thus, food functions symbolically as a communicative practice by which we create, manage, and share meanings with others. Perhaps one of the most common ways that we utilise food is in the construction of our personal identities, because food *"contains deep, multi-layered meanings. Since it is such a strong component and shaper of identity whether on the level of family, community, ethnicity, class, religion, region, or other entity, food is deeply enmeshed in a collective as well as an individual sense of identity."*[11]

While Brillat-Savarin claims in *The Physiology of Taste* (2000), *"Tell me what kind of food you eat, and I will tell you what kind of man you are,"* [12] Roland Barthes states, *"another*

cross-cutting theme is food as a means of communication. Because of food's multi-sensorial properties of taste, touch, sight, sound, and smell, it has the ability to communicate in a variety of registers and constitutes a form of language."[13]Actually, the development of agriculture introduced some measure of security into the life of ancient peoples. Still, ancient peoples such as the Mediterranean regions were constrained by their environment, and the nature of the crops they could grow or the animals they could raise depended on such matters as temperature, rainfall, soil conditions, elevation, and the like. *The Encyclopaedia of Food and Culture* (2003) states that the Mediterranean diet includes liberal amounts of fruits, vegetables, grains, and moderate consumption of alcohol, in addition to a good deal of obligatory physical activity, no smoking, and a relaxed attitude toward life.[14]

In Europe and the American colonies, starting from the 1600s, breakfast was a simple affair. Actually breakfast at that time contained beer, bread or porridge, but wealthier households began to include coffee or tea. Bread and butter, a selection of cold meats, perhaps porridge on a cold day, and coffee, tea, or another hot beverage was the breakfast norm by the early 1800s [15]:

> Americans also enjoy other types of breakfast foods, some more healthy than others. In addition to fruit juices, particularly orange juice, pancakes, biscuits, eggs, bacon, sausages, and other breakfast meats, Americans also consume hash brown potatoes and breakfast pastries such as coffee cakes, donuts, and muffins.[16]

Americans enjoyed crops and food stuffs from other places. Potato, for instance, was an important food item, first cultivated in the Andes Mountains some seven thousand years ago, when people discovered that it was a highly durable crop that could grow at high elevations and in poor soil. While potatoes are eaten throughout most of the modern world, they were exclusively a South American crop until the 16th century.[17] Diversity also characterised the activities of the typical New England family of the 17th and 18th centuries. Most New England families of the time lived on farms.[18] They grew a variety of crops, with grains figuring prominently, and they had a mix of sheep, pigs, chickens, and a few cows.

They also engaged in various non-farming activities, with men operating sawmills and making furniture, women making butter and cheese and spinning, weaving, and sewing.[19]

As far as American colonial life is concerned, in the late summer and fall, women dried and stored fruits and vegetables for winter meals. Hogs were butchered in the fall and the meat made into sausage or salted and smoked for preservation. Planter's wives often grew herbs such as spearmint, peppermint, lavender, rosemary and parsley which were used to season foods and make home healthcare remedies.[20]On the one hand, the Americans did not limit themselves to the crops they could grow:

> The New World within the sphere of European power, Europe experienced a deluge of new substances, including foods, some of them similar to items they then supplemented or supplanted others not readily comparable to prior dietary components. Among the new items were many imports from the New World, including maize, potatoes, tomatoes, the so-called "hot" peppers (*Capsicum annuum, Capsicum frutescens* , etc.), fruits like the papaya, and the food and beverage base called chocolate or cacao.[21]

On the other hand, the "Algerines" were subsisting on local crops. Their foodways are sustained by three basic essentials: wheat, olives and grapes with characteristic foods including products such as wheat derivatives (bread, pasta, etc), olive oil, wine, fruits and vegetables, dairy products (yogurt and cheese).Whereas meat and fish are taken in high quantities in America, they are taken in small quantities in Algiers. In addition to a great variety of pulses and nuts are used, such as chickpeas, lentils, white beans, pine nuts, hazelnuts, walnuts, and almonds.[22] William Shaler in *The Sketches of Algiers* gives a detailed description of the ways of subsistence within Algiers. Thus, he states:

> Bread, mutton, poultry, fish, milk, butter, cheese, oil, olives, and fruits, with the couscousou, which is granulated paste made of wheat of the nature of macaroni, generally constitute the food of the people of Barbary; the latter may be regarded as their national dish, equivalent to the macaroni in Italy and the rice of India[…]the common labourers are satisfied with bread only, with little oil if they can procure it. Coffee is the great luxury of these temperate people, and waters their only beverage.[23]

As an Islamic country, consumption of wine and pork is not allowed in Algiers. Paradoxically, they are the fundamental foodstuffs in America. Clearly, a community's diet depended on the nature of the foodstuffs found in that part of the world. James Leander

Cathcart writes about the prohibition of liquor: *"the use of wine excepted, as no inebriating liquor is permitted to be used in the palace on pain of a severe bastinad(o) ing and being turned to hard labor in chains, nor tobacco to be used, when the Dey himself does not use it himself."*[24]

The Mediterranean area represents the central point of olive production because of its history and environmental conditions. According to Shaler, "*The olive is here in its native soil and climate, and flourishes spontaneously wherever permitted. All the fruits of the temperate climates are produced here in abundance, but except figs, pomegranates are of inferior quality."*[25] Throughout the Mediterranean area, both olive oil and extra-virgin olive oil are used as dietary fats. The first is more extensively used for cooking, while the second type is used directly as a salad dressing or as a dip for bread. In this regard, Foss states:

> About sunset they brought us a dish of Oil, Olives, and Vinegar, and some bread, and told us, to eat heartily, while we were on board. For after our arrival at Algiers, we should not be allowed such dainties. Although we were very hungry, we could eat but very little, the situation we were in ,and not being used to such diet.[26]

Likewise, James L. Cathcart describes the ammunition of the salves as insufficient for them to fulfill their hard labour. Thus, he comments:

> Figure to yourself above a thousand poor wretches, many of them half naked, without hat or shoes […] add to this that they only received two small loaves of **black bread** of seven ounces each in all the day and a very small portion of horse beans, probably without any oil ,as their small allowance is given out the day before and is generally either stolen or made away with[…]they then receive a loaf of the same sort of bread, but weighing twelve ounces which is all they ever receive on Friday.[27]

Obviously, in so many occasions the captives mention the notion of food inferiority within Algiers. The coarse bread, olives, and vinegar, according to Foss represent the only meal that was served in Barbary. However, the French priest offered them delicious white bread, representing the white civilisation through the white. The colour the coarse and black bread which was served to them refers to the rudeness of the Algerine masters and the harsh and backward life within Barbary. In her narrative, Maria Martin not only describes the beef as **wormy**, referring to the "Algerines people", but also describes even water as inferior, *"an*

old Turk brought me a jug containing about half a pint of inferior water, and a small piece of wormy beef."[28]She further asserts: *"nought but extreme hunger can compel me to partake of such nauseous food."*[29] Thus, food reflects the vertical social and economic distinction between not only the rich and the poor but between the ones who pretend to be civilised and the others who are supposed to be inferior, "*bread does not as such constitute a signifying unit: in order to find these we must go further and look at its varieties. Each variety of bread is a 'unit of signification,"* [30] states Roland Barthes.

In his turn, Royal Taylor comments about the inadequacy of the "Algerine" diet for his "fellow sufferers" to accomplish hard work within Barbary:

> My fellow labourers had been put to this place as a punishment for domestic crimes, or for their superior strength ,and all were obliged to labourers had been put to this place as a punishment for domestic crimes, […] and to drink water, which would have been delicious if cold ,and to eat black barely bread and onions.[31]

Beyond subsistence, food is a social and cultural expression of individuals. It acts as an entry point into larger debates and discourse around a multitude of issues. Food enables people to better understand their histories, cultures, and their shared future. Food makes the connection between people and the ecological systems and can teach about the world in which we live. Food is also used to get people in touch with our deepest desires or to examine political and social relations within society.[32] Like language, symbol or ritual, foodways are a powerful means of both delineating and transmitting culture because it breaks the body' internal and external boundary "*and because of the biological imperative to eat daily, food inheres in a unique and intimate way in our collective and individual identities, and functions as a potent social, religious, gender, political, and cultural marker."*[33]

Conclusion

Though unsatisfied with foodstuffs within Barbary, James L. Cathcart' narrative shows that, as captives, they enjoyed other types of delicious food, in addition to the black bread, oil, and vinegar:

> Here we had nothing allowed us but a small plate of meat and another of rice mumsa or burgul, and a basin of sour milk twice a day, which was hardly sufficient for four of us, with some oil and vinegar now and then and black bread, such as is given to the slaves at the Marine, and in the fruit season some musk and watermelons.[34]

The Mediterranean diet is considered as a paragon, absolute model, among the world's diets .It is difficult to know which specific dietary pattern to deal with, because of the wide diversity of food rations in the Mediterranean area: cereals, pulses predominate in the South, cereals, pulses, sugar and western-style food in the North Mediterranean countries with cereals, meat, fats, legumes.[35] Acknowledging that, a significant body of science supports that the olive oil as a key ingredient in this diet which offers significant health benefits. Compared to many other fat sources, olive oil is a good fat that protects human health through many different mechanisms, including anti-inflammatory action. Chronic inflammation is implicated in a wide range of health conditions, ranging from cardiovascular disease, cancer, diabetes, metabolic syndrome and neurological disorders.[36]

William Shaler mentions different types of food to say more about the diversity of this region,*"bread, mutton,poultry,fish,milk,butter,cheese,oil,olives,and fruits, with the couscousou, which is granulated paste made of wheat of the nature of macaroni, generally constitute the food of the people of Barbary."*[37]Similarly, Cathcart describes different types of food that were served and prepared especially for the American captives, instead of some local and exotic dishes. Besides, wine was served for the Christian captives, though it was prohibited. Thus Cathcart states, "*in lieu of camel's flesh, some boiled mumusa, vegetables and fruits, [which, with] with some wine and provisions given to the caprives"*[38]

Notes

[1.] Anthelme, Brillat-Savarin, *Physiologie du Gout, ou Méditations de Gastronomie Transcendante* (Paris: Flammarion, 1982), 19.

[2.] Katz, Solomon. H. *Encyclopedia of Food and Culture.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons , 2003, p.92.

[3].Howsam,Leslie.*CultureOfFood/FoodAsCulture.*[online] available:http://www.google.dz/search?q=INTRODUCTION+%3A+CULTURE+OF+FOOD%2FFOOD+AS+CULTURE+Leslie+Howsam&hl=frDZ&gbv=2&spell=1&oq=INTRODUCTION+%3A+CULTURE+OF+FOOD%2FFOOD+AS+CULTURE+Leslie+Howsam&gs_l=heirloom-serp.12...543142.546093.0.547443.14.6.0.0.0.0.690.690.5-1.1.0....0...1ac.1j2.34.heirloom-serp..14.0.0.-2PQvBf9fK8 (Accessed on the 21th Mai 2014).

[4.] Ibid.

[5.] Hinnerova, Katarina (2007) .*Food and transcultural metaphor.* [online] available:http://www.google.dz/search?q=Food+as+a+Transcultural+Metaphor+Food+Imagery+and+Ethnocultural+Identities+in+Contemporary+Multicultural+Women+Writing+in+Canada&hl=fr-DZ&gbv=2&spell=1&oq=Food+as+a+Transcultural+Metaphor+Food+Imagery+and+Ethnocultural+Identities+in+Contemporary+Multicultural+Women+Writing+in+Canada&gs_l=heirloom-serp.12...482936.486166.0.487374.2.2.0.0.0.0.852.852.6-1.1.0....0...1ac.1j2.34.heirloom-serp..1.1.851.G1M1N9J2zZU (Accessed on the 21th Mai 2014).

[6.] Ibid.

[7.] Katz, Solomon. H.*Encyclopedia of Food and Culture.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons , 2003, p.376.

[8.] Counihan, Carole and Van Esterik, Penny. *Food and Culture*. London: Rutledge: 3r edition, 2007, p.29.

[9.] Katz, Solomon. H. *Encyclopedia of Food and Culture* .New York: Charles Scribner's Sons , 2003, p.92

[10.] Counihan, Carole and Van Esterik, Penny. *Food and Culture*. London: Rutledge: 3r edition, 2007, p.22.

[11.] Bentley cited in Katz, Solomon. H..*Encyclopedia of Food and Culture.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2003.vol.02.03.

[12.] Brillat-Savarin (2000) cited in Dursteler, Eric .R. *Infidel Foods: Food and Identity in Early Modern Ottoman Travel Literature.* [online] available:https://www.academia.edu/1239332/Infidel_Foods_Food_and_Identity_in_Early_Modern_Ottoman_Travel_Literature (Accessed on the 17th May 2014).

[13.] Barthes, Roland cited in Garnsey, Peter.Food, *substance and symbol.* [online] available: http://assets.cambridge.org/97805216/41821/excerpt/9780521641821_excerpt.pdf. (Accessed on the 21th May 2013).

[14.] Katz, Solomon. H.*Encyclopedia of Food and Culture.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons , 2003, p.480.

[15.] Ibid: 245

[16.] Ibid: 246.

[17.] Ibid: 480.

[18.] *Colonial life*. [online]availbale:http://historyisfun.org/pdf/colonial-life/colonial_life.pdf (Accessed on the 17th May 2014).

[19.] Katz, Solomon. H. *Encyclopedia of Food and Culture.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons , 2003, p.03.

[20.] Ibid.

[21.] Ibid: 92.

[22.] *Mediterranean Diet And Health:* Biological Importance of Olive Oil. [online] availbale:http://www.oliotenero.it/pdf/sapere/MEDITERRANEAN_DIET_AND_HEALTH_BIOLOGICAL_IMPORTANCE_OF_OLIVE_OIL.pdf (Accessed on the 17th May 2014).

[23.] Shaler, William. *Sketches of Algiers*. Boston: Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 64.

[24.] Cathcart, J. Leander (1899).*The Captives, Eleven Years a Prisoner in Algiers* in Baepler, Paul. *White Slaves, African Masters*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999, p.114.

[25.] Shaler, William. Sketches *of Algiers*. Boston: Cambridge University Press, 1984,p. 04.

[26.] Foss, John (1798).*Journal of Captivity and Sufferings in* Baepler, Paul *White Slaves, African Masters*. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, 1999, 9.131.

[27.] Cathcart, J. Leander (1899).*The Captives, Eleven Years a Prisoner in Algiers* in Baepler, Paul. *White Slaves, African Masters*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999, p.144.

[28.] Martin, Maria (1807). *History of the Captivity and Sufferings of Maria Martin* in Baepler, Paul. *White slaves, African Masters*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999, p.150.

[29.] Ibid: 150-1.

[30.] Barthes, Roland cited in Garnsey ,Peter.*Food, substance and symbol.* [online] available: http://assets.cambridge.org/97805216/41821/excerpt/9780521641821_excerpt.pdf. (Accessed on the 21th May 2013).

[31.] Tyler, Royal. *The Algerine Captive: or Life and Adventures of Doctor Updike* Underhill. Hartford, CT: Peter B. Gleason and Go, 1816. [online] available :http//www.archive.org/details/Algerine captive00tylerch (Accessed on Mars 5,2013)

[32.] Katz , Solomon. H. *Encyclopedia of Food and Culture.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons , 2003, p.587.

[33.] Dursteler, Eric .R. *Infidel Foods: Food and Identity in Early Modern Ottoman Travel Literature.* [online]available:https://www.academia.edu/1239332/Infidel_Foods_Food_and_Identity_in_Early_Modern_Ottoman_Travel_Literature (Accessed on the 17th May 2014).

[34.] Cathcart, J. Leander (1899).*The Captives, Eleven Years a Prisoner in Algiers* in Baepler, Paul. *White Slaves, African Masters*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999, p.144.

[35.] Padilla, Martine. Mediterranean Diet as an Example of A Sustainable Diet. [online] available:http://www.fao.org/ag/humannutrition/25350-045b6f1a6449ed404d35745e4dbeea488.pdf (Accessed on the 23th May 2014).

[36.] *The Emerging Health Attributes of the Mediterranean Diet and Olive Oil.* [online] available: http://www.aboutoliveoil.org/ooemerginghealthbenefits.pdf (Accessed on the 23th May 2014).

[37.] Shaler, William. Sketches of Algiers. Boston: Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 62.

[38.] Cathcart, J. Leander (1899).*The Captives, Eleven Years a Prisoner in Algiers* in Baepler, Paul.*White Slaves, African Masters*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999, p.144.

e- Clothing

This section is important for the way of dressing is one of the cultural aspects that caused the American captives' culture shock. The Algerine garments are not only portrayed as inferior to the American ones, but also nakedness is explored to stress the Algerines' savageness. The theme of nakedness is shown through the captives who were stripped off their clothes, aboard the ships, in return for some clothes that were seen as unsuitable and strange to be worn. As it has been already mentioned, it seems appropriate to use Roland Barthes' *The Fashion System* (1959) as a framework. Barthes shows not only the development and the challenges to ideas on clothing and fashion, but also his own reflexive and often quite self-conscious wrangling with the contradictions, limitations and possibilities of negotiating the paradox of fashion as a subject which *"at best has nothing to be said about it, and at worst invites pure tautology."*[1] He structured his analysis on the literariness of fashion, decoding the links between image and text.[2]

Barthes analysed the written fashion descriptions in *Elle* and *Le Jardin des Modes*, instead of their visual presentation, because *"it is not the object but the name that creates desire; it is not the dream but the meaning that sells."*[3]According to him, fashion signs can contain explicit references to the world or implicit references to the ideology of fashion itself. In the first instance, the dominant metaphor is work, the curiously inactive activity of dressing up, *"to dress in order to act is, in a certain way, not to act, it is to display the being of doing, without assuming its reality."*[4]When it is fashion itself which is signified, it assumes the guise of natural law, imperative and agentless , *"what is decided on, imposed, finally appears as necessary*[…] *for this to take place, it is enough to keep the Fashion decision secret; who will make it obligatory that this summer's dresses be made of raw silk?"*[5] Thus, Barthes succeeds in revealing how fashion language draws a veil around the fashion object, *"a veil of images,*

of reasons, of meanings; a mediating substance of an aperitive order[…] *substituting for the slow time of wear a sovereign time free to destroy itself by an act of annual potlatch."*[6]

As an important social phenomenon, the way of dressing is part and parcel of culture and the means of creating, affecting and making statements about one's identity. Thus, the American captives realised their need to construct their identity in opposition to the "Algerine" one, because of the way of dressing that distinguished between U.S and Algiers. Obviously, the nakedness of the Algerines is used as a metaphor for primitive people, who welcome their guests by stripping off their clothes. This denotes the midway between civilisation and primitivism. Browsing the narratives, one can notice that all the captives emphasise this notion in order to show that the trip, abroad the ship, towards Algiers is a trip from the civilised America to the primitive Algiers. In other words, it is a trip from light to darkness. Actually, the nakedness of the natives refers to their need to be tamed and civilised by the Americans in order to teach them the value of covering their bodies. In this sense Philipa Levine comments:

> Was to be a state of nature, unschooled, unselfconscious, lacking in shame and propriety, and nothing better signified the primitive than nakedness. Nakedness defined the Western encounter with colonial, and potentially colonial,spaces.[7]

Likewise, Foss in his narrative comments, *"They then came on deck, and stripped the clo(a)thes from our backs, all except a shirt and pair of drawers."* [8] In her turn, Martin comments: *"the men were stripped of their clo(a)thes ,and in return ,a few old duds were given them ,hardly sufficient to cover them."*[9] The way of dressing differs from one culture to another, in a way that of the abstract ideas, values, and perceptions of the world reflected in people's behaviour and way of dressing:

> Every culture provides a design for thought and action that helps people survive and deal with all the challenges of existence. To endure, a culture must satisfy the basic needs of those who live by its rules, and it must provide an orderly existence for the members of a society. In doing so, a culture must strike a balance between the self-interests of individuals and the needs of society as a whole.[10]

Actually, clothes are central to the way bodies are experienced, presented and understood within culture. Dressing forms a significant, though neglected, element in people identities and belongings, *"clothes are expressions of identity, one of the perennial means whereby we signal to the social world who and what we are; they are part of our repertoire of social technology, a means whereby ideas of identity are grounded in the visual."*[11] Clothes can be expressive of individuality and agency; they do have personal meanings that are distinctive to the individual. Their choice, and the meanings that attach to them, are determined by the social, economic and cultural contexts. However, the choice of certain garments is dictated, in any given society, by the elite. Thus, certain ways of dressing will be naturalised, to be the standard and the ideal for the others to follow.

In his scheme, the rest of society belongs to the dominated classes. The Encyclopedia of Food and Culture (2003) insists that *"it must never be forgotten that the working-class 'aesthetic' is a dominated 'aesthetic' which is constantly obliged to define itself in terms of the dominant aesthetic*."[12] Barthes explains how in the fashion world any word could be endowed with an idealistic significance by the upper classes. According to him, if popular fashion says that any kind of garment is ideal for certain situation, this idea must be naturalized and accepted as a truth and cannot be discussed. Moreover, he states that within the everyday use of language and images, signs are organised into relationships that are used as part of a code system. These code systems, through their structured conventions and applications, become a way of constructing meaning within cultural discourses and eventually become embedded in the everyday languages of a society. Central to the construction of cultural meaning, and also to the analysis of the myth, is the idea that all sign symbols carry with them assumptions that may appear natural but are actually historical.[13]

Barthes attempts to give a semiotic to clarify to the slipperiness of fashion throughout history. His description of fashion as a meaning-making activity, at once bound up within

language and yet existing beyond it, is a fascinating paradox.[14]While Americans are very careful about their dress, the "Algerines" do not have a sense of elegance, according to the captives. Each occasion acquires a certain sort of garment, for instance, parties' dress is different from the one of work:

> Throughout his life, Benjamin Franklin used clothing to convey his status and political identity. Franklin would never wear an outfit so regal while working at his printing press; this type of dress would be impractical around the heavy machinery. With his entry into genteel society, however Franklin chose to make a statement of his dress.[15]

The fur hats and leather jacket are symbols of fierce wilderness that America was born of. These fur hats were made of beaver found near the Canadian border, and the leather worn by Native Americans reflect how pure the American colonies were. Thus, leather and fur are the signs of gentility and pride for America.[16]The Algerines, however, are said to be inferior since they wear sombre and coarse clothes. The coarseness of their garments reflects their harshness and bad temper, on the one hand. On the other hand, the sombre colours they are wearing reflect their backwardness, for these colours denote that these people still live in darkness. While muted and quiet colours themselves such as grey and black suggest social retirement, or a withdrawn and sidelined status. The adoption of dull, neutral colours in old age relates to the dullness of life, unlike the light ones which make life more cheerful.[17]

Actually, Americans use white colour which signifies civilisation, in addition to other cheerful colours and symbolic motifs. These colours are represented in the American flag. While the white colour signifies purity and innocence, the red one signifies hardness and valour. In addition to the white and red colours, the blue is used as the colour of the Chief, and the placement of the broad band signifies, vigilance, perseverance and justice.[18]As far as the "Algerines" are concerned, Foss writes that the dress of the men, who live in the country is only a coarse woollen cloth wrapped round the shoulders, which falls down as far as their ankles, with cap of the same cloth, with a twisted turban of woollen over that.[19]While the

Algerines' garments were made by coarse materials, the American ones were made by soft and convenient ones:

> Different types of textiles were used not only to make clothing but also to make bedding, linens, curtains, ship sails and upholstery. Textiles used during the colonial era were made chiefly from wool and flax. Cotton was used less often for colonial clothing. A material called serge, which was a durable twilled woollen fabric, was commonly used for bed curtains, upholstery and clothing.[20]

The description of the captives of the men's way of dressing as inferior is reflected by the superiority of the American one. A case in point comes with William Shaler, who describes men clothing in Algiers which consists of the hyke and a slight pair of drawers, with the turban or without, according to circumstances. The way of wearing the hyke, according to Shaler, also resembles the mode of wearing the common blanket by the Indians. It also serves the same purpose, that is, mantle by day, and bed covering by night. It is important to mention that Shaler confesses that the hyke is a very inconvenient garment, since it continually fall from its position. In this respect much more so, from its ample dimensions, than the blanket of Indians.[21]

Men's clothing during the American Revolution was extremely form fitted and individually tailored to fit the wearer's body. A suite of clothing which consisted of a coat, waistcoat, and breeches was often a "ditto suite." A "ditto suite" is when all of the pieces of the suite were made of the same colour and fabric. It was also common for just coats and breeches to match, and for coats, waistcoats, and breeches to be worn which were made from completely different materials and colors.[22] In *The Algerine Captive*, Tyler compares women's and men's clothes, within Algiers, to the American old fashioned ones. He writes that men wear a "linen shirt" and a short cut drawer in which their legs and arms are uncovered. They also put a "turban" on their heads and slippers on their legs. As for women, though he had never encountered an Algerine woman, he writes: *"The dress of the women, I am told for I never had the pleasure of inspecting its very critically, resembles that of the men,*

except that their drawers are longers, their outside garment is like our old-fashioned ridinghoods."[23]

Tyler adds that women outside are used to cover their whole bodies so that a husband would not identify his wife. These women's hiding clothes bothered a lot the author because he is sexually attracted by them, particularly when he reveals in many occasions his lust for at least seeing a face of a woman such as the wife or daughter of his master. Throughout the novel, one can notice Tyler's tendency to victimize the Muslim women due to her veil .The captives, most of the time, tend to play the role of a saviour who will save the "Algerine" women who are seen as victims of oppression and patriarchal society.

Actually, during and after the Revolutionary War, clothes were used to convey patriotic feelings. Americans patriots, including most of the Founding Fathers, used clothing as a politicised symbol of American nationality. Throughout the 1760's, the boycott movement pushed more colonial citizens refused to purchase English goods. Textiles were a crucial focus of the boycotts. Thus, the Americans started to make American homespun clothing, which was advocated by many patriotic Americans .This was widely shared by colonial citizens who were showing their American patriotism, unwilling to quietly endure the abuse of foreign government. Consequently, American spinners began using their own materials to adorn their garments. The dresses of American women were adorned with cotton embroidery that looks like a vine with flowers blooming throughout the dress.[24]

Indeed, men suits of cotton and wool were made with higher material and embellished with buttons, which became the signature adornment for homespun suits and dresses in America: *"Good buckles were necessary, and buttons were apparently an obsession. Eighteenth-century storekeepers stocked buttons by the thousands; large bags of them turn up in their inventories."*[25] The quotation mentioned above shows the Americans' tendency to use a lot of buttons, unlike the Algerine who do not use such adornment. In his captivity narrative,

Foss complains, not only about the queer garments of the Algerines, but also about the absence of buttons:

> On examining it, we found it contained [….] a waistcoat, made something like a frock, to draw on over the head, it not being open at the belly,a shirt, with neither collar or wrist-bands ,a pair of Trousers, made somewhat like a women petticoat,(with this difference,) the bottom being sewed up, and two holes to put the legs through, and a pair of slippers. There was neither button ,or button-hole in the whole suit.[26]

As it has been already mentioned, buttons did not exist within Barbary, whereas in America a great importance was given to this ornament. The history of buttons started within revolutionary America, where they determined the statues of different military officers. Later on, after the independence, the tradition of buttons continued to mark their way of dressing. Since 1768, the British army button had been marked with the regimental number or, in the case of certain corps, with a distinctive device. For the enlisted man these buttons were made of white metal. An officer's button, on the other hand, was usually much more elegant and was often of foreign manufacture.[27]

In order to express patriotism and victory, Americans use the Eagle sign, with the emblem of the United States as motifs to embroider on dress. In addition to pastoral scenes, emphasising the rural nature of the young country, were displayed on dresses and suit jackets. The flowers which were used on the dresses are meant to portray the American wild flowers.[28] While the American women set images of pastoral scenes, eagles, emblems and heroes were doing their part of fight for liberty, the Algerine women were exaggerating in ornamenting themselves. According to the captives, this is a sign primitiveness because these women ornament themselves while their children were naked, vulnerable to cold and heat. In this sense, Foss comments:

> The women pay more attention to ornament themselves with dress. They are dressed with a long piece of coarse woollen cloth, not unlike that of the men's, with a great number of pewter, and brass, broaches, fixed upon it, about the shoulders, arms and breast. They adorn their heads, with several of these broaches fixed in their hair, and a braided woollen string passed several times round their heads, and filled with several kinds of flowers. The children are suffered to go naked till eight or nine years old of age.[29]

Added to this, William Shaler looks at the Algerine women way of dressing, stressing the great attention they pay to their ornaments and jewelleries:

> The dress of Moorish women, as far as we can be acquainted with it, consists of a slight chemise, which, with ladies of condition, is of the finest materials; a pair of loose pantaloons gathered at the ankles; a tunic of brocade, or richly embroidered stuff, laced behind; and slippers, without stockings. They pay the greatest attention to their hair, which is considered a great beauty when it falls to their feet. They are not satisfied with the natural beauty of their eyelashes, but paint them in black, and colour the tips of their fingers, palms of their hands, and soles of their feet with henna [...] and when they go abroad, a white veil that falls from the top of the head to the heels: thus they have the appearance of phantoms gliding through the dark streets of the city. Ladies of condition seldom or never walk abroad. Though these secluded dames bloom as it were in the desert, from the complaints of their husbands respecting their extravagance in dress, it may be inferred that they exercise no inconsiderable portion of influence in society, and are perhaps silently preparing the public mind for a restoration of the rights, of which barbarism and ignorance have defrauded them.[30]

Actually, wearing patriotic emblems on their clothing or making American homespun goods was not only for the working-class of American colonial society. Homespun became a movement that involved members of all social classes in America, including the elite. The Algerines, however, do not share this notion, for social status determines the type of garments that should be worn. For the elite in colonial American, though wealthy enough to import goods from Europe, refused to wear international luxurious items. Thus, an important military message was sent to the Americans through this boycott. The Founding Fathers were the first who choose to stop wearing foreign clothes and push for homespun clothing.[31]

In addition to buttons, shoes and stockings are highly emphasised within these narratives. As far as the "Algerines" are concerned, while shoes were just worn by the elite, stockings do not even exist. Foss comments:

> The Sheikh or chief of the tribe is known by a linen garment instead of a woollen, and a linen turban, he also wears a pair of **shoes**, made of dressed leather. The common sort of people, seldom wear shoes, and when they do, they are made of undressed leather hair on the outside. [32]

Conclusion

The Algerine garments are portrayed as inferior to the American homespun clothing. Paradoxically, these clothes were usually made from coarser material such as wool and leather. Although these were common goods in the American colonies, they did not exude luxury like European style clothing. European dresses were most often made from very fine cotton or expensive silk. Unlike the homespun garments of patriotic Americans, European, especially English, garments were heavily embroidered with fine details. Instead of wearing English fine fabrics, the Americans chose to exhibit their pride for their nation and their freedom by wearing poorer quality fabrics similar to the "Algerine" ones.[33]

Moreover, the harsh climate of America necessitates some special garments like stockings, which are not well demanded in Algiers due to its mild climate. In his narrative, Cathcart provides the reader with some data that challenges all what had been said by the other captives. Sometimes, he even contradicts himself whence describing the slaves' comfortable life within Barbary. In fact, he does not only describe the Dey's luxurious garments, but he mentions that slaves are better than the cooks of the palace. Thus, he states that:

> I shall now return to the palace. The slaves in the upper apartments received two suits of elegant clothes trimmed with **gold**, those in the palace garden had the same quality of clothing with less gold, and the cooks were supplied with clothing somewhat inferior, trimmed with silk.[34]

Last but not least, the clothing of a given country is the manifestation of its own culture. The difference and diversity maintain life and encourage adventure and travel around the world. Yet, dress is also clearly the product of social and economic forces that are far from individual or particular to the self. The dress of most people reflects very closely the clothing presented to them through the fashion system, so that although individual choices are made, they are done so across a fairly narrow compass.

Note

[1]. Barthes, Roland .*The Fashion System*. California: University of California Press,1990,p.124.

[2]. Mayhew, Margaret. *Roland Barthes: The Language of Fashion.* [online] available:https://www.google.dz/?gws_rd=cr,ssl&ei=5VacULgOcLwOurmgZgD#q=Roland+ Barthes%2 C+The+Language+of+Fashion+Margaret+Mayhew+pd (Accessed on the 07th May2013).

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[4]. Ibid: 303.

[5]. Ibid.

[6]. Ibid.

[7]. Levine, Philipa. *State of Undress: Nakedness and the colonial Imagination* in Victorian Studies, *vol.50, n.2.Winter* 2008, p.192.

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[12]. Ibid.

[13]. Barthes, Roland .*The Fashion System*. California: University of California Press,1990,p.113.

[14]. Mayhew, Margaret. *Roland Barthes: The Language of Fashion.* [online] available:https://www.google.dz/?gws_rd=cr,ssl&ei=5VacULgOcLwOurmgZgD#q=Roland+ Barthes%2 C+The+Language+of+Fashion+Margaret+Mayhew+pd (Accessed on the 07th May2013).

[15]. *Their Clothes Spoke Louder Than Their Words: How Three Founding Fathers Used Clothes to Convey Their Patriotism.* [online] available: http://history.ou.edu/Websites/history/images/Rosenthal-Their-Clothes.pdf. (Accessed on 11th June 2014)

[16]. Ibid.

[17]. Smith, Kate. *Why Is The American Flag Red, White and Blue?* [online] available: http: Why Is The American Flag Red, White and Blue? (Accessed on 04th June 2014).

[18]. Ibid.

[19]. Foss, John (1798).*Journal of Captivity and Sufferings in* Baepler, Paul *White Slaves, African Masters*. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, 1999, p.87.

[20.] *Colonial Clothing: History of the first 13 Colonies and life in the Colonial Period.* [online] available: http://www.landofthebrave.info/colonial-clothing.htm --> (Accessed on 04th June 2014)

[21.] Shaler, William. Sketches of Algiers. Boston: Cambridge University Press, 1984, p.60.

[22.] *Uniforms of the American Revolution.* [online] available: http (Accessed on 04th June 2014

[23.] Tyler, Royal. *The Algerine Captive :or Life and Adventures of Doctor Updike Underhill*. [online] available:http://www.abebooks.co.uk/book-search/title/the-algerian-captive/author/tylor-royal-crain-caleb-sortby/179-80 (Accessed on Mars 5,2013)

[24.] *Their Clothes Spoke Louder Than Their Words: How Three Founding Fathers Used Clothes to Convey Their Patriotism.* [online] available: http://history.ou.edu/Websites/history/images/Rosenthal-Their-Clothes.pdf. (Accessed on 11th June 2014)

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[30.] Shaler, William. Sketches of Algiers. Boston: Cambridge University Press,1984,p.61-2.

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[32.] Foss, John (1798).*Journal of Captivity and Sufferings in* Baepler, Paul *White Slaves, African Masters*. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, 1999, p.88.

[33.] *Their Clothes Spoke Louder Than Their Words: How Three Founding Fathers Used Clothes to Convey Their Patriotism.* [online] available: http://history.ou.edu/Websites/history/images/Rosenthal-Their-Clothes.pdf. (Accessed on 11th June 2014)

[34.] Cathcart, J. Leander (1899).*The Captives, Eleven Years a Prisoner in Algiers* in Baepler, Paul.*White Slaves, African Masters*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999, p.114.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The figure of white slaves in Africa questions the institution of slavery in America. Being a country which was economically dependent on black slavery, the USA gave itself the right to claim that slavery was barbaric in North Africa ignoring the fact that slavery was also barbaric in America. Though the situation of a white captive in Africa appears to demand reflection on the practice of holding African slaves in the United States, few captivity writers directly address the issue.

Paul Baepler states that *"while the figure of the **"white slaves"** perhaps received more attention than **"African masters"**, the two images evolved symbiotically, and the spectre of avengful African overlord cast a menacing shadow over the slavery debate."*[1] Joshua Paddock experiences the humiliation and is reminded of how slaves in the United States are treated, *"It brought fresh to my mind of our southern states, yarded up for sale, and the like observations made on them as on as-for instance, that is a stout fellow; this is a sickly looking creature, not worth much, he will soon die, and so on."* [2]

As a tradition, the captives begin their accounts by narrating their personal experiences as captives or voyagers in the Orient. Then, they ridicule and mock the natives by providing readers with some subjective details about natives' daily life. It follows that the narratives succeeded to draw a bad image of the Orientals. Though it is the most ambitious eighteenth-century narrative, Lawrence Peskin argues that Foss plagiarised some elements from Mathew Carey's *History of Algiers* (1794), which included long accounts of the slaves' labour and punishment. He also argues that Maria Martin's account is a fictional one, copied from a travel narrative. In fact, it is a narrative about slavery and sufferings of a young Italian lady, called Mrs. Velnet, at the hands of Tripolitans, *"it aimed more at entertainment than edification despite a short section offering a general description of Tripoli most likely copied from a travel narrative."* [3]

It is widely argued that slavery in Barbary was no more cruel or brutal than prison or even ordinary working life in the West. In this regard Robert C. Davis quotes the French cleric Philemon de La Motte who agrees that, *"as for the slaves at Algiers, they are not indeed so unhappy."*[4] Davis argues that slaves who were rented out to the Christian missionaries and consuls in town, not only given moderate work to do, but they also had the advantage of passing their days among others of their culture and language.[5] The slaves who stayed to work in "Muslim household" also "*enjoyed comfortable living conditions, since their work requirements were generally light and their food for the most part sufficient, if not especially refined."*[6] To support this idea Davis quotes Laugier de Tassy who contends that:

> As all the Savants at Algiers are Slaves, some Masters take pride in keeping them well fed, as an Honour to this Family. Several among them have no less Sway in the House than their Master, lie in the same Chamber, and are, in all Respects, treated with the Indulgence of Childern.[7]

Unlike American masters, Algerians immediately freed any slave who converts to Islam. Royal Tyler who wrote about captivity hoped to make a similar point by comparing slavery of the Algerians to that of American slaveholders. For so many American writers, writing about the suffering of their fellow men reminds them of the slaves at home. But the captives, in fact, wrote just to inform their countrymen about their plight in Barbary without any intention to compare captivity in Algiers and slavery in the US.

Thus, these narratives depict an important phase in history, slavery within the Barbary States. Added to this, these accounts encouraged early Americans to see themselves not just as members of community under God but also as part of a nation finding its way in a complex international scene. The idea of American identity as superior to that of the Barbary powers allows the young republic to construct itself as a free nation. This is shown in the captivity narratives in which the captives allocate Christian America the standard of democracy and

liberty whereas Muslim Algiers is conceived as a despotic land known for its persecution and inhumanity.

Thus, it is clear that the United States is a country that considers itself entitled to tell everyone else what freedom means and impose itself as the standard of the world. Thus, culture shock and disorientation is the outcome of these circumstances. Yet at times, early accounts of Barbary provoked a challenge as well: stories of the horrors of white Slavery could become an unsettling mirror for the nation, one that forced Americans to confront their own hypocrisy by recognising the similar or worse slavery they practiced at home.

In fact, it would be wrong to draw a parallel between the enslavement in Barbary and the slavery in the United States. Barbary slaves were not born into captivity or stolen from their homeland; they ventured into danger as travellers engaged in commerce. Moreover, many white captives were eventually ransomed and liberated from their slavery. They could return to their families and their native countries. However, slaves in America could only win their freedom through escape, which distances them from their families and their natal home. Robert C. Davis argues that both America and Barbary States traded slaves certainly hoped to make profit. However, in the Barbary States traffic in Christians there was always an element of revenge, almost *Jihad* for the wrongs of 1492 and the ongoing struggle between Christians and Muslims.[8]

Indeed, in 1492, the Moors were expelled from Spain to find a new home in Morocco, Algiers, and eventually along the entire Maghreb. Later on, these new Islamic States set out to square accounts with Christendom, building galleys, attacking European merchant shipping, and making slaves. Davis contends that the American slavery was a failure of basic humanity to be felt centuries later in all the nations that participated in this "**shameful spiral**."Slavery in America was misery fueled by greed rather than any ideology or cause.[9]

Notes

[1.] Baepler, Paul Michel .*The Barbary Captivity Narrative in American Culture: Early American Literature*. USA: The University of North Carolina Press .Volume 39, Number 2, 2004, p.232.

[2.] Ibid.

[3.] Peskin, A. Lawrence .*Captives and Countrymen, Barbary Slavery and the American Public en 1785-1816*.United States of America: acid-free paper, 2009, p.175.

[4.] Philemon de La Motte cited in Davis, C. Robert. *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters, White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy,1500-1800*,New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN,2004,p.xxvi .

[5.] Davis, C. Robert. *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters, White Slavery in the Meditterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy,1500-1800,*New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN,2004,p.109.

[6.] Ibid.

[7.] Laugier de Tassy cited in Davis, C. Robert. *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters, White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800*, New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2004, p.109.

[8.] Davis, C.Robert. *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters, White Slavery in the Meditterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800*, New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2004, p.xxv.

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Résumé

Mon travail de recherche se propose d'étudier le choc de culture dans las récits de captivité de Barbarie : *The Algerine Captive* (1797) de Royal Tyler. *Journal of Captivity and Sufferings* (1798) de John Foss , *History of Captivity and Sufferings* (1807) de Maria Martin (1807),et *The Captives, Eleven Years a prisoner in Algiers* (1899) de James Leander Cathcart. Ces récits sont les expériences d'un passage, le franchissement d'une frontière qui permet une rencontre avec l'altérité avoir lieu. Adressé à leur culture d'origine, les récits traités avec choc culturel des prisonniers lors de leur première rencontre avec des cultures différentes et étranges ; dans des situations inconfortables interagir avec les gens qui ne sont pas née ni élevés Américains. Ainsi, les prisonniers ont cartographié le monde plutôt que de les faire correspondre le monde en faisant leurs chiffres de maîtres à craindre et évités. Être coupée de leur culture, les captifs étaient à une perte totale depuis leur culture d'accueil concerné normes inhabituelles de la compréhension culturelle tels que la religion, la nourriture, les vêtements, le rôle des sexes, les coutumes et les traditions. Ainsi, le but de mon travail de recherche est d'étudier les circonstances et les raisons de la désorientation des captifs. D'ailleurs, je vais vous expliquer comment les prisonniers endurent et représentent leur vie au sein de Barbarie en mettant en l'lumière les caractéristiques distinctes entre l'Amérique et Alger à travers un point de vue ethnocentrique.

الملخص

يعنى موضوع مذكرتي الى دراسة التصادم الثقافي في روايات المعتقلات البربرية و تتخذ كل من روايات "المعتقلات الجزائرية" (1779) لروايال تايلور و "يوميات العذاب و الاعتقال" (1798) لجون فوس و"حكاية العذاب و الاعتقال" (1807) لماريا مرتن و" احدى عشر سنة من الاعتقال في الجزائر" (1898) لجيمس لندر كاثكارت. كنموذج تتناول هذه الروايات تجارب عبور عبر الحدود بهدف الانغماس في ثقافة الاخر.وتعالج ايضا هذه الروايات الموجهة للثقافة الام التصادم الثقافي للمعتقلين مباشرة بعد احتكاكهم الاول بالثقافات المختلفة.هدا ما يولد حالة من عدم الارتياح لدى الاشخاص اللذين لم يولدوا في أمريكا.نتيجة لذلك حاول المعتقلون أن يصنعوا عالمهم الخاص.كان هؤلاء السجناء في حالة ضياع تام بسبب فقدان التواصل مع الثقافة الام بالإضافة إلى الثقافة المستضيفة لمعايير غريبة حول التفاهم و ألانسجام الثقافي على غرار الدين و الغذاء و الملبس و العادات و التقاليد.لهذا تتناول مذكرتي الأسباب وراء حالة الضياع التي يعيشها هؤلاء السجناء.فضلا عن ذلك سأشرح المعاناة التي عايشوها في ظل البربرية على الاختلاف بين أمريكا و الجزائر من وجهة نظر الأفضلية.