

The People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
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A Thesis Submitted in Fulfillment for the
Degree of Doctorate in Literature

Title:

**The Encounter with the Other on the Barbary
Shore: Its Shaping Influence on Self-Image
in Selected American Writings**

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September 2022

To my husband Hakim, my daughters Leila and Maya, and most particularly to my mother Sari-Ahmed Saliha and my father Zouane Nourredine for their unconditional love and support

Acknowledgements

This research could not have seen the light of day without the assistance and support of my supervisor Dr. Mohand Akli REZZIK and my co-supervisor Prof. Sabrina ZERAR. In accordance with the rules of courtesy, I express to them my heartfelt gratitude for their availability at all times and their encouragements in all circumstances. I feel the same sense of gratitude to the examiners, Prof. Salah BOUREGBI, Dr. Farid BENAMZAL, Dr. Rafik LACEB, and Dr. Said GADA for their acceptance to examine this research, and particularly for the feedback they can eventually provide to enhance the quality of the thesis. I would like to extend my thanks and endless gratitude to Prof. Bouteldja RICHE for his professional guidance, valuable advice and feedback in the preparation of this project. I do not forget that I was a recipient of help and assistance from many other people whom I cannot all mention here. To each and every one of them, I say thank you.

Résumé

Cette recherche explore la rencontre de l'Autre sur la côte de Barbarie et l'influence déterminante sur la construction de l'identité américaine dans des textes américains sélectionnés, notamment *Humiliations follow'ed by Deliverances* de Cotton Mather, *The Algerine Captive* (1797) de Royall Tyler, *A History of the Captivity and Sufferings of Mrs Maria Martin* de Maria Martin (1807) et *Sketches of Algiers* de William Shaler (1825). L'étude de ces textes est précédée de deux chapitres consacrés respectivement aux considérations théoriques et au contexte historique des textes analysés. Les grands concepts théoriques sont expliqués, et les circonstances socio-historiques précoloniales et postcoloniales sont passées en revue, puisque la recherche est basée sur l'hypothèse que les sens du texte, quel que soit le genre auquel ils appartiennent, ne peuvent être saisis par le lecteur. dans le vide, et à moins que la perspective théorique à partir de laquelle les considérer ne soit clairement définie. Les deux premiers chapitres, constituant la partie préliminaire, sont suivis d'autres parties divisées en deux chapitres chacune. Conformément à l'approche socio-historique adoptée, chacun des chapitres des deux parties analyse la perspective biface de chaque récit dans sa représentation de l'Algérie ottomane ou de la régence d'Alger et de l'Amérique des premières indépendances. Les analyses des récits dans des chapitres séparés suivent le même schéma. Ils commencent par la vie et l'époque des auteurs et le résumé des textes, débouchant très doucement sur l'investigation de la façon dont les auteurs développent la dialectique du Soi et de l'Autre sur la Côte de Barbarie. Ce schéma repose sur l'idée que la vie et le temps des auteurs sont des clés pour comprendre la construction identitaire par l'affirmation de l'idéologie de la différence avec l'Autre oriental sur les rives « plus sauvages » de la Barbarie.

يستكشف هذا البحث لقاء الآخر على الساحل البربري والتأثير الحاسم على بناء الهوية الأمريكية في نصوص أمريكية مختارة، بما في ذلك "عمليات الإذلال التي تلتها التحررات" لـ كوتون ماندر ، وكتاب "الأسير الجزائري" لـ رويال تايلر (1797)، وكتاب "تاريخ الأسر ومعاناة السيدة ماريا مارتن لماريا مارتن" (1807)، و"رسومات لوحة عن الجزائر" العاصمة لوليام شالر (1825).

يسبق دراسة هذه النصوص فصلان مخصصان على التوالي للاعتبارات النظرية والسياق التاريخي للنصوص التي تم تحليلها. يتم شرح المفاهيم النظرية الرئيسية ، وتتم مراجعة الظروف الاجتماعية والتاريخية ما قبل الاستعمار وما بعد الاستعمار ، لأن البحث يعتمد على فرضية أن معاني النص ، بغض النظر عن النوع الذي تنتمي إليه ، لا يمكن فهمها من قبل القارئ، في الفراغ ، وما لم يتم تحديد المنظور النظري الذي يمكن من خلاله تحديدها بدقة. يلي الفصلين الأولين، اللذين يشكلان الجزء الأولي، أجزاء أخرى مقسمة إلى فصلين لكل واحد منهما. وفقا للمنهج الاجتماعي والتاريخي المعتمد، يحلل كل فصل من فصول الجزأين المنظور الثنائي لكل رواية في تمثيلها للجزائر العثمانية أو وصاية الجزائر وأمريكا من بوادر الاستقلال .

تتبع تحليلات القصص في فصول منفصلة نفس النمط. إذ تبدأ بالعيش و فترة المؤلفين وملخص النصوص ، مما يؤ لتفضي بهدوء شديد إلى التحقيق في كيفية تطوير المؤلفين لجدلانية/ذات والآخر على الساحل البربري.

يعتمد هذا المخطط على فكرة أن حياة المؤلفين وزمانهم هما مفتاحان لفهم بناء الهوية من خلال تأكيد أيديولوجية الاختلاف مع الآخر الشرقي على الشواطئ " أكثر وحشية" للبربرية.

CONTENTS

Dedication	I
Acknowledgements.....	II
Résumé.....	III
ملخص.....	IV
CONTENTS	V
General Introduction	9
Defining the Captivity Narrative and its Apprehensions.....	11
Review of the Related Literature	14
Choice of Corpus and Objectives of the Study	18
Theory and Method of Analysis	27
Structure of the Thesis	29
References	33
Preliminary Part	
Theory, Methodological Framework, and the Historical Context of the Narratives	
Introduction.....	36
Chapter One: Theoretical Considerations	37
Introduction.....	37
Analytic Categories.....	38
Gramsci on Power and Theory of Oppositional Hegemonies	40
Michel Foucault and Edward Said's Constructionist Approaches	42
Todorov's Theory of Representation and the Fear of the 'Other'	46
Key Concepts:	54
Representation of the Self and the Other	54
Otherness and the Notion of Othering.....	55
Formation of Stereotypes.....	57
Retrieval of Silenced Voices.....	60
References.....	62
Chapter Two: Historical Background of the Narratives	66
Introduction.....	66
American Religious and Political Freedom	68

Early Captivity Narratives and the Roots of American Exceptionalism	73
Religious and Philosophical Underpinnings of American Freedom	74
American Frontier and the Captivity Narrative	79
American Freedom and the Federalist Government	84
American Freedom Crossing New Borders	86
The Mediterranean Region: A Stage for Military and Religious Clashes	89
North African Muslims in European Writings: Distortions and Prejudices	92
Post-Colonial America: Weakness, Fractions and Wars Abroad	95
North African Muslims in American Thought	97
Overview of the Barbary Captivity Narrative Genre	98
Conclusion	103
References	106

P a r t O n e

Mather and Tyler: Captives of Ideology

Chapter Three: Religious Freedom in Barbary Captivity Narratives112

Introduction.....	112
Cotton Mather's Biography and his Time	114
The Importance of Sermons about Captivity in American Culture	116
The Myth of Redemption and the Captivity Narratives	118
The Roots of American Religious Freedom	120
The Image of the Indian: a Threatening "Evil" in Cotton Mather's Sermon (1697).....	121
The Ideology of American Superiority in Mather's Sermon.....	130
Cotton Mather's <i>The Goodness of God</i> (1703): Puritanism and its Revulsion of Islam	134
Religious Creeds in Cotton Mather's <i>The Goodness of God</i>	135
Freedom and American Identity Construction in Mather's Sermon.....	138
Freedom and American Identity Construction in Mather's Second Sermon.....	144
References.....	149

Chapter Four: Political Freedom in American Barbary Narratives153

Introduction.....	153
Summary of <i>The Algerine Captive</i>	158
Context of Publication	160
American Slavery and Barbary Captivity Paralleled.....	163
Orientalism in <i>The Algerine Captive</i>	167
Reversing Captivity and 'Heroism of Resistance'	167
Resisting Islamic Conversion	168
The Image of Renegades in <i>The Algerine Captive</i>	178
Economic Success Within Captivity.....	181

The Motif of the Escape in the Narrative	182
Uptake the Ethnographer: Mastering the Algerine Culture.....	184
American Identity and Algerine Alterity in Tyler's Account.....	188
Conclusion	192
References.....	195
P a r t T w o	
<i>Mass and Feminine Captivity</i>	
Chapter Five: Feminine Captivity Narratives	202
Introduction.....	202
Historical Context of the Barbary Narratives	203
The Mediterranean Region: A Stage for a Military and Religious Clash Between North African States and Europe	204
The North African Muslims in the European Writings: Distortions and Prejudices	207
Post-Colonial America: Weakness, Fractions, and Wars in Foreign Soil	209
The Images of North African Muslims in American Thought	211
Overview of the Barbary Captivity Narrative Genre.....	212
Maria Martin's Biography	215
Summary of Maria Martin's Narrative	215
Context of Publication	216
Female Heroism: Resisting Sexual Predation.....	219
Martin's Heroism Against Gender Discrimination.....	223
Ethnography Through a Female Gaze	224
Identity Construction: The Algerine Licentiousness vs the American Virtue.....	228
Conclusion	231
References.....	233
P a r t T h r e e	
<i>Elitist Captivity Narratives</i>	
Chapter Six: William Shaler's <i>Sketches of Algiers</i> (1825).....	240
Introduction.....	240
William Shaler's First Experience in Algiers	244
Ethnographic Aspect of the Essays.....	248
Political and Military Organization in the City of Algiers	251
Algerian-American Negotiations and Treaties	254
Algerian-American Relations	264
Shaler's Position Amid the American-Algerian Conflicts	270
Shaler and the Turkish Despotism Rule of Algiers	273
Subversion of the Western Descriptions of the Algerines	274

Shaler's Description of Islam	278
Representation of Woman in Shaler's Essays	279
Conclusion	280
References.....	283
Chapter Seven : The Other's Disruptive Resistance	287
Introduction.....	287
The Author and his Time	291
Re-telling of the Barbary Captivity in Choukri Khodja's Novel.....	293
The Role of the Algerian Intellectual in the Liberation War	296
Identity Construction in the Novel.....	297
Re-Orienting Orientalist Views and Western Style.....	301
Dialectic Relationship Between Christianity and Islam in the Novel	304
Subversion of the Colonial Discourse in the Novel.....	309
The Conflicted and Split Identity of the Main Character	312
Subversion through Repetition, Negation, and Suspension Dots	317
The Writer's Rehabilitation of Culture	324
Conclusion	327
References.....	330
General Conclusion.....	334
References.....	343
Bibliography	345

General Introduction

An experienced event is finite - at any rate, confined to one sphere of experience;
a remembered event is infinite, because it is only a key to everything that
happened before and after it.¹

(Walter Benjamin)

The present thesis is an attempt to investigate what J.M. Blaut called the “colonizer’s model of the world,”¹ meaning the dominant ideological view transmitted by Western captivity narratives about colonial and imperial realities across history. Our endeavor is to sketch out this ‘model’ in an attempt to show the extent to which a repulsive white male supremacist attitude normalized and legitimized the lusty expansion of European and American powers. For this purpose, we have attempted some discourse analysis of captivity narratives that are closely related to expansionism in the claimed boundaries of America and the interventionist imperialism of its foreign policy in the ‘Barbary Coasts of Africa’, the narratives being the rallying cry through America. In sum, one of the main focuses in this research work is on the representation of the Native American Indian and the North African Corsair in the American Captivity Narratives produced during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Our argument is that captivity, be it ‘Indian’ or ‘Barbarian’, provided a historical context, a literal condition, and an authoritative tribune of expression for a number of American writers. Accordingly, the present study suggests some critical reading of Sermons, fiction and nonfiction writings, and political essays to sustain that various factors related to authors, contexts and the nature of genres had a biased impact on the portrayal of the Indian and North African ‘Other’. These factors helped to generate a profusion of inconsistent representations of the autochthones, because the labels most often attached to captivity narratives are also those commonly affixed to the American nation within its ‘manifest

destiny' of growth, its relative commitment to democracy, the relative pursuit of freedom and the presence of the frontier.

In the American culture, the narrative, as a genre in itself, functions as part of a greater historical myth system of which national values of community safety, national progress and vitality, and the preservation of essential values against hostile enemies are central components. Within the Myth of the Frontier, for example, the Indian captivity narrative develops historically to provide a cultural literature by means of which many an American will certainly consolidate their historical status as settlers of new lands. In fact, our analysis of American texts about captivity tends to engage us in an attempt to shed light on some racist attitudes and expansionistic mentalities, rather than on historical facts. The analysis of such materials will certainly end up in the proposal of an 'Oriental' point of view and the provision of a different perspective. Besides, the present research work proposes a study of some textual characteristics of the genres under discussion, focusing on some inherent issues, such as the subjectivity of the author, the development of 'Otherness' and the biases engendered by cross-cultural encounters.

In an attempt to treat the issues displayed above, the present dissertation focuses on the rise of interest in American captivity narratives and their increasing 'Orientalist' representations of the direct encounter with the "Orient" in six popular narratives: Cotton Mather's *Humiliations follow'ed by Deliverances* (1697) and *The Goodness of God* (1703), Royall Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* (1797), Maria Martin's *A History of the Captivity and Sufferings of Mrs Maria Martin* (1807), William Shaler's *Sketches of Algiers* (1825), and Choukri Khodja's *EL Euldj, Captif des Barbaresques* (1929). The study explores the American exceptionalist discourses in these narratives and draws on the substantial influence of the discursive preferences of the authors as conscious strategies or subliminal reflexes in the national identity formation and expansionist processes that these narratives partake in. As

a whole, the dissertation seeks to understand the ways in which being a captive outlined a long-term strategy for the maintenance of global domination, security and, by extension, American power and influence.

The emergence of these narratives re-imagines these core concerns and, in the context of exploration of the new frontier of space, provides for a reenergizing of the traditional captivity narrative, one in which abductees are positioned as colonialists in perilous existence on the ‘final frontier.’ It also serves as a tool to reinforce the validity of the renown primitive/civilized dichotomy, - inherent to the Enlightenment era, which consists for Westerners of a way to signifying the “Other” rather than being the object of signification themselves. In other words, the aim is to show how the ex-captives and the ways that their representations of confinement constituted them as unique and empowered American subjects and how the specter of environmental determinism haunted the physical and imaginable space called America in the ethereal and dreadful figure of the Indian and that of the Barbary pirate. Like all myths, the vision of America as “many in one” seems to have always been with us till today. Another aim of the present research work is to consider the origins of this myth and analyze its internal dynamics, using captivity narratives in which myth works as a device for speculations about race, religion, nationality and identity relations.

Defining the Captivity Narrative and its Apprehensions

The representation of captivity by Indians in American texts draws on a long literary tradition in the culture of the nation. It is derived from actual first-person accounts that were some of the earliest literary products of the New World and which continued to provide stories based on the ‘reality’ of events until the very late nineteenth century. Frequently, by captivity narratives, we mean accounts that describe an experience of detention by or bondage to members of an apparently hostile or rival group, such as North American Indians, North African Arabs or even Anglo-American Southerners or agents of the state.² Most scholars

define them as the first-person fictional and nonfictional accounts written by people who have survived experiences of being taken captive. More specifically, although not entirely, writings by Americans about experiences of captivity were a vastly popular and important form of literary production in early America, and the captivity motif has been perpetuated and even transformed through later US literature and cinema.

As fascinating accounts of individual experience and extremity, these allegorical narratives have contributed to instruct and comment on core issues in American culture and identity. They also usually refer to the religious contrast between the Christian captive and the pagan Indians. Mary Rowlandson's captivity story, for instance, was published in 1682 with a subtitle that included her name as "Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, a Minister's Wife in New England." That edition also included "A Sermon on the Possibility of God's Forsaking a People that have been near and dear to him, Preached by Mr. Joseph Rowlandson, Husband to the said Mrs. Rowlandson, it being his Last Sermon."³ The captivity narratives served to define piety and women's total devotion to their religion, and to give a religious message about the value of faith in times of adversity. The Indian captivity narratives can also be seen as part of a long history of sensational literature. Women are depicted outside their natural roles in life; they are used to create surprise and shock the reader. Through female characters, there are hints of improper sexual treatment; they are often victims of forced marriage or rape. Violence and sex being a combination that sells books, many authors took up these themes of "life among the heathens." Mary Rowlandson's archetypal account, *'The Sovereignty and Goodness of God'*, was second to the bible in popularity among colonial New Englanders.⁴

At the political level, during the antebellum era, Indian captivity, as an ideological narrative built around the captive's character and experiences was used as a tool to fashion American identity. The purchase of Indian captivity, with its metaphorical and parabolic features, in crafting authentic tales of "American" bravery and masculinity is evident, for

example, in the Indian-hating novels written by Robert Montgomery Bird. In *Nick of the Woods*, for instance, the protagonist's main claim to reliability is dependent upon his propensity for deliberate and violent action against Native American Indians. Both his Americanness and masculinity are proportional to the number of maimed and dead Indians who lay in his path. In a more romantic - but no less sensational - language, this staging of American character in the midst of Indian captivity is worked out in the novels of James Fennimore Cooper and countless anthologies.⁵ Yet, the preeminent figure of captivity's centrality to American identity is obviously the African American slave, a figure that develops contradictory relationships to American identity.

The selected narratives under scrutiny, as allegorical, metaphorical and most importantly ideological pieces of writing, are located within a broader historical context of colonization and have thereby provided for a politically meaningful – not to say useful - literature in which the sufferings of individual citizens are ideologically portrayed as the mythic trials of the entire community entity to establish the right of conquest and ultimately that of settlement.⁶ Typically, the Indian is portrayed as a 'beast' lurking in the primeval forest beyond the knowledge of the tentative frontier settlements of the eastern seaboard. Cotton Mather, a leading colonial figure, Puritan minister and transcriber of captivity narratives invokes the rhetoric of apocalypse to describe the new world landscape and its 'nations of wretches'. In this maelstrom of religious invective, Slotkin suggests that the only intimate contact with Indians that colonial Europeans would accept was the experience of the captive.⁷ In Puritan New England, to come across the Indians meant to experience some 'physical and spiritual catastrophe', and published narratives of Indian captivity were "immensely, even phenomenally popular".⁸

Most importantly, in telling their apprehension of personal experiences as captives, the narrators tend to tell about the life of the American nation as well, elucidating a range of

phenomena from the interiority of the individual to the dynamics of society. With emphasis on the role of bondage, confinement, and punishment in that experience, the narrator processes and elucidates national, transnational, and non-national experiences as well. Accordingly, the captive's discourse may be considered as a potential command to revise the literary scripts of freedom, nationality, and identity. In this respect, Michael Kammen, in his *Spheres of Liberty, Changing Perceptions of Liberty in American Culture*, asserts that "authority has been historically read as the opposite of personal freedom, as that which limits individual desires and exertions and issues from the state, God, or other restricting and dominating forces." Authority being opposed to freedom, it constitutes the necessary and inescapable limit of individual independence. In other words, the liberty of ex-captives legitimates the retention of this contradiction since they emphasize the way in which their power derives from and is achieved through their compliance to others or even to themselves. Their consent is not achieved in spite of or against their restriction, but because of and through it. ⁹

Review of the Related Literature

Closely related to the issues raised above is the question how American identity is determined by its people's notion of freedom that has been and is still culturally constructed. Catherine Scott (2000) argues that in modern times, it is precisely as a form of mythic story that the Indian captivity narrative still retains its powerful position in American culture. In her analysis of media responses to the 1979 Iranian hostage crisis, she argues convincingly for a reading of these events as an updated captivity narrative and points out to similarities of tropes and rhetoric with Vietnam POW stories and with hostage taking accounts in Iraq during the Gulf War. Scott draws principally on the work of Richard Slotkin (1973) who explores the Indian captivity narrative as a part of a greater myth system that he locates in the experience of American continental settlement and conquest.¹¹ This phase in the acceleration

of both America's technological capabilities and its imperialist momentum appears to reflect what Lauria and White (1995) describe as an American determination to "meet the threat and challenge of potential technological and military superiority by the 'other'." ¹²

For their part, Robert C. Davis' in his *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800*, Christine Sears, who compares North Africa's institution of white slavery against the Americas' institution of Africa slavery, Lawrence A. Peskin, and Robert Allison deal with the Barbary captivity theme in relation to the formation of early American identity. ¹³ In their view, the Algerian enslavement of American sailors influenced how Americans came to understand what it meant to be an independent nation.¹⁴ Other scholars have also analyzed how the Barbary captivity narratives influenced early American perceptions of slavery. Gerald R. McMurtry, for instance, investigated how James Riley's narrative altered Abraham Lincoln's view of the institution of slavery in the United States of America.¹⁵

Our review of the literature has revealed that what is neglected in all the works cited is asking what these works taught early Americans more about themselves than about Arabs, Moors, Turks, and Islam. Accordingly, instead of focusing on slavery comparisons or diplomatic and military history, we seek to look at the Barbary literature in the light of twenty-first century academic and ideological considerations and thus try to offer a new perspective. We hope to reveal a great deal about the society that produced these stereotypical constructions. Though distantly, our work is related to deconstructivist, constructivist, and postcolonial studies to examine the discourses at work in the selected narratives as a complex set of responses to a number of prominent historical moments of the end of American continental expansion and the beginning of imperialist designs overseas. According to the influential historian Frederick Jackson Turner (1938), the period marks a watershed in American history in that it witnessed the culmination of the first phase of American history,

referred to as the continental settlement, and a new and unknown period marking the start of the twentieth century and the second phase of American history.¹⁶

In intercultural studies, cultural identity often refers to a localized national culture. Herzfeld (1997) has demonstrated how, since their creation in the late 18th century in Europe and later on in America the ‘nation states’ have made enormous efforts to promote a sense of national cultural identity and use it as a cement in order to limit communitarian divisions within their own space and persuade people to identify with one another.¹⁷ This is often referred to as “imagined communities” after Benedict Anderson’s study on the creation of national imaginaries (1991). In an attempt to deal with cultural identity, we are faced with the immensely challenging concept of culture. Many scholars have tried, unsatisfactorily, to define it.¹⁸ In fact, many issues are at stake with the concept, and we shall try to refer to culture as a space in which “communities and individuals develop knowledge about themselves and others, to recognize a history that is handed down by previous generations and give to “self” an identity as a coherent narrative that connects events, actions, people, feelings and ideas in a plot”.¹⁹ Yet when identity is reduced in such ways, the consequences can be quite strong: “conflicts and barbarities”, but also “Stereotyping, humiliating, dehumanizing, and stigmatizing identities”²⁰. When expressing an identity, there is always an issue of power at hand to explain encounters, but on the other hand to examine how culture is used in discourse and actions to explain and justify one’s own actions and thoughts. In other words, it is all about moving from façade diversity based on cultural unicity to the diversities that each and every one of us bears as a potential constructive power of culture.

Issue and Hypotheses

Our analysis of the captivity narratives at hand suggests that the tentative definition of culture stated above is well adapted to the American context, although some American historical documents and political discourses always try to naturalize and thus disguise or

deny this fact in one way or another. The common feature of the captivity narratives is the ritual consisting in departure, separation and reintegration. They recount the harrowing experiences of Englishmen and Americans abducted by the Barbary pirates of North Africa. They are stripped of their clothes, beaten and given foreign food to eat, a metaphor related to being stripped of one's own identity. After being sold into slavery, the narrators succeed in returning to their homeland where their stories are printed. These tales describe combat at sea, extraordinary escapes, and religious conversion, but they also illustrate the power, prosperity, and piety of Christians and their resistance to be converted to Islam.

Each narrative is preceded by a brief introduction providing some important information about the historical context of captivity and enslavement in North Africa. But such strict regimentation obstructs the ways in which these accounts speak to and through each other, often employing similar tropes in their writing and emerging out of connected historical state of affairs through the ways that their accounts of confinement constituted them as unique American subjects. Alongside our examination of the selected captivity narratives, we shall consider such questions as: How have Americans thought to use a maelstrom of super patriotism to protect their national interest from difference, and how have they dealt with the possibility of culture-crossing? How have they handled the issues of race (and racism), religion, gender, violence and sexuality that experiences of captivity entail? The most important question is perhaps: What was the role of the narratives in the treatment of the domestic issues faced by the young nation?

More significantly, since the 17th century, these stories of captivity have been used in the Western world in various ways as mediums for reflection on broader social, political, religious, and ideological issues. North African assaults on Christian Europe's ships and shores have inspired operas, plays, songs, poems and fictionalized first-person accounts of bloodthirsty pirates, dissolute renegades, martyred clerics and crafty slaves in exotic and

remote places. For instance, Spain's Miguel de Cervantes, taken prisoner during the 1571 Battle of Lepanto, embedded a semi-autobiographical "Captive's Tale" within *Don Quixote*. Before hurling his 1719 protagonist onto a desert island, Britain's Daniel Defoe cast *Robinson Crusoe* into Moroccan bondage. Over centuries, these multi-form captivity tales became more than mere records of incidents in history; they were used as discursive sites for the construction of meaningful activities of many communities. Assuming that captivity has been the historical context, literal condition, and authoritative figure of expression for a wide range of American autobiographers, the present thesis inscribes itself into the interdisciplinary domain of cultural studies in focusing on our understanding of some selected Barbary captivity texts and their contexts, and on the main arguments articulated by the assigned critical readings of the American thought in what amounts for a defense of the Enlightenment values against all those who try to stand against sovereignty of the center by pursuing a policy of unilateral military action.

Choice of Corpus and Objectives of the Study

The choice of the corpus is dictated by the important literary, cultural and ideological impact of the six selected narratives whose titles and authors have been mentioned earlier, and also by their status as representative texts of American culture. They are considered as very significant cases for the study of the subject topic of our research endeavor. More importantly, even though they have attracted much attention, they have usually been studied separately, or at best two of them at the same time. In fact, what makes them ideal study cases and thus has incited us to examine them is the fact that they are part of a tradition that emerged and developed parallel to the Enlightenment era and the birth of imperialism. Each of the selected texts is deeply rooted in the historical and political contexts of its production; they are inevitably significant as symptomatic signs of a historical stage in the development of the American idea of freedom and its foreign policy. As an illustration, what comes out in Cotton

Mather's sermons and narratives is the author's unquestionable belief in and conviction of the theory that divine providence guided America's national history, with the notion of "the dream world of national myth" and the belief of being a descendant of the Puritan saints who provided him and his country with special grace.

Because of the influence of Pilgrim and Puritan theology, any attempt to apprehend even contemporary American sermons begins with understanding the colonial era, its theology, its social beliefs, and its sermon form and style. The colonial sermon was a literary genre; it was the most important genre of its place and time which can be found in the conception of America's mission in the world in literary works produced by outstanding authors, such as Winthrop, Emerson, Melville, Twain, and many others. Increasingly, however, American sermonology emerged as more diverse than Pilgrims and Puritans. Miller's work (1939) looms large in the study of American sermonology while focusing on the colonial era. Entitled *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* and *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province*, Miller's works have significant implications on the understanding of sermonology in any given period of American literary history. It is essential to the subject of American sermons.²² Mather's sermon provided many later authors and readers with examples of the early American literary type of the providence tale, which is now recognized as the beginning of the American's representation of the "other" narratives. Mather's themes and forms, in distinct ways, can be commented on in terms of providence tales and sermon narratives and interrogated as foundational statements about American history, identity, and God's providential designs for America and Americans.²³

More interestingly, regardless of his individual theological and religious position, Mather's texts may be criticized as providence tales, not only for their rigid Calvinist orthodoxy, but mainly for the author's representation of America's self-representations and their highly wrought form exposed in the artificial foundations of national identity. They can

also be rejected for the ways in which Puritanism insinuated itself into scientific knowledge and judicial practice for essentialist narrative objectives. Thus Mather transmits the sense of crisis to other captivity-narrative writers. In addition, methodologically speaking, what makes the six selected narratives convenient to our study is the way in which they reflect American expansionist projects, the rigid boundary, and the economy of “absolute difference” between the “white Christian” and the “Indian and African monsters”. In sum, many of these views and ideas will be brought to scrutiny in our analysis of the narratives.

To this end, we intend to analyze the six captivity narratives in the chronological order of their production. We shall start with two sermons ‘preached’ by Cotton Mather, which serve a direct political purpose and can be seen as a kind of political propaganda writings that are often read independently of each other. Yet, considered as a whole, they flesh out the details and implications of the relation of bondage to “state imprisonment” and American identity. In other words, the purpose is mainly to explore the power within those narratives to render themselves and be rendered as rhetorically persuasive and culturally powerful in both personal and political contexts. Their power and development are due to the fact that, in America, it was precisely by presenting oneself as subordinate that one could obtain another citizen’s sympathy. In fact, we understand captivity narratives as being informant of a sense of crisis in the definition of cultural, social, religious, political and even gender identities. Therefore, they may be considered as one of those “conventional forms” that spoke powerfully as a “proper form of address.” As American subjects who had been reluctantly and often brutally removed from society, their addresses were often aimed to regain or claim social, cultural, and national status; this is perhaps one of the most striking features of the captives’ authority expressed in their texts.

In addition, those narratives frame affiliation with the national and other desirable identities not only against or despite the representation of their confinements, but through

them. They deliberately intensify or, just as often, the conventions of their narratives rehearse the conditions of their captivity, lending them a social status that is sometimes equal to and even more considerable than that of their non-captive readers. The Barbary Captivity narratives share some of the characteristics of Indian captivity narratives in that they define and challenge the main character's proper roles and racial stereotypes, serving as political propaganda - often for American nationalist sentiments with some ideas of its citizens' rights - and selling books through shock value, violence and hints of sexual misconduct. Freedom and American identity are, most of the time, based on the fear of the "Barbarian Other". The captivity stories also perpetuated stereotypes of Indians and Orientals, and they were part of the perpetual conflicts with the former as the settlers moved westward. In a society in which men are expected to be the protectors of women, the kidnapping of women is viewed as an attack on and affront of the males. The stories serve thus as a call for retaliation as well as for caution in relating to these "dangerous" natives. Originally an outgrowth of the Puritan penchant for defining the individual and collective 'Self' through opposition to presumably uncivil, ungodly 'Others', this remarkable fabrication of identity took shape during the century of colonial wars preceding the Revolutionary War.²⁴

In the course of extended struggles among English, French, Algonquian, Iroquoian, and other groups for control over northeastern North America, a significant number of English colonists were taken captive by Native Americans. The Anglo-American identity is represented as the product of struggles in and against the wild: struggles of an individual who stands, most of the time, for a collective "Self" surrounded by a threatening but enticing wilderness, a "Self" that seeks to domesticate this wilderness as well as the savagery within itself, and that opposes itself to "Others" portrayed as savage, bestial, demonic, and seductive. The captivities came to epitomize the spiritual trials posed to the colonists by the American wilderness, its savage inhabitants, and perhaps most importantly, the savagery within

themselves.²⁵ In fact, the colonists, who were continually searching for signs of the work of Providence, were appealing to peculiar forms of reading, seeking reflection over the meaning of those trials in the frame of a prevalent providential form of thought. They were convinced that nothing was accidental, since everything happened according to a providential plan. This suggests that the captivities were captivities of ideologies: Puritanism in the colonial thought and freedom in the post-colonial period.

By the mid-eighteenth century, colonists were representing the experience of captivity among Indians in a more variegated fashion while continuing to find in captivity a compelling representation of an emerging American 'Self' undergoing the trials of providence. One of the most famous Anglo-American narratives of captivity among Indians is Captain John Smith's, which dates back to 1624. More influential in the development of a selective tradition of captivity, however, was a late seventeenth-century spiritual auto-biography recounting the wilderness trials and redemption of a clergyman's wife, Mary White Rowlandson, who was taken captive in 1676. Over the next half century the spiritual significance of captivity in the wilderness would be developed in a corpus of widely disseminated narratives by or about Puritan and Quaker captives, mainly women. Other narratives of captivity were published during the remaining decades of the colonial era, for the most part during or immediately following the fourth inter-colonial, also known as the French and Indian War (1754-1763). In contrast to Puritan and Quaker captivity narratives, mid-eighteenth-century narratives are often secular accounts by male prisoners of war.²⁶

After Independence, numerous additional narratives about colonial captives were published. Meanwhile, from the late eighteenth century onward, post-Revolutionary captivity narratives, anthologies, visual representations of captivity, and completely fictional accounts became common. According to Gary E. Wilson (1982), approximately two dozen fictional treatments of captivity, often based on John Smith's account of rescue by Pocahontas,

preceded the publication in 1826 of James Fenimore Cooper's classic *The Last of the Mohicans*. Since then, the theme of captivity has characterized much of Anglo-American literature and popular culture, functioning as a pervasive mode of representing an identity distinct from that of the Euro-American subject. The selective tradition of captivity has expanded from print to drama, public sculpture, children's games, film, and television, remaining today an implicit model for representations of threatening others. In sharp contrast to the dominant representation, captivity was practiced in both directions across the border between Native and colonial societies, a border that was considerably more fluid than it appears to be in most historical representations.²⁷

The practice of captivity in what Pratt (1992) calls the "contact zone" has a complex history, one that goes back not only to the beginning of the European invasion of America but beyond, since indigenous practices of captivity themselves had been local phenomena. The history of the British and American captivity narratives, started with that history of captivity across the British-Native American borders which stretched over two centuries (1576-1776). These were years of intensive exploration and colonial settlement, transformative interaction and intermittent warfare, involving several indigenous wars of resistance as well as four inter-colonial wars between Britain and its indigenous allies, on the one hand, and France and its allies, on the other.

Through this historical overview, we first intend to analyze the representations of the collective "Self" and its significant "Others" that colonial Anglo-Americans developed in their accounts of captivity among Indians.²⁸ Secondly, we attempt to demonstrate that captivity itself was a complex practice in which various indigenous and European traditions of mediation, redemption, and revitalization converged. Thirdly, we aim exploring the relationship that lies between captivity as a historical practice and captivity as represented in what can be called the "*hegemonic tradition of captivity*".²⁹ We maintain that it is in large part

through the suppression of the complexity of captivity as a practice, and particularly the suppression of the colonists' role as captors of Indians that the selective tradition of captivity has gained its ideological force. The aim behind our partial focus on the decades preceding the Revolutionary War is to look closely at the relationship between colonial practice and representation. Situating our study in the nexus of practice and representation, we have resorted to bringing together three scholarly traditions that are in themselves already interdisciplinary: gender studies, American cultural studies and postcolonial studies.

As an extension of the aforesaid authority of captives, we mean their power within those narratives to render themselves and be rendered so rhetorically persuasive and culturally empowered in both personal and political contexts that some people have tried to obscure and manipulate these events and writings to their own end. Mark Patterson explains in *Authority, Autonomy and Representation, 1776-1865* that the problem for one seeking authority is to find the proper form of address and expression by which the subordinate will recognize the authority's position and sympathize with their intention.³⁰ Patterson goes on to explain that there was a vacuum for literary and political authority in antebellum America that left readers "suspicious of both political and literary plots" and further "led some writers to find safety in conventional forms".³¹

We contend that, in contrast with the colonial period, in nineteenth-century America, it was precisely by presenting one's self as subordinate that one could obtain another subject's sympathy. We understand captivity narratives as one of those "conventional forms" that spoke powerfully in the nineteenth century as a "proper form of address." As citizens who had been involuntarily and often violently removed from mainstream society, their addresses were often aimed at regaining or claiming social, cultural, and national status. And this is perhaps one of the most striking features of the captives' authority within their texts. With these observations in mind, we would like to propose a new "master narrative" for autobiography

and American self-making. Richard Helmstadter (1997) defines a master narrative as “a version of history that has gained sufficiently broad acceptance that it establishes with some authority the context and general outline of its subject”³². In their quest for American identity, autobiographical writings have been marked by histories that underestimate the significance of bondage, or that ascribe to bondage a negative or nonproductive function. Furthermore, these histories have often relinquished the agency of captives in the narrative scenes, places, and forms in which they are represented as captives. Hence, the most significant expression of the power of the ex-captive is clearly stated only when they break from bondage. The master narrative of colonial captivity narratives in particular has held that captives’ accounts reflect the domination of one master or one type of mastery. In contrast, this project constitutes an alternative master narrative in that it rereads the voices of those who have been silenced and marginalized (both in history and in historiography) as one of power and authority. It tells a story of how abduction, marginalization, and oppression became opportunities for autobiographical expression and metaphorical reference to American self-imagining.

Furthermore, it illustrates how multiple forms of mastery operated in accounts of confinement and how they informed and endorsed each other. Ultimately, we argue, antebellum captivity narratives are about the mastery of writers over their written lives and the world around them through literal and literary submissions. Our reading of captivity narratives uncovers, however, how sufferings of captivity enabled “radical reflection about the shapes that life can take.” As our later arguments will make clear, bondage is, in fact, the context in which “radical reflection” necessarily occurs, be it about personal identity or about national character. Far from silencing autobiography, the story of the life arose from the conditions of captivity and was shaped by the politics and thematic of such experience. Consequently, our research work is aimed to be a contribution to the conceptualization of

captivity narratives inasmuch it reads familiar works against their generic grains. In sum, we locate this work within a larger move in literary and cultural studies towards privileging those aspects of culture that have been read as marginal and aberrant. Similarly, we use the notion of captivity, a concept that we think brings together several conversations on reversal, displacement, and subversion, to rethink the meaning and stakes of literary representation and production in and about America.

Similarly, captives' texts memorialize a mode of the concept building of freedom through the vocabulary, tropes, images, and circumstances related to bondage, submission, and slavery. Through slavery, captivity, and bondage, these stories brought about a significant contribution to the development of the meaning of freedom in antebellum America. Starting from this point, one begins to realize that the main intercourse in literary production is not between narratives of American freedom and narratives of American bondage, but between narratives of bondage that represent freedom and those that encode captivity to decode as freedom. The meanings of representing bondage dramatically shift. Put differently, one may say that the quest for freedom, rehearsed in national, gendered, racial, and economic languages, has not only been marked by an escape from bondage, but by the quest to be properly bound, to be confined in a way that is freeing and empowering. From this perspective, the forced submission of the prisoner in the state penitentiary is an extension of the citizen's submission to American democratic ideals, inasmuch as the constitution of the citizen and prisoner is made possible by way of their surrender to the state.

The prisoner's submission, however, is typically understood as a failure of freedom while the citizen's obedience is characterized as a model of independence. In this sense, we are interested in tracing in secular and religious contexts what Pamela Lougheed calls a "negative liberty," a freedom found in submission to someone else.³³ Given the propensity for captives' narratives to disparage captors, this study is also interested in a "negative liberty" in

the sense that these texts imagine that liberty through the negation of others is representative of the thematic of freedom found in earlier slave narratives, but with a peculiar eye towards the bondage of women. If representations of captivity comprise a hegemonic tradition in this sense, as we attempt to demonstrate in the present thesis, a critical analysis of this tradition must have at least four dimensions. It will, firstly, analyze the traditions' shapes or structures, identifying the principles of selection that order this particular version of the past. Secondly, it will contextualize the tradition within a broader field of intercultural practice, revealing crucial elements that the tradition excludes or obscures. Thirdly, it will locate the tradition socially, indicating the combination of position, perception, interest, and influence that have given the tradition its distinctive shape and connection to the present. Fourthly, it will relate the tradition, thus defined, to alternative traditions and to the ongoing process through which social and cultural identity, difference, and domination are constructed and contested. Considering all of these dimensions of the selective tradition of captivity requires a combination of textual and ethno historical analysis.

Theory and Method of Analysis

The methodological categories we mean to use to study the narratives are borrowed from postcolonial approaches to the division between "East" and "West". We intend to unthread the complexity of such tales and understand the way in which they seem to fix the identity of the "other" and reveal their homogeneity with a terrifying ease. By analyzing them, we shall also attempt to highlight the extent to which the gap created between the East and the West is widened through the dissemination of deeply engrained and widely spread stereotypes. In the course of our analysis, we argue that by focusing on thrilling captivity stories that last as a source of imagination and discursive productions which promote western imperial ambitions, the six narratives under study have affected the western popular imagination through constructing unruffled images of ruthless barbarians.

Starting from the point that nothing exists outside ideology and no practice exists outside discourse and hence outside ideology, our study will be conducted in accordance with Gramsci's theory on hegemony, Edward Said's Orientalism and *Culture and Imperialism*. Besides, we will appeal to 'Critical Discourse theories' provided by Michel Foucault and Tzvetan Todorov. Our choice of these theories is motivated by the necessity of recovering the histories of the selected Captivity narratives and studying them as cultural artifacts deeply implicated in history, shaping as well as shaped by the material forces of their contexts, as well as the economic, political, and cultural systems of their times. As it will appear from our study of the different visions of colonial relations in our corpus of study, we shall examine synchronically which biographical, historical, social, cultural and political materials can be related to the selected narratives. This research also involves a close textual reading of the selected narratives; it investigates the images of the Indian and the North African that have been constructed in the narratives by 'Western' authors. The research paradigms we have adopted belong in critical discourse views on Western and Orientalist discourse borrowed from Gramsci, Foucault, Said, and Todorov. These views on the representation and portrayal of non-European cultures and religions have been considered suitable to make theoretical postulations for our study.

Among the points chosen for the analysis, typecasting is reckoned to be one of the major discursive strategies in Orientalists' writing. Said proposes that typecast characterization immediately invokes social status in the mind of the observer.³⁴ Our thesis being mainly built around the scrutiny of the representation of the "other", it focuses on its different images created through literary works. It explores the stereotypes and the gaze with all its traits as they are highlighted in the narratives. The study is delimited to different figures of otherness as sweeping statements about non-Western cultures and people. The East/West split is the "starting point" in Orientalists' works, because their core subject matter is the

discourse that erects the Orient/Occident divide. In the latter view, South (East) is conceived as inferior in contrast with the North (West). Most dramatically, this geographical difference accompanies social, cultural, religious dissimilarities that eventually lead to the division of people ³⁵. In terms of religion, for instance, Islam is presented as an indicator of the major differences that lie between the Western and the Eastern worlds.

However, going beyond the Orientalist perspective, we shall seek to explore how the allegorical mode of narration overturns the captivity narratives to address the major domestic issues predominant in the context of production of each of the six narratives selected for analysis. All in all, what we are interested in is the use of the Orient as a foil for the obsession of internal issues, because for us, the captivity narratives are primarily national allegories which serve as a cultural medium for reflection on problems close to home.

Structure of the Thesis

The present thesis is devoted to the formations and transformations of genre and theme that captivity entails, and, beyond that, it seeks to explore the ways in which texts do cultural work in shaping and challenging images of American national identity. It is divided into three parts, with two chapters each. The two introductory chapters, one devoted to the theory and another to the context of the narratives, are followed by the exposure and explanation of the Orientalist significant practices in which all major captivity narratives engaged. In this discussion, we will read a range of captivity narratives written from the American and English traditions, with emphasis on examples of an important subgenre, the Indian and Barbary captivity narratives, which contain the earliest responses of white American writers to the encounter with the Indian and then the North African. We will examine how the form and concerns of the captivity narrative get transformed when its experience becomes a popular subject.

In chapter three, our primary scope of analysis consists of accounts for the religious and political quality of Cotton Mather's Sermons about captivity, by documenting the origins of the Puritan providence tale and exploring the ways in which he adapts the earlier literary forms for a contemporary audience. Because of his conservative evangelical upbringing and his personal religious orientation, Cotton Mather is much more sympathetic to the theological underpinnings and his sermons give evidence of the dramatic and sometimes flamboyant stylistic features of his texts function in late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries America. The chapter also explores how American native Indians were first violently assaulted by settler-state military power, and thereafter constructed as sexual savages, uncivilized, unfit and failed race in a dominant discourse whose sexually charged language gave away its gendered colonial logic. Yet, once again, our concern here is not what they say about the Indians, but what they mean about the domestic issues prevalent in the time of Cotton Mather.

The fourth chapter turns to the fiction of Royall Tyler and Maria Martin to contend that, in their taste for the providence tales, the authors reveal the uncanny ways in which they depart from Cotton Mather's notion of religious leadership and narrative authority, just as they refine aspects of Mather's political standpoint. The point of the chapter is that Tyler and Martin recognize the importance of a literary work in codifying the understanding of American identity and shaping literary forms in the new nation, two distinct but closely related projects, which show their intellectual concerns regarding American historiography, which they identify and use to create a dramatic effect. Tyler, for instance, wrote his novel to oppose slavery because it was considered radical at the time, and even insulting to the Southerner. This avoidance strategy may have been adopted by Tyler mainly because he, the son of the American Revolution, intended to address the many important issues for the young republic without challenging the established order at a time when slavery was considered a

‘peculiar institution’, an issue on which many an American scholar broke their teeth. Tyler in fact adopted a strategy traditionally used by historical fiction writers, which consisted in resorting to writing about ‘savages’ or animals to address socio-political problems. This is perhaps one of the reasons why many critics have pointed out similarities between Tyler’s novel and Melville’s *Moby Dick* showing how the novel turns the Biblical republican typology used in the American Revolution against the British to indict America’s own practice of imperialism. However, similarly to the third chapter, emphasis is placed on the use of captivity for reflection on a domestic major issue: what freedom is. In the period in which Tyler wrote his novel, there was a debate on what form freedom should take in the newly independent country.

The fifth chapter introduces the selected narrative of Maria Martin where an intricate and sometimes even contradictory story of cross-cultural contact emerges to influence reflection on national identities and to form the mirror image of what can be called the Mass Captivity tales. It narrates the story of the captive who was treated with kindness or at least benign neglect. This measured perspective provides a clearer sense of the varied nature of Barbary conflict; that is, it reflects the author’s plots, characters, and even her language, but inverts them to express another view of American expansionist design.

The sixth chapter takes up William Shaler’s essay namely, *Sketches of Algiers*. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Shaler resorted to writing an essay instead of, let us say, a pamphlet, which counterbalances and corroborates and sometimes contradicts the other Western narratives, thus providing a rich, detailed, and positive picture the Algerine people. The essay misrepresents the “other” at many levels. The Algerines appear as barbarous cruel creatures that have a great zeal in kidnapping “innocent” westerners and in committing massacres. However, this misrepresentation remains weak because of the complex and ambivalent nature of the author’s discourse which destabilizes the balance of power between

the east and the west, complicates their relationship and hence gives the “other” more freedom to establish itself as a power that stands against the western theorization.

The concluding chapter is devoted to Choukri Khodja’s Barbary narrative, with its inherent discourse that diverges and transmits a counter-orientalist discourse which reveals the heterogeneity of the colonial discourse as well as its complex and ambivalent nature. Therefore, the colonial discourse of the novel fails to fix this stereotype about the Algerians and paradoxically shows the westerners as lustful and lascivious, which reflects in a way the defection of the western selfhood in the Barbary narrative of Choukri Khodja.

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Preliminary Part

**Theory, Methodological Framework, and the Historical Context of the
Narratives**

Introduction

Being a supportive element of the thesis, the Preliminary Part aims at providing a theoretical foundation for the thesis and the key concepts related to the analysis, as stated in the General Introduction. It also contains the historical background to the narratives under study. It consists of two separate chapters, their inclusion being for informative purposes.

Chapter One caters for some explanations of the analytic categories contained in the theoretical framework. Accordingly, it includes a theoretical record about “otherness” and “othering”, Edward Said’s “Orientalism”, Antonio Gramsci’s idea of “Cultural Hegemony”, Tzvetan Todorov’s concept of “fear of the Barbarian other”, and Michel Foucault’s constructionist approach to representation. It also comprises some key concepts around which the thesis is articulated: ‘Representation of the Self and the Other’, ‘Otherness and the Notion of Othering’, ‘The Formation of Stereotypes’, and ‘Retrieval of Silenced Voices’.

As for Chapter Two, it is devoted to the historical background to the writing and publication of the six narratives under scrutiny. It includes a brief account about American religious and political freedom, the relation between early captivity narratives and the roots of American exceptionalism. It also provides for some religious and philosophical underpinnings of American freedom, the American myth of the frontier and the captivity narrative, as well as American freedom and the federalist government. Besides, it refers to American freedom crossing new borders, the Mediterranean region as a stage for military and religious clashes. It discusses the place of North African Muslims in European writings, with their distortions and prejudices, post-colonial America, with its weakness, its fractions and its wars abroad, as well as the North African Muslims in American thought. It ends up in providing an overview of the Barbary captivity narrative genre.

Chapter One: Theoretical Considerations

The postcolonial critique is aimed at narratives that are the products of the nation form within its historical obsessions, its representation of Manichean struggle, its appeals to nature and destiny, and its problematic relation to questions involving geographic and cultural boundaries.

(Radhika Mohanram and Gita Rajan)

Introduction

This chapter discusses the theoretical approaches and main concepts that will help us in our endeavor to measure the extent to which the intrinsic discourse in the selected captivity narratives reproduces, strengthens and displays the formation of American imperial attitudes, references, and experiences, with particular focus on their political freedom closely linked to their will of domination and control of ‘others’. So as to evaluate the degree of convergence and divergence between the visions provided in the selected texts, the hypothesis will be verified through our tracing of signs of reinforcement and consolidation of the dominating imperial discourse in the captivity narratives. To this end, we shall resort to the intellectual tradition of looking critically at captivity narratives and undertaking a discourse analysis of their contents that cannot be viewed in a historical vacuum, which further problematizes their timeless readings. Raymond Williams makes a similar argument for seeing literary works within a historical context when he offers a refined version of Hegel’s *zeitgeist* and Marx’s “superstructure,” which he refers to as the “structure of feeling”: literary conventions, he argues, are fundamentally related to the structure of feeling in that period. All the products of a community in a given period are essentially related. In the study of a period, we may be able to reconstruct the material life, the general social organization, and, to a large extent, the dominant ideas. And it seems to be true, from the nature of art, that it is from such a totality that the artist draws.¹

We shall also approach the six selected narratives as orientalized texts, as stated by Edward Said in his *Orientalism* (1978). Said’s text is immediately useful in approaching western representations of Indian or African peoples, as it has become a mainstay reference

for any critical historian interrogating signifying practices and racial representation in the Western colonial context. We might use other theories of postcolonial and critical theories engaged with or refashioned by scholars in order to produce counter-colonial knowledge about Indian and African dominated cultures. It also helps explaining the employment of theories and concepts in the ‘othering’, consolidation and maintenance of the colonial and imperial discourses as clarified by theories of representation of authority and power. Producing a postcolonial project, we shall refer to the terms ‘self’ and ‘other’. This is because we do not deal with any speculation or articulation of Indigenous experiences. The term ‘other’ does not signify an actual person, but a representative trope that appears in the discourse of the dominant society.

Analytic Categories

The first one of the theories of “Otherness” we will rely on refers to the ideological means whereby the American authors seek to perpetuate this representation of authority and power in the selected captivity narratives. We intend to start with the Italian revolutionary theorist Antonio Gramsci’s idea of “Cultural Hegemony, along with Michel Foucault’s notion of “Knowledge of Power”, Edward Said’s “Orientalism”, “Culture and Imperialism” and Todorov’s concept of “fear of the Barbarian other”. All of these theoretical concepts are believed to be relevant to our research work as they offer two major debates on representation that were unresolved till the 20th century. These theories are based on discourses demonstrating power of representations, and show their implications for postcolonial studies and cultural studies. On the orientalist discourse and the West’s relation with Orient, Edward Said states: “The Orient is the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient, dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, setting it, ruling over it: in short, orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.² Said reiterates that, as a massive body of writing, it is not

meant, to serve as a source of “pure” objective knowledge, its people, culture and religion, but as a means for dominating and ruling over the Orient, that colonizing it. Ideologically, “Orientalism” is a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, colonial bureaucracies and style. It does not have not a scientific aim, but political and colonial ones, which is displayed in arbitrary representations.

In terms of empire building, Said demonstrates, by using Foucault’s constructionist discursive move toward the production of knowledge. He also re-visits orientalism and imperialism as a discursive establishment and offers a review of insights on Orientalist’s techniques of representation to construct stereotypes of non-Europeans and later non-Americans.³ Besides, he criticizes the tendency in some literary circles to “sanitize [culture] as a realm of unchanging intellectual monuments, free from worldly affiliations, and he judiciously argues that culture for centuries “nurtured the sentiment, rational, and above all the imagination of empire”. In his *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), Said addresses the relation of literature as part of culture and empire, refuting all attempts to separate them by arguing that “Literature itself makes constant references to itself as somehow participating in Europe’s overseas expansion and, therefore, support and consolidate the practice of the empire.”⁴

Furthermore, Said argues that as cultural forms, narratives cannot be “chopped off from history and society” and should be dealt with always in relation to their actuality. For him, “culture does not transcend the material forces and relations of production. Culture is not simply a reflection of the economic and political system, nor can it be independent of it. Narratives, Said goes on “were immensely important in the formation of imperial attitudes, references, and experiences.”⁵ More importantly and particularly pertinent, in his analysis, the theorist recalls stereotypes of African and Muslims that were normative in Orientalist discourse and shows their continuation in present-day images of Islam. From one of the first orientalist scholars, Silvestre de Sacy, down the line to François-René Chateaubriand, Edward

Lane, Gérard de Nerval, Gustave Flaubert, and Ernest Renan, they all wrote of the Middle East as a barbaric place, a region unfit to govern itself, and a land inhabited by a people incapable of rational thought or action. While the slant of orientalist scholarship against the East is unquestionable, the field was predominantly made up of European scholars and it is debatable how influential their writings could have been on American society.⁶ The selected Captivity narratives illustrate how fundamentalist version of Islam has been advocated by them, hence, bringing forth the need to analyze. They also exemplify the ideologies inscribed in captivity narratives.

Gramsci on Power and Theory of Oppositional Hegemonies

It is important to note that power of representation with reference to imperial textuality is also found in Italian revolutionary theorist Antonio Gramsci's texts (1891-1937), which are produced as an alternative by the practices of conscious agents. Gramsci writes in his *Prison Notebooks* that "the starting-point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, and is "knowing thyself" as a product of the historical process to date, which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory. In addition to analyzing a hegemonic tradition of representation, we seek to illuminate the processes through which these representations are constructed, made authoritative, challenged, and transformed. In considering the conditions under which representations are resisted, we draw on Gramsci's concept of alternative or oppositional hegemonies. These hegemonies challenge the dominant ideology, most often in derivative terms.⁷ The complexity and dynamism of the concept "cultural hegemony" resides in its recognition of the importance of alternative or opposition. Europeans used captivity as a strategy of colonial domination. As a result, those captivity practices coded as "Indian" in the hegemonic tradition are now being revealed as a "convergence" of multiple captivity practices, both indigenous and colonial.

Considering the relationship between representation and domination, colonial knowledge and colonial power, brings into play another stream of theoretical inspiration for this study: works by scholars such as Michel Foucault and Edward W. Said on the Western European construction and domination of “Others”. Although a number of studies have presented the colonized Other as an “invention” or “projection” of European colonial powers, we aim to do justice to the extent to which the representation of the Other is impulsive, as it were, of an intercultural encounter in which ‘other’ people as well as colonists were significant actors and interpreters. We consider a problem of limited scope so that we can present a fine-grained analysis of “othering” as a symbolic, social, and historical process; and we situate our study in a colonial context, in which power relations were ambiguous and shifting, in order to consider hegemony-in-the-making, that is collective identification and exclusion in the process of construction and contestation.

Our analysis of the selective tradition of captivity emphasizes how constructions of the “Other” are built not only on symbolic oppositions but also on continuities and resemblances. Uncovering the identification with “Others” that to some extent always accompanies the positing of difference is essential for understanding on what basis the cultural construction of difference is both fashioned and open to challenge. Representations of newly discovered territories created the effects as if no one lives there and they were free to be occupied. These narratives display the way colonial dreams as captivity narratives inspired exploration of exotic lands. Most importantly, they also supported colonization by affecting psyche of people as they constructed roles of superior and inferior in the heads of colonizer and colonized respectively in constructing cultural self-assurance of colonizers because notions of race, and national egotism were inscribed in them. At the same time, colonial representation psychologically disarmed Indians and Africans by making them feel inferior to their masters

and colonizers. Besides, it is worth mentioning that hegemony is also applicable to relations involving American themselves in the treatment of domestic issues.

Michel Foucault and Edward Said's Constructionist Approaches

Foucault's theoretical guidelines, which are provided in his *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (2002) proved another substantial contribution to constructionist approaches to representation. Quite differently from its preceding linguistic denotations, Foucault regarded 'discourse' as a borderline around the word "statement".⁸ He hypothesizes that a discourse brings together those statements which "refer to one and the same object".⁹ Statements, for Foucault, are not merely grammatical sentences or just material marks; all things can be consigned certain "modalities of existence".¹⁰ Following the same way of thinking, Sarah Mills (2005), argues that a statement could be a map, a photograph, or any representation.¹¹ It means that discourse provides context for representations. ¹² Any society at a particular point in history is constitutive of diverse discourses such as law, medicine, politics, religion, and literature.

Every discourse has a 'system of dispersion' that Foucault terms as discursive formation ¹³. The strength of Foucault's theory resides in its spatial-temporal turn in analysis of representation which was absent from Saussure's purely linguistic model. Besides, it theorizes in terms of institutional regulation of statements which brings to fore involvement of power in production of knowledge. In addition, Foucault also posits individuals as ideological subject of already existing discursive structures. Foucault's concept of discourse will be of help to cast light on the reasons behind American's interest in the institution of "othering" as a means of imposing its own vision of the world upon the "Other", a vision that carried on, consolidated, and amplified the European's ideas in "presenting the universe divided into the West as powerful, superior, the centre of civilization and enlightenment, and the rest as weak, inferior, backward and primitive. ¹⁴

Similarly, but from another perspective, Theories of post colonialism are highly indebted to these insights into workings of language and discourse. The foucauldian sense of the term discourse is reflected as a “strongly hounded area of social knowledge, a system of statements with which the word can be known. Through discourse, speakers and hearers; writers and readers; people in society come to an understanding about themselves, their relationship to each other and their place in the world. They also know as the “construction of subjectivity”, which applies both to the ruling class in society, and particularly to America in the case of our study. Constructionist approaches to representation displaces realists’ proposition of true representation through language. It is useless to judge genuineness of representations by comparing them to their real as sense of reality is conceived inside one’s head. Representations, hence, are symbolic of the real world. There is always a degree of abstraction involves in the work of representations.¹⁵

Representations always take away some aspect or add more to their originals. The debate, above, also informs that languages are inherently cultural creations and embody worldview of those who speak them. In addition, humans are not free thinking individuals instead are constructs of language/discourse. Furthermore, the idea of colonial discourse is also materialized because of Foucault’s philosophy of discourse. Making use of these insights, postcolonial theory emerged and presented a devastating censure of colonial and neo-colonial representations of non-Europeans. Post colonialism is a method and an approach to subvert the assumptions held by colonialism. Postcolonial approach involves strategic reading of texts to disrupt Eurocentric biases inscribed in them. It brings into play thoughts such as equality, liberation, and democracy so as to combat domineering formations of prejudice, bigotry, and manipulation.¹⁶ It stresses the need to replace traditional reading practices and proposes to reconsider our reading habits.¹⁷

As we pointed it earlier in this chapter, Said renewed Foucault's discursive propositions in terms of imperial representational practices. Foucault (2002) asserts that one is working with a discursive formation if one has discovered constancy between ideas, statements, concepts, and themes. On the same ground, Said posits Orientalism as a "discursive formation" which disperses a style of "regularized (or orientalized) writing, vision, and study" ruled by Eurocentric prejudices presumably corresponding to the East.¹⁸ Orientalism, for Said, is not purely an academic field. It is a kind of discourse which propagates expectant ways of seeing the East. Elaborating on power and knowledge node by Foucault, Said also refers to it as a corporate institution that advances ways of controlling the East through constructing knowledge about it.¹⁹ East as it is materialized in Western mind, culture and politics is result of Western system of representation rather than some eastern reality.²⁰ And representations, recognizes Said, are only re-presentations as language is always immersed in ideology, culture and political setting of "representer".²¹ Said's concerns are representation, more representation and their place within discourse. Orientalists' representations, for Said, belong to a discursive domain that is configured for them not only by subject matter but also by shared tradition and history. Thus representation of East is meaningful by being consistent with stereotypes that were customary within *the discourse* Orientalism.²²

In construing Orientalists' texts, Said notices that writers are incapable of liberating themselves from constraints that Orientalism puts on them. ²³ Therefore, throughout the ages, Orientalists have produced certain regular characteristics of East in their works. Said asserts that East was conceived in Western imagination through the lenses of stereotype, a term coined by Lippmann. Stereotypes are images in head. They are also processes whereby mind squeezes complexity of world into small and understandable form.²⁴ Said argues that stereotype renders non-Western world graspable to the West.²⁵ Orientalists use several

discursive techniques to construct mental images of Orientals: generalizations, descriptions, use of copula 'is', typecast characterization etc. Said has discussed type characterization of 'Oriental' in detail. A type usually has a specific character that offers the onlooker with an epithet. Western scholars always describe non-Western people in generalized terms. Geographical difference leads to construction of types, such as "the Asiatic and the African". In addition, Said asserts that if a single character appears, it stands for a whole class because of its "discursive confinement".²⁶ Said's theoretical model provides methodology for analysis of the selected captivity narratives; all of them present a reductive view of the Indian, Arab, and African while they reinforce their stereotypical images. Our analysis also indicates that American's perception of Islam has reminiscences of Orientalists, thereby, showing the connivance of the literary works with neocolonial and Imperial agendas.

For centuries, Islam has constantly been misunderstood by West as Said (1981) asserts, "Islam represents not only a formidable competitor but also a late coming challenge to Christianity".²⁸ In one way or the other, Muslim countries have always remained a hurdle in the way of Western domination of non-Western regions. Since the time of Crusades Islamic regions such as Arab and Ottoman had many military confrontations with Europe and were quite successful in terrorizing Europe. This centuries long political history is working behind the images of Muslims and an impression of being combatant is built in relation to their portrayals. Orientalists usually portrayed Muslims in relation to violence and bloodshed, for instance, Arabs were associated with rivalry and warfare. Muslims were represented as superstitious and anti-modern. Position of Muslim women is never acceptable to West. Turks were described as having *Harems* which shows them as morally corrupt and sexually aberrant.²⁹ Thus Orientalist's discourse has constructed Islam as an antithesis of Western civilization. Orientalism is over but influences of its discursive structures are still visible on today's Western discourse on Islam. It has achieved a kind of neo-Orientalist status. Some

new labels are added to the old archive of images of Muslims, for instance, fundamentalist (After Iranian Revolution, 1978–79 and Rushdie Affair) (“fundamentalism,” 2012), and terrorists (After 9/11). Characteristics of Islam are similar to old stereotypes of it. Seen through Western eyes, Islam is still a jingoistic religion so Muslim the ‘ideal enemy’ of middle ages has now been named as Islamic fundamentalist.³⁰

Todorov’s Theory of Representation and the Fear of the ‘Other’

Like the theorists mentioned above, Tzvetan Todorov has his own political story to tell that subvert Western discourse on religious fundamentalism and cultural extremism. His idea concerning the “fear of the Barbarian” pursues to investigate representation or image of contemporary forms of tension and conflict among nations cannot be described in terms familiar to twentieth century history, but neither can they be reduced to a ‘clash of civilizations’, to paraphrase Tzvetan Todorov. The world today is still divided between an enlightened West and the dark forces of Islam. He argues that such representations have become constructs of Western discourses as they produce images of Islam that are part of Western popular imagination. To avoid the negative impact of these Manichean images, we need a much more nuanced view. In this new perspective, Tzvetan Todorov offers an original analysis of the new landscape of fear and resentment that characterizes our world today. He starts by redefining the notions of barbarism and civilization as universal moral categories and explains how they apply to the plurality of cultures; and he distinguishes carefully between various forms of collective identity - cultural, civic and ideological. These conceptual tools can be used to shed fresh light on the current struggle against terrorism and the tensions between communities within Western countries.

Todorov invites the readers to overcome fears - for fear is a dangerous motive and risks producing an evil that is worse than the evil initially feared. The fear of the barbarians can turn people into barbarians. Richly illustrated with examples ranging from Guantanamo

and Abu Ghraib to the murder of Theo Van Gogh and the Danish cartoons, Todorov's powerful plea for civilized values will be essential reading for anyone concerned with the key challenges facing the world today. The importance of and the relevance of Todorov's theoretical approach lies in its analysis of the relationship between Western democracies and Islam, rarely entirely comfortable, has in recent years become increasingly tense. A growing immigrant population and worries about cultural and political assimilation has been exacerbated by terrorist attacks in the United States, Europe, and around the world. They have provoked reams of commentary from all parts of the political spectrum, a frustrating majority of it hyperbolic or even hysterical. His book entitled *The Fear of Barbarians* (2010) is regarded as a record of a penetrating mind grappling with a complicated and multifaceted problems. It is also a powerful book, a call, not to arms, but to thought. Throughout his examination of the problems of today's world, Todorov offers a corrective: a reasoned and often highly personal analysis of the problem, rooted in Enlightenment values yet open to the claims of cultural difference. Drawing on history, anthropology, and politics, Todorov argues that the West must overcome its fear of Islam if it is to avoid betraying the values it claims to protect. True freedom, the theorist explains, requires people to strike a delicate balance between protecting and imposing cultural values, acknowledging the primacy of the law, and yet strenuously protecting minority views that do not interfere with its aims. Adding force to Todorov's arguments is his own experience as a native of communist Bulgaria; his admiration of French civic identity and Western freedom is vigorous and his inclusive vision whose very flexibility is its core strength.

Postcolonial Studies is a field of research which deals with techniques of discourse that examine, clarify, and respond to the cultural questions of colonialism and imperialism. In this stream of thinking, Elleke Boehmer in his book *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* (2005) provides a detailed definition of Postcolonial literature when writing:

It is writing that sets out in one way or another to resist colonialist perspectives. As well as a change in power, decolonization demanded- and still demands- symbolic overhaul, a reshaping of dominant meanings. Postcolonial literature forms part of that process of overhaul. To give expression to colonized experience. Postcolonial writers sought to undercut thematically and formally the discourses, and the imagery of subordination. Postcolonial writing, therefore, is deeply marked by experiences of cultural exclusion and division under empire. Especially in its early stages, it is also often a nationalist writing.³¹

It appears from the above passage that Boehmer maintains the idea that postcolonial writers strive to answer back the colonialist discourses and perspectives since they have been deeply affected by the presence of the colonizer that focused on cultural exclusion and division under their empires. As a result, many theorists participated in the shaping of the postcolonial theory, among whom Tzvetan Todorov who took the responsibility as a scholar to answer and correct the misinterpretation often given and attributed to those who are associated with ‘otherness’ and negative images. In fact, his book *The Fear of the Barbarians; Beyond the Clash of Civilizations* can be seen as a weapon used to break the hegemonic laws that create unequal relations of power based on binary oppositions such as “Us” and “Them” , “the First World” and “the Third World” , “Blacks” and “Whites”, “Colonizer” and “Colonized” , “Barbarians” and “Civilized”. One of the aspects of Todorov’s discourse in his book is the denunciation of oppression, violence, othering, and torture. Concerning the binary opposition, it is useful to mention that the theorist also makes a distinction between what is called the West and the rest.

The same contrast is provided by Edward Said in his book *Orientalism* (1978). By relying on the notion of marginalizing and othering, the Palestinian-naturalized American defines *Orientalism* as the Western style for “dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient”³². In this work, Edward Said explains the difference that exists between the Occident and the Orient. While the West occupies the “center”, all what is not Western is put

in the periphery. To put it differently, the discourse in Said's book *Orientalism* explains that Western philosophy in general is based on the idea that the West is strong and the Orient is rather weak. From that point of view, it becomes obvious and logical that the feelings of the West towards the Orient marked by fear and hostility. In fact, the words "dominating" and "having the authority" show clearly the desire to deal with the Orient so as to dominate it. In this respect, Said declares: "The relationship between the Occident and the Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of hegemony."³³ The European culture is thus considered as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures.³⁴ The term *Orientalism*, then indicates an authoritative Western expertise which explains and controls the images of the "Other". This point is well discussed in Todorov's concept "*Plurality as the basis of unity*"³⁵ when he refers to the distinction created between civilized people and the barbarians in order to dominate by othering. He insists:

The notion of 'barbarian', found in Europe but not in other great cultures such as China, is telling. Over and above the pejorative judgement it carries, it has the merit on naming the external *others*. Turning them into an entity, and thus, encouraging people to take a closer look at them. This curiosity served the colonial and imperial ambitions of the Europeans.³⁶

The excerpt illustrates how the Europeans always consider themselves as a superior race which has the right to invade, colonize and other people under one pretext which is bringing order and civilization.

It is perhaps be useful to point out that Tzvetan Todorov, like Edward Said, focuses on the relationships lying between those who think they are superior and the so-called barbarians by which he parodies the people who pretend to be civilized. To explain the relationship between the two opposed forces, the theorist uses many inherent and interrelated concepts, such as "*Being a barbarian*", "*Being civilized*", "*Torture: the facts*" and "*Torture: the debate*".³⁷ Further to this, he analyses the landscape of fear and resentment that characterizes the world. The different conceptual tools enable him to shed light on the current struggle

against the tensions between communities. Todorov invites his readers to overcome their fears because fear is a dangerous motive and risks producing an evil that is worse than the evil we initially feared. The fear of the barbarians can turn us into barbarians. In this respect, Tzvetan Todorov says: “*The fear of the barbarians is what risks making us barbarians. And we will commit a worse evil than that which initially feared.*”³⁸ It is understandable from Todorov’s point of view that those who think they are civilized are, in reality, more barbarian than those they perceive as barbarians. According to Todorov, the so-called civilized people react out of fear and thus treat their enemy with barbarity, inhumanity, and humiliation, a thing which makes them, themselves, barbarians. Again, Todorov comments by focusing on the concept of “*being a barbarian*” and writes:

Compassion and cruelty depend on the faculty an individual has to imagine the effect of his attitude on someone else. This faculty motivates us to help those who feel the need for help, even if they are strangers, and to recognize the equal dignity of others even if they are different from us. But it is also this faculty that guides us when we subject others *to torture* or when we engage in genocide: the others are like us, they have the same vulnerable points as us, they aspire to the same good things.³⁹

Tzvetan Todorov goes on explaining the concept of “*being civilized*” which is opposed in meaning to the concept of “*being a barbarian*”, and he declares: “*A civilized person is one who is able, at all times and in all places, to recognize the humanity of others fully.*”⁴⁰ Todorov’s words insist on the necessity of understanding that those who treat other races than theirs in a bad way are nothing but barbarians even if they pretend to be civilized. Todorov provides his readers with further ideas and explanations by introducing another concept which is “*torture: the facts.*” He gives a more detailed definition of the word and states:

Acts of torture have been attested in history ever since antiquity and it can even be said that this practice has been strengthened in tandem with the affirmation of our human identity. Deliberately to inflict suffering on a creature similar to ourselves means that we have to be able to put ourselves mentally in his place, which is a capacity more greatly developed among humans than any other species. Even if we find the first inklings of this capacity among primates, only human beings can take these representations of the representations of another creature as far as this, and imagine what the other is experiencing.⁴¹

The passage explains the sufferings that people endure because of torture and humiliation. It is only when we put ourselves in other's shoes that we can feel their sufferings, pain, and misery. While explaining the concept "*torture: the debate*", Todorov indicates that: "*It might be felt that it is inhuman and degrading to enter this debate, as if there no longer existed any intuition common to all human beings that torture is unacceptable*"⁴²

It follows from the same paragraph that Todorov condemns and rejects as he denounces every single act which is associated with or linked to torture and humiliation. His denunciation is well described when he provides the following precision: Torture is not to be condemned merely because it does not produce the effects expected; it is to be condemned, first and foremost, because it is an unacceptable attack on the very idea of humanity. It is the surest index of barbarism, that extreme pole in human behavior that leads us to ride roughshod over the humanity of the other. Yet again, torture is in this respect worse than murder, since by torturing I do not remain content with eliminating the person to whom I object, we draw satisfaction from his suffering. From excluding 'the other' from humanity, and this intense pleasure lasts for as long as he is alive. Torture leaves an indelible mark on the person tortured. ⁴³It seems clear that torture deprives humans from their humanity and puts them in a lower position. In fact, according to Todorov, torturing a human being is worse than the act of killing itself. The act of torture for him doesn't eliminate the person we hate but it makes the torturers happy because they enjoy seeing their enemy suffering. Besides, for him torture leaves physical scars and psychological wounds that can never heal.

Our appeal to Todorov's approach will help us to answer an important question whether Western portrayals are representatives of the society they are representing or do they reinforce the images that West seeks. But before, it may be useful to start defining the term representation in the context of our investigation. Representation, according to Stuart Hall, is related to the way of using language to say something meaningful about or to represent the

world meaningfully, to other people”. Representations are indispensable for human life because people make sense of the world through them. They are ways of creating and sharing meaning among people of a culture. ⁴⁴ To be intelligible, each object, person, idea and feeling must have a representation. Representation can be anything: a name, a symbol, a word, and a picture. It mainly constitutes mental impressions of things or ideas and signs or language to signify them.⁴⁵

In the light of the above insights, we intend to study the six selected captivity narratives as part of imperial discursive tradition within its “othering” discourses. We will examine their “representations” of the relationship between the “Self” and its fear of the “Other”. We will focus our importance on the discursive artifacts and how they construct the image of the binary opposition as the most extreme form of difference. Very related to the logic of binarism is the “extreme” logic of essentialism or what is known as fostered “American exceptionalism” with the assumption that they possess several class and race defining features exclusive to all members of that category or mode of representing the native American Indian and the African corsair as “other” to the “self”. Such representations emerged through the dominant colonial culture, fostered by the Calvinist religious notions of the predestination, then reinforced by the philosophical concept of the manifest destiny. Such religious, political, and cultural convictions presented and still present America as an “ontologically” distinct entity form of colonizer.

Essentialism as well as exceptionalism go with binarism, which functions as an absolute negation of any sort of common ground between America and others (opposites as subject vs object; self vs other; superior vs inferior). This logic can be detected in the discourse of the authors’ narratives through the descriptions that the Indian and the Oriental generally act, speak, and think in a manner opposite to an American. The reiteration and constant repetition of the same ideas about cruelty hardens those ideas into clichés and

stereotypes that are taken for granted, and employed to explain the behavior of orientals. The same clichés are persistently repeated and reinforced by a discourse, which acquires an amazing internal consistency in the narratives. The notion of “consistency” and of “constellation of ideas” in the American authors’ discourse is of particular interest for the present analyses. For it is through the tracking of signs of consistency in the six narratives that this study proposes to verify the hypothesis that despite the unquestionable influence of changing context, the American encounter, first, with the Indian, then with the Barbary Coast pirate, is basically and consistently conceived as a strong to weak, superior to inferior relationship: a core that is consolidated and that proves protected and reinforced by the historical changes of the American expansionism.

These three schools of thought when fused together form the theoretical platform and historiographical justification for the participation of scholars in the storytelling project as it is restructuring realities in the claimed boundaries of West. These preliminary remarks properly prepare the way for the subject to which we will pay attention particularly. In presenting it, we shall naturally be led to touch upon the origin and the principles which lie at its foundation, before proceeding to examine them through the selected texts. Moving from this theoretical model, the next portion of this introduction considers nineteenth-century American patterns for acting differently in relation to the captive; it addresses how specific models of captivity and the range of meanings surrounding the captive signified as authoritative for ex-captives. To be sure, this discussion is not meant to be exhaustive, but merely suggestive of the ways that authority is implicated in and overlaps with captivity. More detailed explications of these processes will be articulated in individual chapters.

Key Concepts:

Representation of the Self and the Other

The concept of representation has been extensively studied by social psychology and has had a lot of impact on other fields. The study of social representations started with Moscovici's seminal study of the perceptions of psychoanalysis (1961) and has reached nearly all fields of social experience.⁴⁷ Trying to define social representations is a difficult task as it is a very rich domain and it is very close to quite similar notions such as stereotypes and attitudes. Social representations are systems of values, ideas and practices which enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history.⁴⁸

For Jodelet (1991), another main theorist of social representations, meanings are condensed in social representations and help people to construe their experiences. Social representations have many usages. They are a socio-cognitive practice which allows us to create sociality, position ourselves, assert identities and defend ourselves when "attacked" by others. As such, representations are *particular presentations* of experiences, people, voices... which are reinterpreted and represented and "constitute our realities". For his part, Jovchelovitch (2007) goes as far as telling us that "the reality of the human world is in its entirety made of representation: in fact there is no sense of reality for our human world without the work of representation"⁵⁰.

As for Brubaker (2006), he claims that representations and other phenomena, such as perceptions and interpretations, are "perspectives on the world not ontological but epistemological realities". So representations allow us to grasp sociality and the world, but they also help us to interaction with other people. Whatever representation is shared, is also

co-constructed with others, it represents “what reality is intersubjectively agreed to be”. The consequence of this is the instability, hybridity and multiplicity of representations, which compete with each other⁵¹. Amongst the social representations that are co-constructed, some have a macro aspect while others are more micro. In other words, there are “hegemonic representations” that are widely circulated and that dominate sociality, while “oppositional representations” can be less circulated, more micro.⁵² Yet these two types of social representations can combat and influence each other. This means basically that representations do have an ideological component and that an exercise of power is always present in representations. All in all, representations emerge from the interrelations between “self, other and the object world”⁵³. They are not copies from originals but a symbolic, arbitrary means of putting meaning on people, ideas. Also, representations do not always correspond to acts and actions or behaviors. This makes studying representation a complex and forcibly unfinished business; but also, it reorients research in intercultural communication and education from questioning “what is people’s cultural identity?” to “how do they construct and represent their cultural identity?”.⁵⁴

Otherness and the Notion of Othering

Othering is another form of social representation, which is very much related to stereotypes. According to Wilkinson and Kitzinger (2006), theories on Othering have been developed in relation to Women (de Beauvoir 1949/1953) and representations of race and ethnicity. Othering consists in “objectification of another person or group” or “creating the other”, which puts aside and ignores the complexity and subjectivity of the individual. In intercultural research, culturalism and essentialism, amongst other things, have tended towards Othering by imposing cultural elements as explanations for people’s behaviours, encounters, opinion.⁵⁵ Resorting to cultures or mere *Culturespeak*, claims Hannerz (1999), will lead to Othering. This claim is shared by Abu Lughod when she writes in a famous

critique of the notion of culture that it is “the essential tool for making other”.⁵⁶ Just like stereotyping, Othering allows individuals to construct sameness and difference and to affirm their own identity. Thus Othering is not just about the other but also about the self.

For A. Gillespie (2006), Othering leads people towards a widespread tendency to differentiate in- group from out-group and Self from Other in such a way as to reinforce and protect Self. As a summary to the points made up to now, it is clear that when working with the concepts of cultural identity and representations, we are walking on many slippery slopes. On the one hand, intercultural communication should strive to work against stereotypes, biases, and racism. On the other hand, we know that non-Othering is impossible. So what is interesting for researchers working on interculturality is to look at how representations that are presented to interlocutors such as teachers, researchers, friends, and enemies are expressed and constructed. This is already a clear agenda for fields such as anthropology, linguistics, social psychology. Since the 1970s intercultural education in language learning and teaching has been about identifying representations, stereotypes and signs of prejudice in order to crush them. What some researchers have noticed is that the “crushing” usually leads to replacement with other representations or stereotypes, which are as unreliable shows how multiple representations of the same social object (“black pupil”) are constructed and manipulated. Representations have to be seen as alive and dynamic existing *only* in the relational encounter, in the in between space we create in dialogue and negotiation with others. And this is what researchers and teachers should endeavor to examine: this creation but also why they are constructed and how they lead to possibilities for communication, negotiation, resistance, transformation.

Two most significant typifications are useful in the context of our study. of the tradition of an oppositional pair that can be called the Captive “Self” and the Captivating “Other” , by which we mean, the Captivating *Savage*, in colonial terminology that stands for

the vulnerability of European civilization in the American wilderness and legitimates the nation's use of force against savage "Others". Our dissertation, in a complementary fashion, considers two key typifications within the Anglo-American captivity tradition: the Captive "Self" and the appealing "Other".

Formation of Stereotypes

Said identifies construction of 'type' as one of the major discursive strategy in Orientalists' texts. Such characters are confined within discourse; therefore, they do not stand alone but signify a whole class.⁵⁷ Islam's characterization of Muslim clerics falls under this category. In current discourse on Islamic fundamentalism, Islam has usually been associated with bearded figures. These figures, in relation to Islam, have become a negative discursive strategy in media portrayals of Islam. Creation of such characters by a postcolonial writer intensifies Islam's image as a fundamentalist religion. Such discursive images cause more damage to image of Islam as texts position them as liberal insiders' voice on Islam; hence, affirming status quo of Islam as a fundamentalist religion. The American experience has been marked by a deep and abiding religious content. From the landing of the pilgrims and my ancestors with them at Plymouth to the religious right political wars of today, religion has been a consistent catalyst for judgment and division. The pilgrims had no interest in philosophical concepts of religious freedom. Their pursuit was for a religious freedom for themselves. They were quite prepared to enforce their concepts of right behavior on all other members of the community.⁵⁸

Several types of social representations have been studied by both social psychologists and other fields such as psychology, cognitive psychologists, but also linguistics, language educationalists. They include prejudice, delegitimization, collectivizing and more relevant to our field stereotypes and Othering. The study of stereotypes emerged in the 1950s; they are defined as "a set of beliefs about the characteristics of a social category of people"

(personality traits, attributions, intentions, behavioral descriptions. The images that emerge from stereotypes are often stable and decontextualised. Though often described as having “negative connotations”, human and social sciences have preferred to emphasise their constructive functions, as “collective metaattitudinal” discourses that lay boundaries between groups.⁵⁹ In acts of interaction, people are guided in their behaviors and discourses through the cognitive order of the stereotypes that they have formed and learnt within their groups. Usually two types of stereotypes are put forward: auto-stereotypes, which regard people’s ingroup and hetero-stereotypes which are related to an outgroup (“the Other”). Stereotypes are often described as being static, limited and inert but they often change as their content is not shared by everybody but is contextually and individually determined.

BarTal (1997) suggests that stereotypes can serve the purpose of showing how superior one’s group is (but also oneself) and differentiate. They also have an ideological aspect. As such, the study of stereotypes can constitute a sound basis for understanding intergroup behaviors. Many theories have tried to explain stereotypic contents held by various groups: realistic conflict theory, scapegoat theory, belief congruence theory, social learning theory, or authoritarian personality. BarTal has done some extensive work on stereotypes, based on the Israeli and Palestinian conflict, criticizes studies of stereotypes for failing to pinpoint how they guide behaviors towards groups while concentrating on cognitive and affective components of relations. What he then finds important is to examine how stereotypes are formed and how they change by investigating the factors allowing this process. The researcher suggests an integrative model which is very useful in this sense as it allows us to look at the factors that contribute to the creation of stereotypes: background variables (sociopolitical and economic conditions and historical relations), transmitting mechanisms (societal channels such as the political, the social, the cultural, and the educational). All these aspects allow researchers using the model to identify individual and contextual differences in

stereotypes. BarTal adds that the model cannot predict particular contents.⁶² For intercultural communication, both researchers and teachers should endeavor not to try to “break” stereotypes or merely present a list of stereotypes, hoping that these will help to get rid of them or paradoxically substitute them with the “Truth”. What is interesting instead is to see how stereotypes are created and constructed and what they tell us about the people who resort to them. In other words, working on stereotypes allows researchers and teachers to reflect on the notion of identity. It is our argument that this segment of early American literature constructed and reinforced stereotyped images of the Indian, African Arab, the Moor, and the Turk. These stereotypes were well defined and nearly universal throughout the Barbary canon.

In the light of what has been said so far, we may contend that the images, associations, and stereotypes created in the Barbary literature were not only known by a small, well-read segment of the population, but were broadly understood and known by early American society. This form of generalized stereotyping was more prevalent in the histories of the Barbary region where the three racial groups were often, but not always, placed under the collective label of Algerine. But at the more detailed level, usually seen in the captivity narratives, the Algerine emerged as a sexually deviant, unrestrained, sensual, inherently despotic, lazy, and naturally cruel and violent being. His sexual deviance, in turn, made him a threat to women, especially western white women whereas his inherent despotism was blamed for the destruction and ruin of the once-great Barbary region. The Arab, on the other hand, was generally constructed as an animalistic, primal (even possibly sub-human), thieving, greedy, and hardy being. Since the 1970s intercultural education in language learning and teaching has been about identifying representations, stereotypes and signs of prejudice in order to crush them. What the third part of our some research aims to is the

“crushing” of the stereotypes leading to replacement with other representations, which are as unreliable, as constructed as the other.

Retrieval of Silenced Voices

Edward Said offers a corrective in his *Culture and Imperialism* and argues for a “culture of resistance” in a chapter entitled “Resistance and Opposition”. The post-colonial text, therefore” becomes a “conscious effort to enter into the discourse of the west, to mix with it, transform it, to make it acknowledge marginalized or suppressed or forgotten histories”.⁶³ The postcolonial, thereafter, involves a critical reconsideration of the whole project and practice of colonial modernity. This critique provided by Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, Spivak and others can be seen as part of a larger discourse of resistance to Euro-centric vision held for long; a continuation of an admirable effort on the part of the “imperial subjectified” others to contest Western forms of domination. It could best illustrate the intent of this reading which explores “the extent to which the colonized peoples engaged the orientaling discourse, resisting its stereotypes, subverting its epistemology, amending its practices and sometimes even re-applying its stereotypes to the [Americans] themselves”.

In Choukri Khodja’s narrative, the marginal creates and dominates a space that allows for resistance to and subversion of the Western hegemonic discourse. With a postcolonially-inflected awareness, we will try to demonstrate how the author assumes authority and acquires agency engaging in a conscious act of “writing back” in order to destabilize and reverse the historically established western modes of representation that operate along the parameters of inclusion and exclusion; and how his account interrogates the tropes of western captivity narratives shaped in important ways by the Orientalist ideology, and how they are, concurrently, counter-acted, resisted and subverted by the postcolonial text. With respect to the rhetoric of the gaze, Malek Alloula’s *Colonial Harem* has largely contributed to the articulation of the gaze of the colonized through what he terms “a double operation”; “first to

uncover the nature and the meaning of the colonialist gaze, then to subvert the stereotype that is so tenaciously attached to the bodies of the women”.⁶⁴ The inversion of the colonialist gaze is revealing for the most part because it allows the native (the colonized) to adopt a much more powerful position; Choukri Choudja discusses and deconstructs the identity-making processes of colonialism by narrating them with a first-person authoritative voice from an embodied positionality. His story is a subversive one, though not simply because he is speaking from the place of the other or “returning the gaze” as some postcolonial thinkers have written. What Fanon is doing in *Black Skins, White Masks* is harnessing the “author function” of his text; this story is still a “product of a place,” though its purpose is antithetical to the very nature of this place and the colonial relations. We turn now to map the social, cultural, and political conditions of possibility for the overlapping of captivity, autobiography and American identity.

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Chapter Two: Historical Background of the Narratives

The principal point of studying the past is to demonstrate that all our inherited institutions, beliefs, conventions, and normative values are arbitrary. "Social constructions" are in the service of power and therefore without legitimacy or authority. For them, history is useful not because it tells us about the things that made us who we are, but because it releases us from the power of those very things, and thereby confers the promise of boundless possibility. All that has been constructed can presumably be dismantled and reconstructed, and all contemporary customs and usages, being *merely* historical, can be cancelled.

(Wilfred M. Mc Claye)¹

A nation has neither permanent friends nor permanent enemies, only permanent interests.

(Lord Acton)²

Introduction

There is no doubt that decoding a text often entails knowledge of the circumstances that shaped it. A text can to a greater or lesser extent articulate the condition and the ideologies or the trends that marked the author's time. Examining how and why Westerners represented the Barbary Coast and the Orient in general is arguably the most exciting and important scholarly endeavor on the agenda of early modern cultural studies today. But understanding what those representations or 'images' meant in the past, and what they might continue to mean today, necessarily requires a certain degree of reasonably accurate knowledge of the peoples and cultures being described if we are to grasp how, and to what ends, these early misrepresentations distorted the populous and complex world which they claimed to be portraying, as well as being able to recognize when and why they were accurate. In this respect, we find it necessary to include in the thesis a detailed sketch about the historical circumstances that shaped Cotton Mather's *Humiliations follow'ed by Deliverances* (1697) and *The Goodness of God* (1703), Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* (1797), Martin's *A History of the Captivity and Sufferings of Mrs Maria Martin* (1807), William Shaler's *Sketches of Algiers* (1825), and Chukri Khodja's *EL Euldj, Captif des Barbaresques* (1929) so that we be acquainted with what were the internal and external factors that might have influenced the making of these narratives.

We shall attempt to explore the general context, dealing mainly with the hostile contact between the white American settlers and the Native Indians, on the one hand, and Christian Western nations and the Muslim North African States from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries, on the other. If the conflicts with the natives started with the early settlements, the United States' tension with the North African regencies in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries characterized the post revolutionary period. We shall also cast an eye on the echo of that conflict on American writings on the North African Muslims. Moreover, we shall give an overview of the Barbary Captivity narrative in order to make the reader familiar with this genre.

More precisely, the present chapter addresses the way in which the Barbary captivity was largely used to discuss early American diplomatic and commercial relations, the United States Navy's birth and the formation of an American identity. We also intend to analyze the aspects and list the factors that shaped generally the Western and particularly the American's perception of the North American Indian then the African "other" as dramatized throughout the selected captivity narratives, which provide the ground to examine the dynamics of power and race including a critique to primacy, domination and power. Such dramatizations contribute to situate our analysis within the ways of exploring the place that the "other" holds by focusing on the Indian, the African, and the Oriental. More importantly, we seek to understand experiences of Americans captured and locked up in North Africa, and how their captivity can be compared to that of North America. Locked up Americans Indians and Slaves encountered diverse conditions as Barbary slaves, depending on how they were captured, by whom, and what type of labor they performed while caged.

By using a broadly comparative framework to comprehend the nature of European captivity in North Africa, we intend to analyze enslaved Americans' experiences in the Barbary Coast, confronting how radically similar this captivity was. To understand this

“captivity,” we study Indian captivity in North and Northwest American and Mediterranean systems of captivity. This approach highlights what was specific to this captivity and considers the flexibility of captivity as a discourse of American authority and will to power. The chapter as a whole addresses the following question: What definition or characterization of freedom, and conversely captivity, accounts for these disparate circumstances?

American Religious and Political Freedom

One of the most pervasive understandings of freedom in eighteenth-century America was as a “function of possession”, which is closely linked to the idea that the individual owned himself and the things around him, as C. B. Macpherson explains:

The individual was seen neither as a moral whole, nor as part of a larger social whole, but as an owner of himself. The relation of ownership, having become for more and more men the critically important relation determining their actual freedom and actual prospect of realizing their full potentialities, was read back into the nature of the individual. The individual, it was thought, is free inasmuch as he is proprietor of his person and capacities. The human essence is freedom from dependence on the wills of others, and freedom is a function of possession. ³

Inasmuch as they possessed their “capacities” and “wills”, their “persons” and “bodies”, and a measure of independence from the will of others, subjects could be said to be free. Consequently, captivity comes about by removing, confining, and holding the body within a geographic locale and physical structure (the Indian, the Barbary state). Bodily confinement or abuse is the most obvious and external sign of the captive’s compromised will. Ultimately, submission, possession, and subjection mark the status of the captive. But, then, how could losing possession of one’s self lead to writing or even re-presentation as American? Why would America, captivity, and superiority go together? Indeed, how do we understand the process by which the lead of captivity turns into the gold of American exceptionalism?

In order to answer these questions, we suggest a more ambiguous and multifaceted model of what captivity could mean by situating it within the categories of America’s superiority. The figurations that constitute U.S. identity depend on the literary representations that emerge from the reality of bondage. The social construction of the captive authors

contributes to re-inscribing models of identity typical of U.S. subjects. In this view, it would be absurd to imagine that mythic constructs America has been heavily freighted with large meanings. It even had a place made ready for it in the European imagination long before Columbus's actual discovery of America. Wilfred.M. Mc Clay suggests that as early as the works of Homer and Hesiod, which located a blessed land beyond the setting sun, to Thomas More's *Utopia*, to the fervent dreams of English Puritans seeking Zion in the Massachusetts Bay colony to the Swedish prairie homesteaders and Scotch-Irish hardscrabble farmers and frontiersmen, to the Polish and Italian peasants that made the transatlantic voyage. The number of these mythic versions of America tends to undermine their credibility still in circulation, in one form or another: The City upon a Hill: America as moral exemplar. The Empire of Reason: America as the land of the Enlightenment. The myth of America as a nation uniquely in harmony with nature; as the new order; as the redeemer nation of the corrupted world; as the land of newness and moral renewal dedicated to equality; as blender of ethnicities and social mobility; as God's new chosen and as guarantor of world peace, stability, and freedom.⁴

These mythic aspects of America remained remarkably deep and persistent in the Captivity narratives. It goes hand in hand with the creation of an American past that should have anything to teach, a past with a purpose that bypasses the needs of the present because its value is not as glue but as a solvent. However, the American past is shaped by the brutal displacement of Indian tribes, the horrors of slavery and expansionist domination and imperialism. The myths that associated with the empowered American subject are linked to mobility, self-possession, independence, individuality, and freedom. But, at the same time, it ignores the ways that more modest, if not abject, states have also characterized the empowered American, and, in turn, the way that captivity constitutes an alternate paradigm where powerlessness is powerful and important; it was essential to

American history and several forms of self-fashioning, the submission of citizens to the government was understood as a necessary part of American civic and political life. As one early nineteenth-century writer in a Boston newspaper retorts, the real liberty is not the power of doing what we please, but is a system of “restraint”, by which we are “prevented” from injuring another in property or person”.⁵ To be subject to the laws of the government is to be a good subject and American political subjectivity is a balance between protection and subjection. As Michael Kammen argues in *Spheres of Liberty*, the freedom to act willfully and proper submission to the state’s authority (order) characterized the “golden mean” for much of the nineteenth century.⁶

In this sense, a certain level of submission and domination operated at the center of subjects’ relation to the American nation and its laws. Throughout most of U.S. history, the federal government discouraged and abridged the free exercise of traditional American Indian religions. The federal government provided direct and indirect support to a variety of Christian denominations which sought to Christianize and “civilize” American Indians. In 1883, bowing to pressure from Christian churches, the federal government forbade “the savage and barbarous practices that are calculated to continue American Indians in savagery, no matter what exterior influences are brought to bear on them.” The Sun Dance, rites of purification, other religious ceremonies, and the practices of medicine men were forbidden. Violators could be prosecuted and receive ten days in jail if they continued their “heathenish practices.”⁷ Such a law restricting freedom of religion was possible because tribes were regarded as distinct political units separate and apart from the United States, and so were not covered by the protections of the Constitution or the Bill of Rights.

However, one of the most prolific sources of an image of the authoritative captive was the iconoclastic power of submission and suffering found in Christian cosmology. Suffering and displacement are salient terms in the vocabulary of Christians and Captives; it enabled membership and communion with ultimate reality according to a Christian worldview. In nineteenth century America, such ideas were widely spread and understood through what Perry Miller has famously characterized as the “invincible persistence” of revivalism, the setting up of camp meetings, informal gatherings, and the like in which non-believers were encouraged, en masse, to join the body of Christ. With its rugged, democratic, and anti-authoritarian character, the revival technique, in its own right, established one model of how the ordinary, lowly, and disenfranchised could assume power within particular worldviews. But more specifically, it continued the dissemination of a radical vision of power that lay at the center of Christian thought, that to be free in Christ was to be a servant to him, that submission to him was key to mastery over the self and world.⁸

Frederick Douglass provides a poignant case in point and is instructive of the ways Romanticism enabled the authoritative captives of the Indian captivity narrative and Barbary captivity as well; after Douglass purchased his freedom at mid century, anti slavery critics hailed him as complicit with the slave system and somehow less authoritative because he was technically no longer a captive.⁹ His ironic circumstance underlines how a model of heightened American identity depended on the condition of captivity to sustain it and how being free was strangely enough, a less authoritative subject position. This is the more subtle reading that is often missed in the various titling of slave narratives as “American slaves.” Their unique Americanness emerges not despite of their bondage, but because of it. In a number of different ways then, the fact and fictions associated with captivity overlapped with and even structured the categories of the autobiographical and the empowered American. A combination of readers, editors, and ex-captives who were sensitive to the interconnections

between captivity and authority assisted these linkages. Too, a historical context in which the reality of bondage, slavery, and imprisonment presented itself to many Americans also bolstered the connections between bondage and power. The language in which captivity narratives spoke was deeply implicated in opinion formation, and thus it is representative of a social imaginary where captivity also meant authority.¹⁰

Liberty with equality, liberty is the other of the two principal pillars in American political ideology. And yet, as Abraham Lincoln pointed out, “The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty. And the American People just now are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not mean the same thing.”¹¹ This is even truer today, then it was in 1864. There is an assumption among modern Americans that their forebears understood liberty in the same freewheeling way modern Americans do. But this is clearly not the case. Interestingly, too, recent writers seem to prefer the slightly more inclusive English term “freedom” over the Latin “liberty,” as witness the titles of the two most influential recent large-scale studies of the subject, by historian Eric Foner and sociologist Orlando Patterson. One doesn’t want to make too much of this, and indeed, the two words are broadly synonymous in most usage. Generally, however, the noun “liberty” has come to have a mildly archaic ring, and when we use it, we tend to be speaking of a form of political freedom, whose existence is predicated upon an entire system of structures and constraints, without whose presence “liberty” is said to devolve into “license.” The “freedom” of modern liberalism and libertarianism, which presumes the moral autonomy of the self-validating individual, could not have been further from the Founders’ thinking. When Patrick Henry declared, “Give me liberty or give me death,” he was not holding out for the expressive liberties of Robert Mapplethorpe.

It may be useful then, though admittedly idiosyncratic, and it is always dangerous to be idiosyncratic with language, to distinguish a “liberty” that enables the individual to act freely within a larger context of moral accountability from a “freedom” that is merely the absence of coercion. One might go even further and add that a “liberty” which has the effect of incorporating citizens more fully and justly in the civil order is very different from a “freedom” that simply

keeps government off their backs. Doesn't the former view of liberty, however, assume that we can identify a moral order that is not merely subjective and arbitrary? And in lieu of such a generally acknowledged transpersonal moral order, what are the implications for modern liberty and democracy? Given our obsessive use of the terms "liberty" and "freedom," Americans would do well to reflect on these matters more than we do. There is no need more obvious, and more difficult to achieve, than saying what those two words truly mean, for us as individuals and as a nation.¹²

Early Captivity Narratives and the Roots of American Exceptionalism

American self-identity, like that of many nation-states, resorts to a notion of exceptionalism, which can be defined as a powerful emotional resource that was exploited by the Puritan settlers and the founding fathers such as James Madison and Thomas Jefferson, with his idea of the "Empire of liberty". Such notion has been carried out by Andrew Jackson with his notion of "extending the area of freedom" by the Westward expansion and the annexation of Texas. American Freedom was also applauded by Alexis de Tocqueville, who observed that "Americaness" reveals a strong distaste for abstract theorizing and philosophical principles while displaying an instinctively practical attitude toward individual participation in the municipal spirit.¹³ With time, American's notion of exceptionalism becomes the justification for America's, to achieve its freedom by dominating, if not declaring war at any potentially hostile state, a right denied to any other sovereign powers. To explain the importance of such a concept, one should start by underscore its historical origins.

The roots of America as an exceptional nation, blessed with virtue, can be traced to its foundation myth of the "Promised Land"; the heavenly America was seen to be "empty" and the apparent and clearly erroneous fact, as Tom Paine said, allowed its people to "start the world over again." America, during the early settlement, was compared to its naked candor "as if the hypothetical innocence of Rousseau's state of nature had been written into

America's actual beginnings.”¹⁴ Over the time, it was agreed that this was a regrettable and presumptuous conceit. Yet, the image of American exceptionalism continues to be projected outward to the wider world. It is a self-image of virtuous Americans, shaped by the histories of the barbarian lands across the seas. These old moralizing myths still persuade Americans to embark upon a “righteous war against various evils”. Our examination of the selected Barbary Captivity Narratives epitomizes the American attitude with favors domination instead of interactions with the world community through cooperative organizations governed by international law. The objective of our study is to display the moral fig leaf that unburdens both colonialism and Imperialism from their responsibility.

Religious and Philosophical Underpinnings of American Freedom

American history was built on a chronological record of significant events, each event having a cause and subsequent effects on another. Historical events are presented in history as being tied to a date, or a precise happening, but the ‘Manifest Destiny’ and the ‘Myth of the Frontier’ are American peculiar phenomena, not to say movements. They cannot be tied to a date, an event or even a specific period of time. They existed and still exist as the philosophy that embraces American history as a whole. They can even be defined as intangible ideologies that created American history. Through time, they became the systematic body of concepts and beliefs that powered American life and American culture.

The notion that America is a nation chosen by God, a New Israel destined for a providential mission of world redemption, has been a near-constant element in American history. The persistence of such a notion is a clear indication of the nation's deep roots in Protestant theology and practices. The Reformation, in stressing the authority of the Scriptures, drew renewed attention to the biblical idea of the millennium, the thousand-year earthly reign of Christ that is to come at the conclusion of human history, as foretold in the

Book of Revelation. Belief in a coming earthly millennium, however one understood the details of it, transformed one's conception of earthly history, filling it with an electric sense of expectancy that God was going to redeem this world, and that His redeeming work could begin at any moment and indeed, might already be fully underway. Such feelings of expectancy were common among the Protestants who settled in the British North American colonies, especially those in New England, who saw their "errand into the wilderness" as an instrument in God's plan to cleanse and redeem the Old World's corruption of His church.¹⁵ It was only natural that, in time, the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay's "city upon a hill" expanded their sense of historical accountability and come to see themselves, and their nation, as collective bearers of a world-historical destiny. What is more surprising, however, is how persistent that self-understanding would prove to be.

The same convictions can be found in the rhetoric of the American Revolution, in the vision of Manifest Destiny, in the crusading sentiments of Civil War intellectuals, in the benevolent imperialism of fin de siècle apostles of Christian civilization, and in the fervent speeches of President Woodrow Wilson at the time of the First World War. No one expressed the idea more directly; however, than Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, who told the United States Senate, in the wake of the Spanish-American War, that God "has marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the redemption of the world." ¹⁶ Most astonishing of all is the fact that this crusading impulse has survived largely intact, even into an age in which its original religious basis is almost completely gone in which the missionary past of Protestant Christianity is regarded with horror by crusading secularists.

The foundation of American exceptionism was also deeply influenced by the rationalist mood of Enlightenment thought, primarily in its English and Scottish aspects. But it began and remained more fundamentally an anti-modernist recovery and re-articulation of

Western and English constitutionalism on the classical and medieval patterns identified with the seventeenth century of Sir Edward Coke, a principal figure of the Elizabethan Renaissance, and of John Locke, himself a principal enlightener. Moreover, all aspects of the political, constitutional, and philosophical debate were strongly conditioned by an ethics and ontology grounded in the ample range of religious convictions of an American Protestant Christianity dominated by Dissenter or Nonconformist perspectives.

The conceptions of human existence and of comprehensive reality prevailing during the American founding were not ideological in the strict sense of the term. The American Founders (as a rule) did not hold out the promise of a humanistic transformation of time and the world as a goal within the reach of action and revolution, apart from the traditional Christian faith in the transfiguration of the world, the Second Coming of Christ. The founding was not significantly infected by the radical humanistic rebellion that supplants God through the apotheosis of Autonomous Man as the center and ground of reality. On the contrary, a transcendental-immanent worldview is reflected in the core of the American Founders' thought, as is plainly expressed in the Declaration of Independence's proclamation that "all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights."¹⁷ Perhaps the most persuasive expression of this orientation in reality is voiced in Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man* (1734). While distinctly hopeful, was nonetheless considered a stable site of human striving in nature and in a process of history governed by beneficent and responsive providence, a time when fallible human beings might seek the joys of life and anticipate the bliss of salvation and eternal beatitude. Reality itself was conceived as the four-fold "Man, God, World, and Society" of classical philosophy and traditional understanding.

Freedom and the truth which makes men free go hand in hand in the political and religious discourse of the American founding era. There was general agreement that political and religious truths are vitally intertwined: "Year after year the preacher reaffirmed from his

high pulpit that both revelation and reason pointed to a single set of principles which outlined the best form of government.”¹⁸ Nor was this merely a Puritan or New England affair, as recent scholarship attests. Robert M. Calhoun stated in 1994 that “Evangelical political thought, discipline, and use of the Bible among other expressions of its activity and vision formed a coherent whole and functioned as a persuasion in the early South. It was an eclectic, improvised mixture of intellectual assumptions, behavioral norms, and Scottish common-sense teachings about the interconnectedness of all knowledge and revelation.”¹⁹

The old interpretation is, with refinements, now becoming the new interpretation of scholars. Religion gave birth to America, Tocqueville long ago observed. On the eve of revolution, in his last ditch attempt to stave off impending catastrophe, Edmund Burke reminded the House of Commons of the inseparable alliance between liberty and religion among Englishmen in America. ²⁰ Cotton Mather exclaimed of the Americans on the eve of the Revolution, “Who can deny that for them the very core of existence was their relation to God?” Like many other American preachers of the eighteenth century, he premises an unsurprisingly biblical vision that includes a stratified, differentiated reality, an ontological whole experienced as the community of being articulated into the familiar fourfold structure of God, man, world and society. ²¹ The human and divine are tensional polarities of that reality, the one unintelligible without the other. Moreover, Thomas Jefferson, the Virginian who shared Voltaire’s theological skepticism yet penned passionate defenses of an innate moral sense and committed the sayings of Jesus to memory, Benjamin Rush, the Philadelphia physician who embraced Unitarianism and Universalism while campaigning passionately for temperance reform and the abolition of slavery, and Benjamin Franklin, the transplanted Bostonian who provided the new nation with a wealth of moral aphorisms and a model of toleration by contributing to all churches of Philadelphia, epitomized the sort of religious liberalism that swept through America’s cultural elite during the late eighteenth century. In its

advocacy of a benign Creator, a benevolent cosmos, human reason and free will, and a thoroughgoing moral optimism, Enlightenment religious liberalism supplied a powerful theological and philosophical foundation for the cosmopolitan republican culture of the 1780s.

The Deism of Paine and Ethan Allen failed dramatically to become the new American faith, especially after the French Revolution. In 1787, however, Enlightenment religious liberalism still flourished widely in America's urban churches, universities, and plantation parishes. Prevalent American ontology reflects the familiar biblical image of Creator and creation, of fallen and sinful men, striving willy-nilly in a mysteriously ordered historical existence toward a personal salvation and an eschatological fulfillment. These goals are themselves paradoxically attainable only through the divine grace of election, a condition experienced as the unmerited gift of God discernible in the mode of hopeful human responsiveness called faith in Christ. The relationships are variously symbolized by personal and corporate reciprocal covenants ordering individual lives, church communities, and society as a whole in multiple layers.²²

Our discussion of Cotton Mather's sermon demonstrates the ways Indian captivity narratives sanctioned a surrogate or substitute in place of authentic Indian voices. They organized a conversation about white, American subjects who could claim chronological and cultural primacy over America's indigenous inhabitants. At the same time, these narratives also carried the potential to re-member Indians as the rightful and respected heirs to American identity. Coming both after the Indian removal act and the birth of slavery on the national political scene in the 1830's, Cotton Mather's second sermon (1703) suggests the ways the Barbary north African corsairs are described as uncivilized and illiterate, thereby rehearsing the denigration and displacement of American Indians. They stand for the young American nation, which was indeed in crucial need for that unity because of the international political

context of that period. Late eighteenth-century European powers paid the Barbary States (Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, called Barbary) to capture their competitors' ships. Sometimes known as "Barbary pirates" the North African sea raiders seized ships for both profit and political reasons.

American Frontier and the Captivity Narrative

In European parlance, a frontier refers to an inviolable boundary or a no-man's-land, often a forbidding and inhospitable place, the edge of something dark and threatening. For Americans, however, the word has a vibrant, almost mystical ring, as the trackless and unsettled territory where civilization renews itself in the quest of exploration by encounter with the unknown and by drinking from the pure springs of unconquered nature. That concept of frontier ran through the literature of the nineteenth century, but found its classic expression in the 1893 lecture of historian Frederick Jackson Turner, who would immortalize the idea that it was its frontier, not its European heritage, that enabled America to produce a social and political democracy. Turner's thesis has been disproved and disparaged in a huge number of ways, but its mythic quality lives on.²³

As early as the mid nineteenth century the inevitability of U.S hegemony within its continental borders is tempered by uncertainty in relation to rapid industrial and technological development, social complexity and racial diversity. There is too a very real anxiety that relates both to the final settling of the continent and the fears of a loss of national dynamism and energy when this is ultimately achieved. Continental conquest, perceived by Turner through successive stages of frontier settlement, development and expansion is understood as a uniquely American experience and as one central to the energy and dynamism of the nation. The final settling of the continent and the elimination of frontiers through which America funnels its energies and reflects its meanings, achievements and anxieties, is thus seen in contradiction. Although at once a triumph for the values and meanings America attaches to

itself, the elimination of frontiers through which these values are made apparent is seen as having the potential to throw the nation into stasis and progressive decline. Concerns over the future direction of the American national enterprise after the effective elimination of continental obstacles after 1876, preoccupy American historians. This is especially so in the formation of an imperialist foreign policy agenda after 1880.²⁴

The progressive historical unfolding of the captivity narrative addresses itself to the cultural articulation of these issues. Linked as the inevitable accompaniments to themes of American future progress are socio-cultural anxieties with their roots in the formative experiences of American encounters with the new world, and important themes are the cultural separation of space that is safe, civilized and culturally familiar, from space that is dangerous, savage and other, and culturally alien. Anxiety surrounds a sense in which the violation of 'safe' space by the alien other is a very real condition of the experience of being an American, and that an omnipresent danger exists of abduction and captivity and even assimilation into an alien cultural realm.²⁵

The captivity genre thus highlights an important cultural paradox. On the one hand geographical space is prefigured socio-culturally and psychologically into spheres that are familiar and alien, with the omnipresent fear of violation of safe space through abduction and captivity. Yet it is in the very experience of successive frontier development, of the colonization of 'alien' space that American national vitality is imagined to be generated. The perception of American uniqueness, residing in its progressive frontier expansion, is then itself the very site of some of America's deepest cultural anxieties. The association of American national progress with frontier settlement, migration and re-settlement, represented through narrative themes of the captivity genre, becomes at the point of final continental conquest a popular cultural product that is able to represent America's experience of its past development in terms both triumphant and cautionary. Whilst the redeemed captive represents

regeneration through ritual trial, the triumph through adversity of the American character, she reminds them that by being American they occupy a perilous frontier space, one that brings with it the anxiety of new trials and challenges to be faced in uncertain and unsettling futures. As Scott (2000) has shown since, the taking captive of American citizens and thus the periodic re-energizing of the captivity scenario as a mythic narrative is an actual occurrence at various intervals throughout the twentieth century. In its early decades the captivity narrative was re-articulated and re-imagined in imperialist rather than colonialist contexts. Scott demonstrates that the mythic appeal of this narrative for a restatement of core values and ideals is coupled with an expectation and political necessity for decisive military action.²⁶

In the historical development of the captivity tale, decisive action to redeem the captive may not simply denote rescue and the restoration of community security, but may also provide the justification for the effective elimination of perceived threat through violent aggression, and even domination in what is ideologically constructed as a contestation between civilization and barbarity.²⁷ This is exemplified through the mythic situation of the captive who stands in for the whole community in his or her ordeal through ritual trial to avoid the ‘temptations of the other, and so renounce civilization, god or country.’ The successful outcome of the captivity scenario provides redemption for the captive and community by extension, formally a regeneration of spiritual faith and according to Scott, contemporarily a renewal ‘of efforts to secure an American identity over and against fundamental threats.’²⁸

Taken as a whole then, this would suggest that to varying degrees of intensity the cultural presence of the captivity myth and the responses it provokes has been an almost ever present aspect of the American national drama. Of course, the alien abduction narrative is an entirely fictitious drama, though in keeping with traditional concerns of security and safety, one that appears to articulate real and apparent social anxieties and relates to fundamental

questions of human futures. Crossing the New Frontier, at the start of the twentieth century the Indian captivity narrative and its larger myth system associated with American westward development was redundant as a representation of actual contemporary experience. Gregory Pfitzer notes that as a mythic narrative, the Western Frontier was revitalized and re-contextualized ‘by the discovery of new territories for the extension of mythopoeic impulses this time not in geographic space but in outer space.’ Popular fiction came increasingly to incorporate traditional generic features of the western myth with new ones associative of the novel generic development. ‘Like so much prairie wilderness, foreign and remote places became potentially viable spots for the renewal of expansionary American impulses associated with Manifest Destiny.’²⁹

In the minds of American readers, the place of marauding “tribes” of “red” or “Black” men in hostile environments and space exploration is conceived through the lens of the frontier myth. The exploration was vital to ‘preserve freedom against tyranny.’ Secondly, the fear of technological domination was invoked and American intervention called for to ‘meet the threat and challenge of potential technological and military superiority by the “other”’.³⁰ The future of American Freedom and progress becomes firmly obvious through the national determination to explore new frontiers. Each of these themes, used to galvanize national interest in space exploration is familiar in the national story of settlement and expansion. Whilst the invocation of the language of the frontier myth was used analogously with that of space exploration, Carol Auster notes an important point of departure from the frontier myth in its practicable realization.³¹ In F.J Turner’s (1938) mythic frontier historiography western exploration is carried out in successive stages through the rugged individualism of pioneers, remote from the control and influence of metropolitan government. In comparing the western frontier with ‘other new frontier’, Auster argues that the possibility of exploration of space is by contrast entirely dependent upon government control and corporate finance. ‘As frontiers

become seemingly more exotic and require more advanced forms of technology for exploration, the role of governments and other large organizations will increase'.³² The qualities of American individualism, celebrated in the original frontier story, become subordinate to the large scale efforts of a powerful machinery. According to Timothy Melley (2000) this arrangement is implicated in what he argues is a pervasive 'agency panic' that is detectable in American culture since. He argues that forms 'a pervasive set of anxieties about the way technologies, social organizations and communication systems may have reduced human autonomy and uniqueness.' His analysis of generalized cultural anxieties in the twentieth century bears comparison with those described earlier by Slotkin as pervasive among the colonialists of early America.³³

Indeed, Melley himself makes this link and argues 'this nightmare was never absent in earlier American moments and may indeed be traced to colonial traditions'. In the historical unfolding of the story of American development contained in the frontier myth the captivity narrative has served to provide both the representational experiences of individuals under conditions of perilous frontier existence, and been used as an ideological device by elite groups and powerful interests to narrate moments of national crisis. As we have seen this has often served to legitimate a violent response in order to 'preserve freedom against tyranny' and represents a paranoid style in American political culture, which can be seen as part of the paradox in which a supposedly individualist culture conserves its individualism by continually imagining it to be in imminent peril'.³⁴

What follows in the subsequent chapters will demonstrate that captivity histories serve as an effective model of what can be called the imperialist audience, a model that takes on new proportions in the early nineteenth century, when attitudes towards Indians emerged that would eventually find voice in Andrew Jackson's rhetoric of Manifest Destiny and his policy of Indian removal. Central to the project is the subtraction of agency from the historical stage,

so that causal aggression looks like inevitability. The Jeffersonian project of assimilation that had dominated national Indian policy began to falter in the early 1820s, when southern calls for active removal reached the Congress. The America increasingly defined by Jacksonian aggression towards the Indians destroys and disrupts the natives' unity while reinforcing American unanimity along the way.

American Freedom and the Federalist Government

James Madison said the entity that the Constitution created was a "composition" of national and federal elements. "Federal" in this context, of course, means the opposite of its customary usage; it designates a form of government in which power is constitutionally divided between and among many different levels of government: national government, states, counties, and cities. What made the American brand of federalism something entirely new, very different from the federal idea as it existed in pre-modern Europe, was the fact that the American national government was meant to have some direct dealings with individual citizens, in addition to its dealings with the respective state governments. It was a complicated system, itself the fruit of political compromise, and was bound to have constant strains and internal tensions. In this connection, it is worth thinking for a moment about what an odd name the "United States of America" was in its time, and perhaps still is today.

The Civil War itself was, to a considerable extent, the fruit of those strains and tensions. But the system also has a powerful logic to it, as an intelligent and workable way of dividing political responsibility and authority between and among levels and kinds of government, one that is far more flexible and compelling than we have given it credit for. Moreover, it is an idea whose potential applications suddenly seem far more numerous and fertile. In a world careening at one and the same time toward global economic integration, as well as toward a recrudescence of tribalism and national disaggregation, the federative idea behind

the U.S. Constitution looks better and better, and top-down centralization and the other alternatives less and less workable. The federative logic extends back to the imperial system of which the British North American colonies had been a part. Indeed, it makes perfect sense to speak in the same breath of the tensions of the imperial system, the American Revolution, the crisis of the Articles of Confederation, the adoption of the Constitution, the nullification controversy, and the entire series of events leading, as in a Greek tragedy, to the Civil War itself, for all can be understood as one continuous controversy, in the thrashing out of what is in essence the federal idea. How was a system to be devised in which the colonies/states could be part of the empire/nation and pay their fair share in taxes for their own defense and internal improvements, while being adequately represented, but at the same time, be fully self-governing in dealing with the overwhelming majority of matters which the mother country/national government had neither the ability nor the desire to administer? ³⁵

Slavery, however, proved to be an Achilles' heel for the federal idea, because it went to a fundamental principle about which there had to be national uniformity, the very point Abraham Lincoln stressed in his famous "house divided" speech of 1858. In linking the defense of slavery, and later racial segregation, to the defense of state prerogatives, the South delivered a profound and lasting blow to the federal idea, and to the nation. Only in recent years, and in fits and starts, has the discourse of federalism begun to revive, partly freed of the manacles of slavery and race. It will be interesting to see if it has a future, or if the ideal of the consolidated nation-state will continue to be the principal model of political order available. For the former to happen, however, historians will have to rethink their conventional telling of the American story, which nearly always links the rise of liberty, democracy, and material prosperity exclusively with the rising power of Washington.³⁶

American Freedom Crossing New Borders

From the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, a lively exchange took place between the Western world and the North African city-states Tripoli, Algiers, Tunis, and Salé, the so-called Barbary Coast. The exchange was cultural and economic in nature, and marked by active trading, diplomatic negotiations, and scientific exploration. But it was also characterized by piracy, slavery, and religious conflict. Both friendly and hostile, these encounters on eye level between Muslims and Christians in the Mediterranean produced knowledge, images, ideas but also stereotypes and prejudices that have remained influential to our present time. This section concentrates on early modern portrayals of the North African population and culture by European and American sailors, traders, politicians, and diplomats in a variety of texts from this period. A special focus is put on Barbary Coast captivity narratives, that is, accounts by Westerners who were captured by Muslim pirates and enslaved in Northern Africa. These texts, written by white captives who were ransomed or managed to escape, provide a fascinating and singular first-hand perspective on the Barbary Coast and its people, and early Christian-Muslim relationships.³⁷

Though the last crusade was in 1292, the « struggle between cross and crescent »³⁸ was soon renewed through the Islamic North African States' conflict with the Christian European nation as from fifteenth to early nineteenth centuries, and the United States from the last decade of eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century. The ordinary reader may find this claim fallacious, and instead, he or she would probably argue that this conflict is merely commercial, and just a matter of who would have the upper hand in the Mediterranean. Of course, this view is with no doubt correct, but it is not the all truth. The religious ideology still lies at the core of this conflict. A glance back at the Mediterranean region and the United States of America at those periods of time will be sufficient to illuminate the essence of such hostility.

The term “Barbary” itself suggests non-normative races, or those who refuse to cooperate with the dominant faith or commercial systems. Even the North African church leader Saint Augustine used the term “barbarian” to describe his fellow countrymen who would not accept Christianity.³⁹ In the early modern period, Europeans also routinely used the term “Barbary” to refer to the states of North Africa that campaigned against Europe’s seafaring tradesmen, including Anglo-American sailors. Many escaped or redeemed Britons wrote about their experiences to satisfy a growing literature on captives’ lives in Islamic cultures. In 1675, the English captive William Okeley set a significant pattern for the Anglo-American Barbary captivity narrative with his *Eben-Ezer or a Small Monument of Great Mercy*.⁴⁰ Okeley faced down his Muslim captors with insinuations that the Prophet Muhammad had “patch’d up. Jewish, and Monkish Fopperies, which was now their Religion.” He marveled at the hypocrisy of Ramadan, when by day the Algerians fasted with great solemnity, but by night gorged themselves on food, drink, and sex. He called this a “Hypocrisy” so gross, that whether it be to be sampled anywhere in the World, unless, perhaps, by the Popish [Roman Catholic] Carnevals, I cannot tell.” Okeley and his companions stole away from Algiers and were providentially delivered back to England, but not before witnessing many cruelties and tortures by their Muslim captors.⁴¹

North Americans too watched with horror as some of their sons were enslaved by “the Fierce Monsters of Africa,” and “Mahometan Turks and Moors, and Devils,” as Cotton Mather called them. Though there were some North American captives taken earlier, the first case of Barbary captivity to generate significant public interest was that of Captain William Foster of Roxbury, Massachusetts, who was captured with his son in 1671 and held for three years. Increase Mather (Cotton’s father) mentioned this case as evidence that prayer worked to deliver Christians from the hands of their enemies, and noted that when Foster was in captivity the church at Charlestown set aside a day of prayer and fasting to ask for his

deliverance. The situation looked dire as the “infidel King” was not inclined to liberate them for money. God intervened, however, by causing the unexpected death of their captor, leading to Foster and his son’s liberation. Mather noted that this was only one of many examples when prayer helped free “Captives amongst the heathen,” such as the nearly contemporaneous deliverance of the pious heroine Mary Rowlandson from Native Americans. Direct colonial encounters with Native American peoples surely helped British colonists articulate stereotypes of supposedly inferior North African and Turkish Muslims, as well, despite the lack of English colonial success against Muslim powers.⁴²

Several other Anglo-Americans were taken by the pirates during the 1670s, including Seth Southell, the appointed royal governor of Carolina, who was abducted as he traveled to North America in 1679, and later ransomed so he could assume the governorship. Joshua Gee was captured in 1680 during a transatlantic voyage from Boston. His captivity narrative, extant only in incomplete fragments, seems to have generated much discussion in Boston, and helped confirm the cruelties of the Muslims. Gee recorded 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.” Gee used the narrative to highlight the comforting power of Scripture, and he portrayed his Muslim captors as influenced by his prayers.⁴² Stories of Barbary captivity were so common that alms-seekers among the urban poor in colonial America occasionally used them to curry favor. Artisan Joseph Bean of Cambridge, Massachusetts, noted in 1742 that he met a beggar who claimed he had “been among the Turks.” When the sailor would not “own th[eir] Imposter for to be Christ, they burnt his arms” so he could no longer work. Bean suspected the man might have falsified the story, but he considered him an “object of petty” and gave him some money. This brief encounter spoke to the popular resonance of the Barbary captivity narrative in America.⁴³

The Mediterranean Region: A Stage for Military and Religious Clashes

From the *Reconquista* to the early nineteenth century, the Mediterranean basin had been a stage for a great conflict between the North African States and European Nations. The demise of the kingdoms of Marinid, Zayyanid, and Hafsid dynasties in the fifteenth century left the North African States prey to the Christian European powers, notably Spain and Portugal. They sent their naval forces to bombard and seize North African coastal cities. The expeditions, in fact, were « a disguise for crusading aggression, and a means of pressure for obtaining greedy commercial privileges and concessions». ⁴⁴ But once under the sway of the Ottoman Empire, the configuration of power changed, and North African regencies became the masters of the Mediterranean. These states were, in fact, practicing corsairing across the Mediterranean basin. Their rulers (called emperor in Morocco, Dey in Algiers, Bey in Tunis, and Pasha in Tripoli) commissioned sea captains, commonly called Reis, to raid the Christian merchant ships in the Mediterranean. The crew of these ships were either held for ransom or auctioned in slave markets.

The practice depicted above reached its height in the seventeenth century, when the Moors expelled from Spain between 1609 to 1614 and renegades from all over Europe played a great role in strengthening the fleet of the North African States through their mastery of art of sailing and of building ships that can sail for long period of time and in high seas. Consequently, the North African sea captains were able not only to rove the Mediterranean, but the Atlantic as well, reaching as far as Iceland. By the end of seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Muslims of North Africa extended their power over the Mediterranean, and controlled the world commerce. ⁴⁵

In order to guarantee a safe passage for their vessels, the European states were forced to sign peace treaties and thereby paying a yearly tribute to the North African government. England was the first European state that signed a peace treaty with Algiers in 1646. In a

similar way, France followed the steps of England and concluded treaties with Algiers and Tunis in 1665. Yet, these treaties were not respected, and the European states that were in peace with the Ottoman regencies often sent their squadrons to bombard or blockade the North Africa cities. For instance, England sent her squadron to Algiers in 1670, and France bombarded Tripoli in 1728. These expeditions were often doomed into failure and the European states were compelled again to renew their treaties with the governments of North Africa.

As a fact to be noted, corsairing was not solely limited to the North Africa States, but to the European nations as well. Famous of their practice were the states of southern Europe, chiefly, Spain, Malta, Sardinia, Monaco, and Tuscany. These states licensed corsairs to prey on the Muslim ships in the Mediterranean. A larger number of the Muslim Captives, especially from North Africa were to be found in Spain and Malta. The North African governments in their turn were obliged to follow the prevailing custom and thus paying ransoms to redeem their citizens. Interestingly, corsairing for the European States was not held for an economic benefit as it was the case for the North African States, though, it will be a mistake to negate the fact that piracy for the Muslims of North Africa was held at first as a sort of *Jihad* against the Christians who had driven the Moors out of their homes in Spain. Soon, this practice lost its religious impetus and turned into a profitable enterprise that provided the North African governments with both wealth and dominance over the Mediterranean area. For the Christian European nations, however, piracy which was essentially licensed by the papacy was another mean utilized by those states in their Holy War against the 'infidel' Muslims. There is no wonder therefore, that « order of St. John of Jerusalem, stationed first Rhodes and then at Malta preyed on more Muslim shipping, captured more booty, and took far more hostages than the North African [Reis] ever did.⁴⁶

The last point discussed above leads us to return back to our earlier contention that the European conflict with the North African States was another episode in the Christian Holy War against Muslims. The question that still persists here is why this religious hostility was renewed despite the fact the last conflict between cross and crescent ended by the victory of the former over the latter (there conquest of the Iberian Peninsula 1492). Nabil Matar answered this question, writing that it was the increasing number of the conversions from Christianity to Islam in the modern period that horrified the Christian European powers. In Matar's words « Islam exerted power and allure which resulted in drawing European Christians from their religion, Islam became the one of Christendom ».47

By the late of eighteenth century and the first decade of nineteenth century, the North African States were able for more than two centuries to repel all the European expeditions, and may be the last of these was with Spain in which Algiers defeated the Spaniards in Oran and took hold of the city in 1792. Spain, thus, was compelled to sign a treaty with Algiers like the other European states. It is of note, that despite that the North African regencies were able until that period of time to maintain their control over the Mediterranean region; they were, in fact, in decline. Many historians believe that the demise of the North African regencies was unanticipated and unexpected, but if we try to consider the problems that started to appear within the North African States in the second half of eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, we will deduce that the decline of these states was inevitable ; The problems were mainly political such as, the rivalry between the North African regencies (each state wanted to control the Mediterranean commerce with the European states), the defeat of the Ottoman Empire by the Hapsbury Empire, and the creation of dynasties by the North African rulers. The Europeans nations, on the other hand, were engaged in fighting each other. The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 and then the Napoleonic Wars led the European States to

turn their attention from the Muslims of North Africa, and concentrate more on their new enemy, France.

North African Muslims in European Writings: Distortions and Prejudices

Undoubtedly, the contest between the Muslim of North Africa and the Christian European powers had its echo on the European corpus. In political tracts, histories, and imaginative writings, the representation of North African Muslims was full of distortions and prejudices. Perceived as « scourge of Christendom »⁴⁸ the European writings painted frightening pictures to the Muslims of the Maghreb. They were portrayed as savages robbers, and hellish people who revel in enslaving, torturing, and murdering helpless Christians. The demonizing representations, according to Daniel Vitkus, were originated from the Europeans' fear of being conquered, captured, and converted. John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon's *Cato's Letters* (1723) is an example of political tract that misrepresents the Muslims of North Africa. Like John Locke and Montesquieu, Trenchard and Gordon deploy Muslims as antithesis to the West's freedom and democracy. In advancing the principles of liberty, they point to the Emperor of Morocco Mulley Ismail (1672-1727) to condemn the evils of tyranny. He is depicted as an absolute despot who uses the 'divine right' to justify his illegal practices. The two writers add that:

The emperor of Morocco, than whom a more inhuman butcher never lived, makes God the author of all his barbarities; and when he murders a slave (as he does every day) out of wantonness or wrath, he lifts up his eyes and says, *Tis [sic] God that does bit*: no man talks more of God and religion and he certainly thinks himself a most religious man.⁴⁸

It appears from the passage that, according to Trenchard and Gordon, the Moroccan emperor, whom is believed to be a descendent from the prophet, dispatched four thousand Moroccans.

More significantly, the European historians' perception of the North African Muslims is similar to that of political philosophers and theorists. A seventeenth century French historian, Pierre Dan in his book *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires* (1649) described the

North African sea captains as the most dangerous pirates the world has ever seen. In the same vein, his fellow citizen Diego de Haedo in his book *Topographie et histoire générale d'Alger* provided no more than a view impregnated with blind crusading hatred and aggressiveness against Islam and Algiers.⁴⁹ As an illustration of that let us take into account this passage:

They her snap up a ship laden with gold and silver from India, and there another rightly brought from Flanders: now they make prize of a vessel from England then from Portugal [...] in so much that before these corsairs have been absent from their adobes much longer than perhaps twenty or thirty days, they return home, rich with their vessels crowded with captives, and ready to sink with wealth ; in one instant, and with scarce any trouble, reaping the fruits of all veracious Mexican and greedy Peruvian have been digging from the bowels of the earth with such toil and sweet, and the merchants with such manifest perils has for so long scraping together, and has been so many thousands leagues of fetch away, either from the east or the west with inexpressible danger and fatigue. Thus they have crammed most of the houses, the magazines and the shops of this Den of thieves, with gold, silver, pearls, amber, species, drugs, silks, cloths, velvets, whereby they have rendered this city the most opulent in the word : insomuch that the Turks call it : not without reason, their India, their Mexico, and their Peru.⁵⁰

Literature was another venue for the spread of these stereotypes. Perhaps good examples can be taken from the Elizabethan drama. At that time, it was a fashion to introduce Moorish characters on the London stage. Interestingly, the Moorish characters are always depicted as ‘men of color’, or more explicitly black. Blackness, at one hand, is used as a distinctive aspect of these Oriental characters like in Shakespeare’s *Othello*. On the other hand, it denotes the Moor’s blackness of spirit. In other words, this physical trait (blackness) is deployed as sign of the Moor’s wickedness, his vicious nature, and as he represents the incarnation of the devil itself. These distorted images of Moors re also perpetuated in the English Barbary captivity narratives. Despite the fact that considerable number of these narratives is based on first-hand sources (eyewitness accounts), their representation of their Oriental North African captors derives, mainly, from legends about Muslims that had already accumulated in the European traditions rather than on actual observations. A hint about English captivity narratives will be given through our description of the genre in the current chapter.

More significantly, defenders of Revolutionary ideals pointed regularly to Muslim states as models of tyranny that crushed essential freedoms. John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon's highly influential *Cato's Letters* (1723) made much of the Islamic governments' prohibitions on the free press and free exchange of ideas. The Baptist leader John Leland argued against state establishments of religion by saying these were more fit for Islamic states, because "Mahomet called in the use of law and sword to convert people to his religion; but Jesus did not, does not."⁵¹ In the 1788 Dudleian Lecture at Harvard, Timothy Hilliard described Muhammad as "arrayed in armor and blood" and a "fierce invader of the sacred rights of mankind." Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws*, influential among many Revolutionary leaders in America, depicted the Turkish state as uniquely despotic. A number of Americans picked up on Montesquieu's formulation that all governments fell somewhere on the continuum between absolute despotism and absolute democracy.

The Baptist leader Enos Hitchcock quoted "the great Montesquieu" at length in his *Oration in Commemoration of the Independence* in 1793, arguing that a "state, in which the will of an individual is most frequently a law, and decides on the life or death of the subject, is called a despotic state." By the end of the American Revolution, the American Protestant themes of Muslims converting to Christianity, Islam's place in the last days, and the blending of theological and political opinion regarding Islam had all become well developed. Theologians made a clear place for Islam in their visions of the last days, characterized Muhammad as an impostor, and deplored Muslim polities as despotic. More so than in later periods, most knowledge of Islam in the colonial American period serviced intra-Protestant polemical needs. One important facet of American Christian engagement with Islam that had yet to fully develop, however, was the ideology behind missions to Muslims. Many Americans already entertained hope that in the last days Muslims would convert to Christianity in large numbers.⁵²

Royall Tyler's novel was written at a period when, according to the standard Orientalist bigotry, Algiers was regarded as a heathen, dissipated, tyrannical state. Accordingly, for Americans to be enslaved in such a place was antithetical to one of the many aspects of the American Dream: they were people yearning for freedom who need not be in chains to anyone, and most importantly not to a debauched despot, a Moor. However, even though by the mid-1790s American publishers were selling books of the patriotic variety in response to the "Algerine" situation, Tyler did not write a novel by patriotic chauvinism, nor did he suggest government intervention. His twofold interest was rather what the young American Republic could learn from its humiliation in the Mediterranean Sea and the denunciation of the near importance of the American government at this time. As a convinced Federalist- the Federalists were for strong central government and the fostering of business and commercial interests, he also suggested that American sailors were being enslaved and even dying in a barbarous land because America was politically fractious and socially fragmented.

Post-Colonial America: Weakness, Fractions and Wars Abroad

As a newly independent nation, the United States of America, between the last decade of the 18th century and the first decade of the 19th century was a powerless nation, suffering from domestic and foreign problems. At the domestic level, the huge war debt, the weak economy, the lack of a strong navy, the wars with the natives in the Northwest, the nation's inability to control its territory (with the standing of the British, French, and the Spanish military forces in US borders), rebellions, and the debates over slavery, were in fact the major issues that plagued the new republic. The American policies to handle these problems, however, created a split between the government leaders, the Federalists and the Republicans; each opposed the other and each viewed their agenda as the appropriate one to conduct the nation's policies. Their conflict was a real threat for the American national unity and for the

future of the young country. At the foreign level, two **main issues** disturbed the United States: the harassment of the American merchant ships by the North African Reis and the wars in Europe. Another major issue will be dealt with in our subsequent discussion of the context of the production and publication of Tyler's and Martin's narratives. For the time being, we shall focus on the United States' tensions with the North African States.⁵³

The contest between the United States of America and the North African States started immediately after the United States independence when the British Royal navy ceased to protect the American merchant ships. As a result they became a prime target for the North African sea captain. The *Betsey* was the first American vassal that was captured by the Moroccan sea captain in 1784. Thanks to the Spanish mediation, the crew of the vassal was released in 1785.⁵⁴ Within the same year, the Algerine Reis seized two American ships, *Maria and Dauphin* and held their crews for ransom. As a weak nation that did not own the ransom monies, and even without a clear foreign policy, the negotiations between the American Diplomats (Thomas Jefferson, U.S. ambassador to France, and John Adams, U.S ambassador to Great Britain) and the Algerine government were not successful. Thus, the new republic diplomacy failed to redeem its citizens. The capture of eleven American trading vessels by the Algerine Reis in 1793, outraged the American federal government, and urged the president George Washington to follow the example of his European counterparts by concluding a treaty with Algiers in 1795 as an initial solution to this crisis. However, afraid that « the United States would become prey to every robber, pirates, and cheat »⁵⁵ Thomas Jefferson, who was elected president in 1801, refused to keep on paying these humiliating tributes to the North African government and, instead, he decided to hold a military action against Tripoli (the Tripolitan War 1801-1805).

The war, according to Robert Allison, “carried great ideological importance for the Americans. In essence, they imagined themselves doing what the nations of Europe had been

unable or unwilling to do- beating the forces of Islamic despotism and piracy.”⁵⁶ But in spite of that, the United States continued paying to Tripoli. It was only until its war against Algiers in 1815 that The United States succeeded in ending the payment of tributes. A thorough analysis of the United States’ conflict with the North African regencies may lead us to deduce that the conflict was more than a struggle for defending the commercial interest of the United States in the Mediterranean. “Americans at the time saw these episodes [American conflict with the North African States] as part of the contest between Christians and Muslims.”⁵⁷ The American war against Tripoli (1801-805) was hailed by pope Pius VII who declared that “the Americans, with small force, and in a matter of few months, had done more against the Muslims infidels than all of the Christian Europe had for centuries.”⁵⁸

North African Muslims in American Thought

The Americans inherited from their mothers pejorative views about the North African Orient, conceiving it as « a vicious realm of inhuman bondage, unstable tyranny, illicit sensuality, and self luxury that symbolized the dangerous forces that threatened their fledgling political rights. »⁵⁹ In fact, post-colonial Americans had poor knowledge of the North African Orient. Their information about this local derived mainly from the European writings which, in turn, shaped their perceptions of the North Africans and the Orient as a whole. For example political writings such as Thomas Paine’s *common sense* (1775) or as John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon *Cato’s Letters* not only influenced the ideals of the American Revolution but also influenced the American Founding Fathers’ perception of the Muslims of North Africa. « George Washington, for example, called the North African States ‘little piratical states », Jefferson referred to them as ‘nests of banditti’, and to Algiers particularly as ‘pettifogging nest of robbers’, John Adams called Muslim rulers unfeeling tyrants ».⁶⁰

American literatures, on the other hand, found in their nation’s conflict with the Muslim of North Africa an occasion to make a rupture with the English literary sentimental

and romantic rhetoric that dominated the American literary scene at the time and establish their own native literature that reflects the American ideals and potentials through the American Barbary captivity narratives. But perhaps, for American writers, a rupture with all that is English, or more generally European, does not entail breaking with the European traditional clichés on Muslims and their faith. As for a newly independent nation with people from different cultural and racial backgrounds who do not know what it means to be an American, the reproduction of these clichés is essential in the resolution of the identity crisis in the post-colonial America. Furthermore, American writers invoked the European Orientalist stereotypes in their writings about the Orientals of North African to confront the early republic's vulnerability and submission to Muslim masters. For Americans, these writings represent their cultural triumph over what they perceived as a 'decayed' and 'barbaric' North African culture.

Overview of the Barbary Captivity Narrative Genre

American attitudes toward the Barbary States evolved over the course of time. During Washington's administration, the Barbary pirates were thought of as being fierce barbarians who had risen in spite of the efforts of various European powers over several centuries.⁶¹ The American opinion shifted toward more specifically classifying the Muslim world as despotic and tyrannical as Barbary pirates confiscated more and more American ships. Harrowing tales of American sailors being held as captives in far-away jails made their way back the United States. By the late 1790s, Americans increasingly began to view their Muslim adversaries as an ignorant people who were subject to the tyranny of their rulers. This bolstered Americans' sense of cultural superiority.⁸⁶

The Ottoman Empire went from being more of a theoretical and literary threat to a real threat to Americans. The perceived vices and shortcomings of the Ottoman Empire in general and the Barbary States in particular were contrasted with American virtues. The conflict that

ensued between the United States and the Barbary States was not specifically a religious one. Instead, the religion of their eastern adversaries, in the minds of early Americans, became synonymous with state coerced religious observance. Americans also came to view Muslim societies as violent, prone to corruption, ostentation, idleness, which among other consequences of these vices yielded economic stagnation.⁶² In contrast; the United States had established religious freedom while also guaranteeing other Enlightenment ideals for some. The United States also sought economic progress through trade relations with other world powers in the hopes of bolstering the fledgling American economy. Thus at the core, Islam was viewed as indicative of an established tradition of tyranny and therefore the antithesis of the United. The tales written at the time of the Barbary Wars portrayed the Turks as part of an ignorant and despotic civilization that Americans, now steeped in the rhetoric of the Revolution, must overcome in order to completely secure the liberty Americans had already achieved domestically. In some ways, the Barbary Wars was a continuation of the American Revolution where they were compelled to secure their liberty abroad.

Among the diverse Western literary genres that came to the fore in the early modern era is the Barbary captivity narrative, a genre that introduced the Orient to both English and American readership. The Barbary captivity narratives can be defined as a body of texts that document the enslavement of Christian Western sailors in the North African States from fifteenth century to nineteenth century. Through this brief definition, one may fall into the mistake of reckoning that these narratives are only factual (concerned with the authentic experience of the captives), but the crucial truth is that in addition to factual accounts there are also fictional narratives, « Texts that mixed the narrative pattern and imagery of the factual accounts with fictional protagonists and plot line. »⁶³ It is of note that these fictional narratives were often regarded as fact.

There are common themes in Barbary captivity narratives. One of these themes is the antagonism between Islam and Christianity. The accounts of Barbary captivity can be regarded as a medium through which the West articulates its fear and hatred for Islam. These narratives helped popularize a false image of Islam and Muslims. Islam is always portrayed as a religion of licentiousness, despotism and tyranny, while Christianity appears as a religion of virtue, tolerance and freedom. Generally, this theme is enhanced through the use of crusading vocabulary such as ‘Mohammedanism’ and ‘Mohametans’ in reference to Islam and its believers. The two terms were invented by the crusades in order to raise adversity towards Islam. For Muslims the two terms are abusive, because they allude to the fact that Islam was founded by Mohammad and therefore takes its name whereas the truth is that Muhammad is only a mortal being commissioned by God to deliver his message. Royall Tyler, for example, deploys the term ‘Mohametan’ in his novel *The Algerine Captive*.

The same accounts also deal with themes that are related to domestic issues. According to Linda Colley, “Captives were more than just helpless individuals abroad: they were often foci of anxiety at home”⁶⁴ Examples of such domestic problems are: slavery, and, as we have stated earlier, the crisis of identity and gender discrimination. Regarding the form of Barbary captivity Narratives, our discussion will be limited to the explanation of plot structure, narration, and finally the ethnography mode. Starting with plot, it is important to note that most of the Barbary captivity narratives have the same chronology. They are arranged around three phases: captivity, enslavement, and redemption. In terms of narration, it is understood that the authors of these accounts often employ the first-person narrative, the narrator being altogether the story teller, the author and the protagonist.

Another specificity to mention is that the protagonist of the story often turns into an ethnographer who tries to provide the readers with a detailed description of the history, the religion, language, and customs and traditions of the locality where they were confined in.

According to Nabil Matar, the Christian slaves' direct contact with the North Africans allowed them to provide a firsthand description of their captors' culture.⁶⁵ While for Joe Snader, the presence of the ethnographic sin Barbary captivity accounts serves to scorn the Muslim captor's cultural traits, on the one hand, and to emphasize the Christian captive's cultural insularity, on the other. Earlier in date than American Barbary captivity narratives, the genre entered the English literary tradition in the Elizabethan period. A series of printed texts started to appear in England, describing the British captives' subjugation by the North African Sea captains, their efforts to escape, and their return to their homeland. Prominent examples of factual accounts of English Captives in North Africa are those of William Okeley's *Ebenezer or a small Monument of Great Mercy* (1675) and Joseph Pitt's *A true and Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammetans* (1705). Although Daniel Defoe's novel *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) contained only one episode of English captivity in North Africa, which is that of the hero's enslavement in Morocco, Defoe's novel does form a part of fictional accounts of English Barbary Captivity.⁶⁶

The Barbary captivity narratives genre made its way to American literature in the late eighteenth century. Nonetheless, its early roots stretched back to the seventeenth century through two surviving North American Barbary captivity narratives by Abraham Browne and Joshua Gee. The former was a captive in Morocco in 1655, and spent only three months. The latter was imprisoned in Algiers and he spent seven years under captivity (1680-1687). According to Paul Baepler, Gee's fragmented account « Didn't see print until 1943 ». It is worth mentioning that the American Barbary captivity narratives genre flourished alongside another popular genre called the Indian captivity narratives, accounts of North American settlers kidnapped by Native Americans. Though the two captivities occurred in different settings, they both seem like a morality play that depicts the struggle between the forces of evil embodied in the innocent Americans.

Published mainly in newspapers and magazines, the accounts of American captivity in North Africa became immensely popular during the tension between the United States and North African States. The American readers were eager to know the tales of their fellow citizens' enslavement in the North African Orient.⁶⁷As a result, a huge number of captivity accounts were written and published, and even some of these narratives saw more than one edition within the same year of their publication. Examples of these narratives are: Mathew Carey's *A Short Account of Algiers and its Several Wars* (1794), Susanna Rawson's *Slaves in Algiers* (1794), Royall Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* (1797), and William Ray's *Horrors of Slavery* (1808).

These narratives have played a great role in shaping the Americans' attitudes towards the Muslims of the North African orient. Even though the United States successfully negotiated peace with Tripoli in 1805, conflict with the Barbary States was not at an end. Once again a conflict that emerged in part because of ongoing conflict between the United States and Great Britain. Just one month after war of 1812 began Algiers demanded a cash tribute from the United States to maintain peace.⁴⁵ American trade in the Mediterranean came to a halt for the duration of their war with England. By 1815, England's war with the United States and Napoleon eventually meant a decreased ability to provide the support promised to Algiers. Algiers itself faced internal political turmoil due to a series of coups and assassinations. Peace was negotiated, Algiers paid restitution to the United States on July 4th, 1815. The American public did not overlook the fact that the peace with Algiers was signed on July 4th. The celebrated the fact that Americans had successfully established the principle of free trade in the Atlantic and Mediterranean. This confirmed for many Americans that their own republican views would overcome tyranny wherever it was encountered. One American wrote to an Albany paper and stated that the American navy was "now proud to display that insignia of American glory and freedom in every part of the world." Although small, the navy had "in one week relieved us from the degradation of paying tribute to barbarian Algiers."⁶⁸

Another New York paper observed that the Americans concluded the war with Algiers in a “manner as honorable to themselves, as it must be disgraceful, by comparison, to those might European powers, who have so long remained tributary to the pirates of Africa. Millions are spent for defense not a cent for tribute.” This motto will be “engraved on the tomb of Algerine pride.”⁶⁹ This nationalist fervor originating against the Barbary States would remain vital into the 1820s. The Barbary Wars proved to be in some ways to be an extension of the American Revolution. The United States desperately attempted to establish itself abroad while also managing tumultuous domestic affairs at home.⁷⁰ At the root, Americans saw themselves as the champions of free trade and freedom. In contrast the Barbary States, as well as the Ottoman Empire, represented the antithesis of the new American tradition, imposing restrictions on free trade in the Mediterranean and stealing the very freedom of American sailors. At the same time, even Americans found reasons to admire and even emulate the Ottoman Empire.

While Americans were repelled by the perceived tyranny of the Ottoman Empire, they were fascinated by the culture and aesthetic qualities of Ottoman fashion and luxury goods. A paradox emerged in the United States beginning in the eighteenth century and continuing into the 1820s. Americans contrasted their own culture against that of the Ottoman Empire, seeing their form of government as tyrannical and inferior while simultaneously embracing certain exotic aspects of their culture. This dichotomous view of the Ottoman Empire shaped Americans’ future relations with the region.⁷¹

Conclusion

Having suggested how social, cultural, philosophical and political conditions of the possibility for the overlapping of captivity and American identity might be understood in the late 17th, along with the 18th until the first half of the 19th century, we shall look in the next chapters to how particular subjects, texts, and contexts worked to make aspiration to supremacy obvious. It is to a brief sketch of the organization and contents of these chapters

that we finally turn. Given the historical and theoretical relevance of Indian removal, American expansionism, with its imperialist tendency to our research work, we have organized our dissertation into five moves that represent different types of captivity: religious captivity, fictitious captivity, feminine captivity, North African mass captivity, elitist captivity, and captivity narrated from the point of view of the “other”. Each chapter establishes one form of captivity and captivity writing that anticipates another. Cotton Mather’s representation of Indian and Barbary captivity are among the religious, *Humiliations follow’ed by Deliverances* (1697) and *The Glory of Goodness. The Goodness of God* (1703) sets up and goes together with chapter two, Royall Tyler’s *The Algerine Captive* (1797), is an account of Barbary misrepresentation. Chapter three discusses Maria Martin’s *A History of the Captivity and Sufferings of Mrs Maria Martin* (1807), representative of the African feminine captivity narrative. Implicitly, it anticipates a consideration of the North Africans as people who were understood as racially different and fundamentally inferior underscored and contributed to Westerners’ understanding of themselves as superior and free. Similarly, the text memorializes a mode of conceptualizing freedom through the vocabulary, tropes, images, and circumstances attendant to bondage, submission, and slavery. Maria Martin’s story demonstrates how captivity and bondage organized the language and meaning of freedom in America.

Furthermore, Maria Martin’s narrative authorizes its author’s representation as a morally proper and materially propertied American product. Her account, for instance, also serves as a symbol of her return to motherhood, sisterhood, and a community of reproducing women. However, it does so through the construction of North African as a ruthless pirate. Chapter five transitions from the issues of feminine narrative to what can be called ethnography as rehearsed in William Shaler’s *Sketches of Algiers* (1825), and lastly, in Chukri Khodja’ account of incarceration in his *El Euldj, Captif des Barbaresques* (1929). Each of these texts and their discussions represent how captivity narratives enabled and elaborated

varied relationships to power, domination and empowered American and Western identity. Shaler's account suggests how seclusion within the Barbary Coast and African lands makes available an epistolary "I" eye that confounds the written captivity in addition to separating them from the surveillance of captivity authority. This model of authority is supplemented by their adventures of the Barbary captives fixing an ethnographic "I" eye on the North African hinterland. Shaler's stay among the Arabs, Moors, and indigenous Africans becomes the basis for his figuration as an imperial American, whose knowledge of Other geographies makes him worthy, but as a biracial figure, however, he inhabits the American identity in ways that trouble the whiteness and racial classifications that are usually attendant to it. The last chapter reorganizes the image of the West to examine Choukri Khodja's narrative text unpacks the varied and contradictory meaning of the prisoner's chain, creating links to other captives and fashioning a different subject, one who honorably suffers on the behalf of and in the name of other subjugated citizens. Choukri Khodja's novel considers the ramifications of authorized models of the captivity and Western identity emerging out of bondage.

It helps to think about how the authority of bondage compels us to rethink the possibility and meaning of resistance to submission. Moreover, it argues that the standard opposition of freedom and bondage ignores their mutual inclusiveness and, furthermore, prevents a discussion of the ways that captivity presents a powerful lens through which to reread, rewrite, and reconstruct history and the fear of the Barbarian other. Choukri Khodja's re-appropriation of colonial discourse in his *El-Euldj* can be regarded as an early challenge to the colonial paradigm of assimilation. Among the earliest publications of francophone Algerian literature, the novel attests to an active literary dialogue that evolved in response to changes in the Third Republic's colonial policies following the First World War. Taking that critical moment of French colonial history into account, Choukdja contributed to a growing sentiment of anti-colonialism that would eventually lead to Algerian independence.

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P a r t O n e

Mather and Tyler:

Captives of Ideology

Chapter Three: Religious Freedom in Barbary Captivity Narratives

And as for ourselves here, the people of New England, we should in a special manner labour to shine forth in holiness above other people; we have that plenty and abundance of ordinances and means of grace, as few people enjoy the like. We are as a city set upon a hill, in the open view of all the earth; the eyes of the world are upon us because we profess ourselves to be a people in covenant with God, and therefore not only the Lord our God, with whom we have made covenant, but heaven and earth, angels and men, that are witnesses of our profession, will cry shame upon us, if we walk contrary to the covenant which we have professed and promised to walk in.

(John Winthrop) 1

Introduction

The present chapter is devoted to the way religious elites controlled the cultural discourse in New England in eighteenth century America. It focuses on two sermons delivered by Cotton Mather in 1697. The first one is entitled *Humiliations follow'ed by Deliverances*; it is a brief discourse centered on the way and method of urging people to consider the humiliation as a hopeful symptom of the deliverance from calamity. Accompanied with a captivity narrative, it sets the ground for a noble deliverance lately received by some English captives, from the hands of cruel Indians. Mather's sermon will be examined as a window onto the complex relationship among people and forms of territoriality prior to the American Revolution. It demonstrates how characterization of the North American Indian is used as 'savage' by the white settlers not only to disavow native as place making but to deny the legitimacy of each other's occupancy as the discourse used of citizenship and treaty making to present the displacement they enacted as legitimate. It will be directly followed by a second sermon delivered in Boston, as: *The Glory of Goodness. The Goodness of God* (1703), in glory of, what Paul Baeplar describes as the preacher's "Remarkable Instances and Improvements thereof: And more particularly in the Redemption remarkably obtained for the English Captives, which have been languishing under the tragically and terrible, and most Barbarous Cruelties of Barbary".² Though they are not properly captivity accounts, our selection of the two sermons is motivated by their relevance to the idea of telling not merely an individual but rather a general community of captives woven into the fabric of their author's covenant Puritan ideology and theology.

More significantly, both sermons are linked by the attempt to trace the conditions of possibility for political self-representation and sovereignty on lands narrated as domestic, foregrounding the persistence of alternative mapping and political and religious principles to those institutionalized by America's "Manifest Destiny" with its vision of expansion without end and its unstoppable force in conjuring the dream of a potentially limitless projection of an American power across continental as well as transoceanic distances.³ The objective of our analysis of these two narratives is to display the manners in which Puritan captivity narratives in particular demonstrate conflict between attempts by Puritan ministers to impose a unified religious message in the sagas and the captives' individual experiences, which may help to determine one's stance towards the authors as well as readers of these tales. The themes included in the two sermons will be studied as part of traditional Western Orientalism can be easily found in the early American literature on Barbary where Islam is portrayed as the religion of political tyranny, anti-Christian darkness, sensual pleasures, and oppression of women. What seems interesting is the American context in which these themes function. Particularly in the second selected sermon, Cotton Mather uses Islam as a "cultural enemy, an "oppositional icon" that helped the new nation build its own identity.⁴ His rhetorical use of Mohamadean religion against internal and external enemies seems to have responded to an American need for creating a new nation's self-consciousness within its external projection "imperialism of virtue".⁵

We shall, however, limit our analysis to two relevant sermons by Cotton Mather which are representative of the calling of people back to God's ways. When put in the context of our analysis, we shall try to demonstrate that through his 'political sermons', Cotton Mather emphasizes the exceptionality and divine ordination of the Puritan mission in America. He provides the literary foundations from which the national culture derived much of its foundational doctrine. The 'City upon a hill' that Winthrop envisioned, entailed the social,

spiritual, and political commitment of the colonists and their descendents, which he and subsequent ministers invoked through a variety of literary devices. By emphasizing individual and community fulfillment of the spiritual covenant, these sermons explicate and expound the colony's exceptionality.

As a source of textual authority, the two religious tracts provide the foundation for an American distinct national ideology and contribute to the construction of an American national cultural identity. The aim of our analysis is also to provide answers to the subsequent question: How hegemonic was Puritan ideology in New England? Did the captives refer to providential interpretive frame in telling their experiences of captivity willingly or were they forced by the clergy? Can the Puritan religious anthropology be considered as an oppressive ideology in internalizing and then producing a false consciousness among the laity? How the captivity narratives were trapped within the discursive boundaries set by the clergy. However, before starting our examination and interpretation of the two texts, it may be useful, as a reminder, to point out that during the early colonial era; ministers' attempts to promote the Puritan covenant conflicted with the individual salvation testimonies of the captives as the subsequent short biography of Cotton Mather will illustrate.

Cotton Mather's Biography and his Time

Cotton Mather (1663-1728) was a famous Puritan minister and writer in New England in the 17th century. He was born in a religious family; he was the son of a prominent minister and the grandson of two other ministers. He is perhaps most frequently associated with the Puritan captivity. He was the grandson of two leading Puritan divines, Richard Mather and John Cotton, and the son of Increase Mather, perhaps his era's most influential New England minister and intellectual. Cotton Mather was himself a man of considerable attainments, being a minister, theologian, medical scientist, natural philosopher, biographer, and historian. He published nearly 500 treatises, sermons, and books and was elected to membership in the

Royal Society of London. Mather's intellectual interests were many, and he corresponded with leading theologians and scientists on both sides of the Atlantic.⁶

Mather had a heavy influence on the politics of his day and became an influential voice during his lifetime as an American Congregational minister and supporter of the old order of the ruling clergy, who became the most celebrated of all New England Puritans. He entered Harvard at the age of 12, easily passing entrance requirements to read and write Latin and to "decline the Greek nouns and verbs." He devoted himself unremittingly to study and prayer. At an early age, he received his M.A. degree from the hands of his father, who was president of the college. He preached his first sermon in his father's church in August 1680 and in October another from his grandfather John Cotton's pulpit. He was formally ordained in 1685 and became his father's colleague. However, despite the success of Mather's sermons and pamphlets during his lifetime, his most influential and enduring work has been his 1702 book entitled *Magnalia Christi Americana*. The title is in Latin and it can be translated to mean 'The Glorious Works of Christ in America.' The book, which Mather himself considered to be his biggest contribution to the literary world, is a religious history of the colonies. That is, it tells the history of America from a religious standpoint.

To Mather, no history mattered except the Puritan influence on New England. The massive volume includes seven different books. The first book tells the story of the Puritans who founded the settlements of New England. In it, he talks about the New World as a place ordained by God to spread the 'true' religion of Puritanism. The second book tells the lives of the politicians who shaped early New England, including the influential governors and magistrates. The third book includes biographies of church leaders whose ministry shaped the day-to-day life of Americans. The fourth book is a history of Harvard University and a list of its graduates. The fifth book lays out the faith and dedication of the churches of New England

and their role in shaping the moral character of the colonies. The sixth book describes miracles and signs from God in support of the Puritans in the New World.⁷

Mather takes the chance to reaffirm his claim in book one that the New World was chosen by God to be the chosen land. The Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in and around Boston believed they had been called to the New World to fulfill God's Providence. They were part of the Protestant Reformation, which they considered the most significant period of history since Christ himself walked the earth and one that would hasten the millennium. Mather's title reflects the purpose of the book, which is to celebrate the marvelous works of Christ in the New World, particularly the rise of a Reformed Evangelical Church forced to leave a flawed Old World to practice Christianity as it was intended, and a church intended to serve as "a city on a hill," in John Winthrop's words, for the rest of the world to emulate. Mather hoped to reinvigorate what he perceived as a flagging enthusiasm in his, the third generation of New Englanders by citing the pure beliefs and heroic actions of the Puritan ancestors. Of all interpreters of captivity, Cotton Mather most clearly attempted to establish a hegemonic discourse. Despite his intellectual achievements, he is remembered for his unyielding adherence to Puritan Christian dogma and defense of the Salem Witch Trials (1692), one of the worst miscarriages of justice in American history.⁸

The Importance of Sermons about Captivity in American Culture

For all of the 17th and most of the 18th century, the sermon was the dominant literary form in the American colonies. The sermon played an important role in the Revolution, and, while retreating somewhat in its dominance in the 19th and 20th centuries, remains a significant force in American cultural life. The sermon genre, along with other colonial writing, was often considered less than literary, but scholars began taking sermons seriously as literary works in the 1930s and 1940s. Time has confirmed that opinion, and subsequently a greater diversity in American sermonology has become evident, with scholars examining

the theological dynamics of many denominations, particular types of sermons, gender and race issues in sermonology, and the relationship of sermons throughout history to historical and cultural contexts, such as abolition, the Civil War, women's rights, and civil rights.⁹

So, in order to gain a deeper sense of the intertextual milieu in which Cotton Mather's two sermons had both their genesis and their consumption, it is important to study the variety of ways in which texts were employed in Puritan life. In other terms, to understand the social life of Cotton Mather's texts, we should take these rhetorical patterns to be the key to unlocking the meaning and approach preacher's narrative as a text belonging to a culturally recognized form of the time. The formal analysis of the text's rhetorical elements will allow the reader to see how Mather gave order to what had befallen him in captivity. The text was initially composed for its author meditative practice but was subsequently offered for the same purpose for the readers. By the employment of meditative practices popular in Christianity for long time, readers were invited to enter imaginatively into the events and the experience of the captivity through an act of literary anamnesis. This is the key issue in any attempt to reconstruct how such texts were read by Puritan readers. Consequently, it would be a grave mistake to ignore the clear indications that the narrative was intended primarily as a record of the author's spiritual experiences and as a goad to others to adopt similar religious practices and to assume a specific existential and moral stance in the world.

Religion formed the very core of many peoples' existence; it shaped their thoughts, their dialogue, and their interpretation of the reality surrounding and confronting them. Colonial New England was no exception to this. The biblical worldview of a divine Creator actively involved in the history and affairs of the world. According to orthodox Christianity, the world is moving to an ultimate Day of Judgment and redemption when a new order (the kingdom of God) will be fully realized in heaven and on earth and the Puritan ministry used one Testament or the other to emphasize a certain view of God or his dealings with men, or to

assume that one Testament or the other was preferred by the clergy as a whole. It was this Christocentric cosmology, common to the reformed tradition of which Mather was a part. The singing of psalms, the use of devotional manuals, preaching and printed sermons, and almanacs figured in the daily life of the people and the reading the Scriptures in both public and private practices. Cotton Mather's texts are anchored in the idea what will be termed a "Providential" tradition in colonial New England, which has two dimensions. The first, the millennial or total providential view, explained events within the Biblical tradition of covenant, sin, punishment and redemption.¹⁰ Often included within this belief was the perception of the chronic warfare that marked the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries between the British colonies and their French Catholic enemy as a millennial struggle against the Papal anti-Christ. The second dimension involved a more simple faith in God's underlying and often benevolent influence in individual human lives.¹¹

The Myth of Redemption and the Captivity Narratives

The mythology of the redeemer nation can also explained with reference to seventeenth-century Puritan sermons and prose. Key writer is Cotton Mather and his reinterpretation of the nation's exceptional destiny is used to focus a discussion of the role of the American political freedom to construct the very important notion of "exceptionalism" in the rhetoric of the Revolutionary period.¹² Though not composed according to the rules of Captivity narratives, Mather's sermons, as we shall try to show, were calculated to enlist the sympathies of an audience, as charitable endeavours, in the behalf of human (American) freedom. It offers a full compendium of tales recounting extraordinary occurrences, such as exceptional, gallows captive confessions, and tales of depraved behavior, among other sensational topics, with which he captures his audience and readers. The preacher expresses Puritan sentiments, feeding Puritan anxieties, and sustaining Puritan pride. Mather's goal for the accounts is to educate and also to inspire. Thus, sermon about the Christian captives is

designed to create culture heroes of the most prominent of the early settlers for subsequent generations of New English colonists, and Mather hoped that such accounts would remind them of the lofty vision and the sacrifices of the men who founded America.¹³

More significantly, the sermon can be interpreted as contemporaneous with and reflexive of the American early will of expansion. This enterprise extended to the beginning of the twentieth century and culminating imperialism making it the centre and the world power today. We argue that the sermon and its narratives' complicity with, and involvement in, contribute to the propagation as well as the reinforcement of American imperialist assumptions. For Cotton Mather's discourse unquestionably glorifies the Enlightenment superiority and the American "civilising mission", the emblem of all sorts of dominance relations. The Christian is the archetypal victim sufferer of the Indian and then the African monster, who in their turn become archetypal and exemplar of the non-Christian subservience and barbarism. Mather made seminal contribution to the development of the imperialist transatlantic ideology throughout which America built its politics.¹⁴

The selected sermon may have had a special bearing on the great questions of their time when controlling new territories, subjecting new savages and expanding and founding new colonies. To a question: Is America a "Christian nation"? Alexis de Tocqueville recognized the role of Christianity in America's dominant ethos and argued that it is the faithful spirit of Americans that keeps us from democratic despotism, withdrawn individualism, and materialism. G. K. Chesterton called America a nation with the soul of a church.¹⁵ These kinds of observations reinforce the close relationship that lies between religion, culture, and political institutions. Christian character and thinking has had a salutary effect on the Anglo-American legacy of institutions and habits supporting ordered Freedom.¹⁶ To understand the Puritans and the nature of their society, it is necessary to grasp some of the theological principles of Calvinism.

The Roots of American Religious Freedom

As a prominent theologian, John Calvin adhered to a dualistic, either/or logic, and believed that every person was born sinful and depraved since they have inherited Original Sin from Adam and Eve. He reasoned that since God has infinite power and knowledge, He knows everything that has ever occurred in the universe and everything that will occur. Thus, since God knows what every human on earth has done and will do, he already knows who is predestined to receive his grace, have a conversion experience, and spend eternity in heaven. No person can change what is predestined so free will plays no role in the process of salvation. The clergy advised their church members that they should pray, study the Bible, and hope to receive grace, but they also must accept that if an individual is not predestined to be saved, there is nothing that he or she can do to save themselves. When a person receives grace, he or she is quite aware of the powerful experience, and a congregation is made up of those joyful converted souls whom they call saints. Many may have lived very virtuous lives, but if they do not experience grace and conversion, they will not be saved. While a large percentage of the first arrivals were saints, many of their children were not.¹⁷

With New England firmly under English control and a new cosmopolitan world view from Europe pervading cities like Boston, the communities that the Puritan founders created were transformed. By the 1730s, what remained of American Puritanism was split into three Protestant sects. In the first years of the eighteenth century, most Congregational churches in New England began to liberalize and to de-emphasize the strict Calvinist doctrines; as they tried to open up the churches to more new members, these liberal clergy were called the “Old Lights”. Those who continued to practice a version of Calvinism practiced by Winthrop’s and the Mathers were labeled “Old Calvinists”. In the 1730s and 1740s, the American Jonathan Edwards and the English minister George Whitefield led the first religious revivals during what came to be called the Great Awakening. Their uses of the imagery,

myths, and verbal structures of the Puritan sermon kept the jeremiad alive. Thousands in the middle and southern colonies learned the rhetoric of sin and salvation, of personal calling and communal errand. The ministers who joined this new evangelical version of Calvinism were called “New Lights”. In spite of their developments, the legacy of American Puritanism would continue to feed a sense of colonial pride, ambition, and competitiveness that New England had achieved in the seventeenth century. Such features would be eventually identified by others as the spirit of what foreigners called “Yankees”.¹⁸

Therefore, so powerful and enduring are the Puritan influences in American culture that they have become part of American identity. Many people in other countries identify American as puritans, and in spite of the high percentage of the population of the United States that has come from abroad, many of them embrace the some of the puritan values such as long hours of hard work, few vacation and days off, pride in not missing work, and they pass these values onto their children. As the Puritan Founders understood, the meaning of America is a promise always remaining to be fulfilled, and whether it was the promise of religious freedom or of economic opportunity, it was a dream that made the dangers of the Atlantic and an unknown wilderness worth risking.¹⁹ While works of American literature may often lament the failure of the American dream and portions of the population may at times become disillusioned with its false promises, parents, especially of recent immigrants, continue to teach their children to have faith in the possibilities, to work hard, and to remain optimistic about the future because the dream may be fulfilled for them. As long as such belief persists, the puritan rituals of national repentance and reawakening continue.²⁰

The Image of the Indian: a Threatening “Evil” in Cotton Mather’s Sermon (1697)

Seventeenth century Indian captivity narratives combined adventure tales with religious, propagandistic with didactic sentiments. They were regarded as the most popular literary works that captured the Americans’ imagination with scenes of intense violence, of

women in peril, of the grotesque, and, in some cases, of unexplained phenomena. Indian captivity narratives also sustained a kind of hair-breadth of men and women from the clutches of the American native Indians who had a most definite and terrific idea impressed on the imagination of the white settlers. The influence and impact of the so called “the bow and arrow race”, to paraphrase Gary. L. Ebersole, was inseparably connected with the fearful ideas of the Indian yell, the tomahawk, the scalping knife, and the firebrand. They were, most of the time depicted as the very personification of evil, wild demon, who delighted in nothing so much as blood and murder. It was represented as a meritorious act to kill one of them in the border wars, and thus riding the land of a cruel and unnatural race, in which all feeling of pity, justice, and mercy were supposed to be obliterated. Several Indian captivity narratives convey and perpetuate stereotypes, which were used as vehicles for reflections on social, religious and ideological issues.²¹

However, to understand the importance of the literary topos of captivity, one should first start by the precise role it has played in American cultural history, that of the meaning of the European occupation of the captures space of the New World including the way they were captured by the space they live in. If the abduction by Indians was a fairly common occurrence on the American frontier, this fact alone cannot explain the vast popularity of captivity narratives over the centuries. Readers were drawn to captivity tales because of the power the very idea of captivity held on them, an authority composed of fascination and dread. This is precisely the tension on which this chapter, and entire project, depends. In the early American nineteenth-century, a fundamental sense of being born in or shaped through Indian bondage informed the re-presentation of American subjects as first, authentic, distinctive, authoritative, or “native.” In short, re-memembering Indian captivity as distressing made authoritative Americans. Most of the time, there is no serious attempt to understand Indian culture or appreciate the perspective of the Native Americans. The Indian functions as

a cardboard villain in the heroic saga of the white settling of the West and the civilizing progress, as well as an excuse for a sustained diatribe against miscegenation.²²

In order to understand such fascination that captivity held over the audience, one needs to reflect on the “natural” flow in the triumphant telling of Europeans discovery, conquest, and settlement of the New World. Captivity narrative captures the audience by portraying Indians as idiosyncratic individuals and historical oddities, or, alternatively as despicable and immoral renegades or “squaw men”. The situation a captive faced and the imaginably possibilities that it provides to people. Gary.L.Ebersole maintains that Captivity represents an ultimate boundary situation where human existence, identity, and ultimate meaning are called into questions as the captive’s world is turned topsy-turvy and his freedom and autonomy are stripped from him, along with his social status, clothes, and other cultural accouterments and markers. The captive undergoes various forms of degradation as he is reduced to abject poverty, subjected to great physical deprivation, extreme hunger, and psychological stress, and divested of all status of power. The captive is forced to confront and acknowledge the main elemental needs of the human-body as-boundary.²³

This chapter investigates how key Indian captivity narratives as they appear in Cotton Mather’s selected sermons reveal American tropes that were, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, increasingly incorporated into the fiction of Charles Brocken Brown, Washington Irving, James Fennimore Cooper, Catharine Maria Sedgwick, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and other early American writers who strove to create a distinctively American literary culture. More significantly, through the analysis of the status and perception of an Indian in American history, the present chapter explores the importance of religion in the structuring of Americans’ national and civic imaginaries. The task remains to explain how and why not to believe in God came to be regarded through the centuries not only as a moral and social deviance, but also as essentially “un-American” behavior. It is important to point

out that the historical “otherness” of the Indian aims to indicate that religion has functioned as one of the “moral boundaries” of a certain American “imagined community”, perceived as an essential warranty of both individual virtue and “good citizenship” and as a basic attribute of the American “self”.²⁴

The other objective is mainly to provide answers for the subsequent questions: first, is it possible to consider refining or subdividing the idea of a religious mission. One could look at the character of the mission, asking whether it refers to fulfilling or rather to a religious purpose that stands above and beyond politics, in which America that is bidden to play a role in God’s divine plan. It can also be interpreted as a political purpose that seeks to advance a certain form of government, a kind of liberal democracy throughout the world. Selecting this latter option, one could then proceed to ask about its source or justification: Does the commission to promote liberal democracy come from a religious command or a rational body of thought, such as philosophy, philosophy of history, science, or political-historical analysis?

Cotton Mather’s *Humiliations follow’ed by Deliverances* was published and consumed in Puritan New England in the late seventeenth century. A few of the various forms of cultural discourse through which the New England Puritan worldview was constructed, promulgated, and circulated were that a “native” American was a subject chronologically before all other Americans and of the first order, as opposed to the “rabble” who came after the post-revolutionary period.²⁵ Furthermore, natives were distinguishable from the British, in large part, because they were made through and in the condition of “peril,” presumably the kind of peril made available by “thralldom,” the “wilderness,” and “Indian hostility.” These strikingly recurrent narrative elements all insist on the captives’ Christian difference from their captors, and the author insistently encourages the reader identification with that difference. But even as they depended on the indigenous population for their nativity, they necessarily competed with Indians for cultural legitimacy. The “native” was thus an anxious category, but one

which characterized a recognized route to fashioning one's self as American, which oftentimes meant white. Cotton Mather clearly appropriates the examples of Indian violence to white settlers and mainly women to support and encourage anti- Indian sentiment and action. The sympathetic tears that accompany the captive's reentrance into her community reaffirm the coherent identity of that community only by pretending to erase the captive's agency.²⁶ Franco Moretti claims that the blindness produced by tears enables the reader not to see. It is a way of distracting him from the sight of what has upset or rather of making it disappear. The operation of sympathy, like the experience of captivity, must be seen as transgressive in both senses of the word, as a crossing that is inevitably asymptomatic and that within its remaining and irreducible space always retains the potential of going astray.²⁷

The most interesting feature of the first sermon to begin with is the title pages from the point of view of this discussion are the Biblical quotes which normally appeared on the title pages of most narratives published throughout that period. Indian captivity as a historical reality was viewed as an external realization of the ontological condition of all humanity. Physical captivity was understood as part of an effort by God to represent the spiritual condition of the people to themselves, or at least to "those wise enough to observe this truth".²⁸ Cotton Mather's sermon had its genesis in a communal search for meaning in the history of the colonies. It is composed out of elements of a shared social understandings informed most especially by biblical stories. It is by examining these Biblical quotes that we can clearly grasp the author's concept of what appealed to the readers of these narratives. Cotton Mather has been recognized as the foremost author in the tradition of the providence tale and a champion of providential historiography. Likewise, more than the works of his celebrated father or any number of his contemporaries, the providential literature of Cotton Mather captured the imagination of his contemporary readers and continued to fascinate, puzzle, and disturb readers and writers long afterward, the subsequent sermon illustrates the

point. It was in “A Model of Preparative” to a week-long general fast and humiliation that Cotton Mather delivered his sermon in Boston in the spring of 1697. It was printed the same year as *Humiliations follow’d by Deliverances*. It is a discourse on the way of escaping calamity undergone by some English captives from the pitiless Indians. In Mather’s hands historical events in New England, including Indian captivity were signs from God of his displeasure with waywardness of his people, while the redemption of the captives signalled the possibility of communal deliverance from calamity.²⁹

When related to the period of its delivery, Cotton Matter shows that he adheres the social imagination of the Puritans, who believed that the danger of captivity came to evoke not only the horror of being carried into wilderness of the Indian “Other”, but also that of being cast into the blasphemous realm of the papists, where they might be seduced into embracing a false religion. Mather starts by urging his audience, composed of members of various congregations, to confess their sins, which were twenty in number. He reinforces his speech with a scriptural text 2 Chronicles 12:7: “When the Lord saw that they had humbled themselves, the word of the Lord came to Shemaiah, saying, They have humbled themselves, I will not destroy them, but I will grant them some deliverance”.³⁰ He also acknowledges that the divine chastisement they have already experienced was less than they deserved and lists the difficulties that they had experienced and calls for repentance. He insists that the whole community deserves the removal of God’s affection, and the resultant exposure to the depravation of its enemies.³¹

Furthermore, the preacher goes on to say “And yet had Comforts, to mitigate and moderate, our Troubles: In the midst of wrath, God has Remembered Mercy. Now concerning all our comforts, on our day of Humiliation, Let us Humbly make that Confession”.³² With a rhetorical flourish and regular cadence, Cotton Mather sought to lead the community through a spiritual process of collective reconversion and, thereby, to reinvigorate their communal life

in a covenant relationship with God. He uses the occasion to exhort his fellow-colonists to knit together into a social unity that will reflect and support their spiritual unity. He argues that social relations are regulated by the law of nature and the law of grace; that is, moral law which regulates nature in its innocent state and the law of the gospel or grace which is given only to those in a regenerate state. According to the law of grace, all true Christians are of one body in Christ so if one member suffers, all suffer and if one is honoured then all rejoice. The concept of mutual dependence was very important to Puritans, for the federal covenant would work only so long as all members of the community voluntarily kept their faith and helped others to preserve their faith. The mission, the errand into the wilderness, required a degree of unity that was social as well as spiritual, if the collective salvation of the community was to be achieved.³³

As the preacher surveyed history, he found God's hand at work various points raising enemies and tyrants "the Vexation of mankind"³⁴ he ended his sermon by acknowledging the presence in the audience of the three recently returned captives, whom he pointed to as "an example, full of Encouragement unto those humiliations."³⁵ He concludes his sermon by telling their tale of captivity and escape "this unexpected occurrence"³⁶ has to be understood their captivity and redemption should incite the congregants to greater fervour in the upcoming general fast. He also claims that it was the prayers of the churches that had moved God to the effect the safe return of these captives. In particular, he takes pains to repudiate the notion that God identifies his church with a specific place or nation: those who go "are likely to do more good there than here, and since Christ's time the church is to be considered as universal, without distinction of countries, so as he who doeth good in any one place, serves the church in all places".³⁷ Furthermore, he supplies an "Improvement" at once suggests a proclamation of its meaning based on biblical typology; he addresses himself directly to the three captives, though this pastoral counselling from the pulpit would have been overheard by the entire

assembly; he wonders out loud whether it would be possible to exterminate the Indians; if the community humbled itself before God.³⁸ He argues that those who had been abducted were not being punished for their sins, nor were those who had had been spared captivity somehow less culpable in God's eyes. Indian was best read, he urged, as a sign or emblem of the fallen state of mankind: "you are now the slaves of Indians, as you were a few Dayes ago; but if you continue Unhumbled, in your Sins, you will be the Slaves of Devils; and Let me tell you, A Slavery to Devils, to be in Their Hands, is worse than to be in the Hands of Indians. ³⁹ The message is unchanging, God maintains an active presence in the world and in the lives of his people. He blesses and preserves his elect while he brings public, definitive, and symbolic punishment to those who sin. It is common in the Puritan discourse of the period, Gary.L.Ebersole suggests, to compares Indian captivity with mankind's captivity to sin or the "slavery to Devils" of those persons who have cut themselves off the grace. The horrors of Indian captivity were nothing when compared to those awaited the unrepentant at the end of time and the final judgement.⁴⁰

The preacher, however, claims that people are free to affect their own future, even guaranteeing the extermination of their enemies, if only they would truly humble themselves and repent. He argues that it is both "a duty to God, and a Service to World, for to preserve the memory of such matters, as have been the more memorable Occurences in the War", especially since the hand of God was evident in the successful prosecution of the war of extermination against the Indians.⁴¹ Cotton Mather uses purposefully sensationalised accounts so that his audience might "with mournful Hearts, look upon the Condition of the captives in those cruel hands"⁴² and be moved to tears and mainly to hatred of the Indians. One again, in his work the Indians function as the agents of God's wrath, as sorcerers of the devil, and as negative examples for the people, who are constantly in danger of reverting to the evils of laziness, lying, and indulging one's children.⁴³ Mather intended his sermon to serve as anti-

Indian propaganda and at the same time to encourage Christian piety in his readership. What is also most remarkable in the sermon is the use of sympathetic identification with the captive's motherhood to sanction a lawless act of female violence. His attempt to conceal the ambivalence of the identification by denying its transgressions provides a model of sentimentality in nationalist discourse.

More importantly, Cotton Mather claims that the King Philip's War (1675-1676) is a "text" or a "Book" of some Consequence, but one that has been laid before those unable to read it.⁴⁴ The text of history requires an expert exegete, a prophetic reader, "to spell the Divine lessons contained in it" for the people; Mather offers his services. Using Psalm 107 as his scriptural text, he repeatedly challenges his audience with its final verse, which he transposes into a question "Who is wise, and will observe these things?"⁴⁵ The cumulative effect of his rhetorical strategy is to imply that the reading of this history he proffers is the correct one. Mather then guides his audience and his readers imaginatively through a journey into captivity and conjures it as a sign of the spiritual journey of souls away from God.⁴⁶ Just as ministers of the gospel lead parishioners through the correct reading of the biblical texts, he proposes to lead the audience to through the correct reading of the New England landscape, a spiritual topography that had been inscribed or emplotted with "various and marvellous Dispensations of the Divine Providence".⁴⁷ Some of these "dispensations" were to be observed in the ruins of former settlements. The preacher also guides his audience pointing out the remarkable fact that church communities had been spared in King William's War (1689), while those that had fallen into the Indians were in general precisely those that had neither churches nor ministers. Significantly, he does not point out that the same could not be said for the situation fourteen years earlier in King Philip's War. The preacher goes to claim that people have suffered poor harvest, massacres, and defeat at the hands of Indians because, he reiterates, they have abandoned what he calls "the Original Design of New England to

settle Congregations wherein the Lord Jesus Christ should be known and serv'd according to his Gospel. For this cause, we may Believe it is, that our LORD JESUS CHRIST looking down Heaven upon Unchristian, Thunderstruck them with His Indignation".⁴⁸

It appears from Cotton Mather's discourse that he intended the contemplation of the horror of captivity ultimately to be morally rectifying. His motivation and his graphic descriptions are elements of a racist rhetoric designed to arouse hatred of the Indians. His accounts of captivity and death at the hands of Indians are part of a concerted effort to have his audience share the suffering, which then affect the conduct of people of their lives. However, as we mentioned earlier, the ideology of exceptionalism relied absolutely upon the interpretative authority wielded by the minister whose job it was to interpret signs of God's favour or wrath. The ministry was charged with measuring the progress made towards establishing the "City upon a Hill" that Cotton Mather foresaw as the great achievement of the colonized New World. And if progress was not being made, then the clergy was required to set the community back on course. In this way, exceptionalism lent the ministry a great deal of power to intervene in all areas of colonial life.

The Ideology of American Superiority in Mather's Sermon

Mather suggests the necessity of the ministry as an interpretative power and spiritual guide. He argued that Christ would intervene directly in the life of the redeemed individual, communicating directly all that would be necessary for salvation. In 1630, Cotton had preached "God's Promise to His Plantations", at Southampton, before the Winthrop fleet. He quotes 11 Samuel 7:10, "Moreover I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and I will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their own, and move no more" in order to point out the uniqueness of the Bay colony. God provides a place for all nations, Cotton explains, but to His chosen people he gives the land by promise: "others take the land by his providence, but God's people take the land by promise: and therefore the land of Canaan is called a land of

promise. Which they discern, first, by discerning themselves to be in Christ, in whom all the promises are yea, and amen”.⁴⁸ In this view, the colonists have identified themselves as a nation within Christ as the visible sainthood redeemed by Christ and as a spiritual nation they have been led to found a geographical nation in the New World. Cotton goes on to explain the ways according to which one is to know whether God has appointed one to a particular place and by what right one may remove to that place. Not only the eyes of the world were upon the colonists as they struggled to fulfil their destiny, much more importantly, God was ever-watchful of His people’s successes and failures, which He would reward or punish. This sense of God’s watchful presence gave rise to a kind of typological interpretation called “punitive typology” that sought signs of God’s favor, signs of His anger as His people failed to keep to the high purpose of their errand.

In his history of the Mather family, Robert Middlekauff notes that the first use of the term "errand" to describe the peculiarity of New England history was made by the second generation of colonists and not by the original migrants for whom phrases like "the saving remnant" and "the Kingdom of Light" referred to all godly people rather than exclusively describing the New England churches.⁴⁹ A similar shift is noted above in relation to John Winthrop who, in 1629 argued that the geographical location of the church was irrelevant but in 1640 argued strenuously for the uniqueness of the church that had been established (by God’s design) in New England. This is not surprising when one recalls that the high degree of motivation experienced by the generation that left their homes in England to travel to the wilderness of Massachusetts was unlikely to be shared by their offspring who never themselves experienced religious persecution or the trauma of migration. The second and third colonial generations were, then, judged as lacking the conviction and enthusiasm of the founders and correspondingly the rhetoric of exceptionalism grew darker and more threatening. John Cotton in a sermon of 1641, “Gods Mercie Mixed with his Justice or His

Peoples Deliverance in Times of Danger”, points to the ways in which God seeks to deliver his people into salvation.⁵⁰ He may knock upon the door of the soul (the heart) with “the hammer of his word”, or with the effect of his judgements, or with the work of the holy spirit upon the conscience.

In each case God will seek to awaken the soul to its peril and renew the faith that leads to salvation. Afflictions, then, can function as God’s reminder to renew faith and to renew commitment to the covenant. Cotton argues that fellowship with Christ in suffering is an assurance of ultimate deliverance from affliction. God punished his chosen people because they are so special to him and because they have been entrusted with a unique spiritual destiny. Affliction can then be seen as a sign of God’s ultimate favour but also of his immediate wrath; suffering is a sign that changes must be made to renew personal and collective faith in the terms of the covenant. Using the figure of Noah’s Ark, Cotton claims: “All those that are wrapt up in the Covenant of Gods grace and peace, all the waters of affliction doe but lift them up higher, farre above the highest mountains of the Earth.”⁵¹ This concept, that God’s chosen people are subject to particular suffering by virtue of their exceptional destiny, provided a powerful explanation for the many kinds of affliction that befell the colony: famine, disease, Indian attack, and so on, all could be explained as the signs of God’s displeasure as he sought to keep his people to the path of righteousness.⁵¹

It may be argued that Cotton Mather’s strategy of sensationalising the captivity situation was intended to have unforeseen consequences. By coupling the contemplation and experience of the scenes of horror, he supplies his audience with the directive that it should turn again to God in order to reform their own lives. He urges the returning captives to turn their experience of outward captivity to the spiritual benefit of themselves and their communities. Meanwhile, he warns the returning captives not to think to go shares or partners with God in his Glory, claiming that their freedom was the outcome of their efforts or

goodness. The preacher also charges the members of his community to acknowledge and praise God as the sole agent of their redemption because the profound meaning of their captivity was determined by their words and deeds by their renewed vocation of witnessing to the glory of God.

A closer examination of the subsequent sermon 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. It is through this reflection that the figure of the “vengeful Barbary master” emerges and the threat of captive’s insurrection or escape intensifies. Mather’s first sermon shows that the Indian and the British are conflated as enemies to the colonies, since the British reportedly recruited Indians allies and paid them for each American scalp they brought to the camp. More significantly however, Mather’s accounts of the Indians wars, integrate events of Indian captivity that he mixes with chains of feeling, micro political realm of the family to the macro political representation of America’s current state and future condition. From its outset, his sermon is intimately involved in the construction as well as the prediction of a “moving history” whose typical narrative logic inevitably positioned the reader as an imperialist audience. However, not only did the rhetoric of Native American captivity tales profoundly inform Barbary captivity tales, the rhetoric of fictional and ostensibly non-fiction Barbary captivity tales informed one another. Baepler points to what he calls “the intertextuality of tropes and styles” in the two kinds of texts.⁵² By studying Indian and Barbary narratives together, we intend to fully understand the nature of these early encounters and appreciate the fuller context of western “exploration” and how the terms of the Christian and Islamic conflict were retooled for American colonization. How was Islam used as a diabolical foil in a country at least partly predicated on religious freedom, and how did the Barbary captivity narrative help to mold these biases?

Cotton Mather's *The Goodness of God* (1703): Puritanism and its Revulsion of Islam

Colonial North Americans, though living in a provincial society far distant from the physical residence of most African or Asian Muslims, nevertheless included them in their mental array of conflicting world religions. They were able to do this because of the ways printed treatises allowed colonists to believe they had legitimate “knowledge” of Islam. Anglo-American colonists used their knowledge of Islam to reinforce the superiority of their brand of Protestantism over its challengers, such as Deism or Catholicism, and to delegitimize Islam and Muslims religiously, morally, and racially.⁵³ European Christians entertained both a lurid interest in and a “paranoid repugnance” for Islam since at least the Crusades of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but that fascination took a new turn beginning in the sixteenth century as “Barbary” pirates began to seize Christian sailors and make them slaves. The term “Barbary” itself suggests non-normative races, or those who refuse to cooperate with the dominant faith or commercial systems.⁵⁴ Even the North African church leader Saint Augustine used the term “barbarian” to describe his fellow countrymen who would not accept Christianity.

In the early modern period, Europeans also routinely used the term “Barbary” to refer to the states of North Africa that campaigned against Europe’s seafaring tradesmen, including Anglo-American sailors. Many escaped or redeemed Britons wrote about their experiences to satisfy a growing literature on captives’ lives in Islamic cultures.⁵⁵ The late eighteenth-century American view of Islam was based on both a reiteration of the traditional European view and on the personally experienced Barbary wars. The plight of Americans captured by Barbary pirates was instrumental in fomenting still further late eighteenth-century American polemicism against Islam. The very polemicism can be observed throughout the whole of Cotton Mather’s second sermon.⁵⁶ Moreover, New England Puritanism provided a suitable layer on which such polemicism developed. Puritanism, sober and horrified by what was seen

as the sexual laxity and sensuality of Islam, proved an added boost of abhorrence to the view of Islam as a false religion and Muhammad as an impostor. Mather uses multiform images to suggest that the Puritans are champions of liberty and America is worthwhile nation because of the intellectual vision that inspired its founding. He refers to the original moment of America nationhood.

Religious Creeds in Cotton Mather's *The Goodness of God*

The polemical use of a Muslim character is one of the most famous from eighteenth-century America, but was not unique. Islamic references peppered the public documents of early America, demonstrating that many were not only aware of the religion, but also ready to use it as a rhetorical tool. A close look at the uses of Islam in Anglo-American writing before 1800 shows that Cotton Mather's appropriation of a Muslim character represented a well-established tradition: citing the similarities between an opponent's views and the "beliefs" of Islam as a means to discredit one's adversaries. Over the course of the eighteenth century, Americans' uses of Islam became increasingly secularized. Early in the century, Islam was typically used for religious purposes in religious debates, while later commentators often implemented knowledge of despotic Islamic states to support political points. Although one should hesitate to describe early Americans as conversant with Islam, they certainly conversed about Islam regularly. In doing so, they established views of Muslims that would persist, in very different contexts, through our own day. How did North Americans before 1790 become aware of Islam? Although there were perhaps thousands of Muslim African slaves working on colonial American plantations, most free white observers failed to realize their devotion, and their presence had little impact on the way elite Anglo-American colonists imagined Islam and the Prophet Muhammad. Prominent Boston pastor Cotton Mather once noted that "we are afar off, in a Land, which never had (that I ever heard of) one Mahometan breathing in it."⁵⁷

Cotton Mather, helped frame New Englanders' understanding of Barbary captivity with regular comments on the pirates. In his sermons and books, Mather noted that in response to the provoking sins of New England, "God hath given up several of our sons into the hands of the fierce monsters of Africa. Mahometan Turks, and Moors, and devils, are at this day oppressing many of our sons with a slavery, wherein they 'wish for death, and cannot find it."⁵⁸ Mather's two most significant works on Barbary captivity were *A Pastoral Letter to the English Captives in Africa* (1698) and *The Goodness of God* (1703). As was Mather's wont, he penned *A Pastoral Letter* as if he meant the captives themselves to read it, but the letter was actually meant for readers in New England itself. In it, he promoted Christianity as a superior religion to Islam, and warned the captives to stand faithfully against the "Mahometan Tempters."⁵⁸ Mather demonstrated some knowledge of the Qur'an by citing an English translation to prove that if Muslims read their holy book correctly, they would see that it pointed to Christ as the true Messiah. He cautioned prisoners to realize that their captivity in Africa was temporary, but captivity to sin was much worse and only gave a foretaste of the eternal torment to come in hell. It was the Lord who gave the captives over to the "African Pyrates" as a judgment against their sins. Instead of giving in to the temptations of the captors, it was much better to contemplate one's own sin, hold tight to Christ, and wait for redemption.⁵⁹ By 1703, New Englanders had received news of the redemption of several hundred English prisoners, and in response Boston held a day of public thanksgiving for which Mather wrote *The Goodness of God*. A number of the captives, "delivered from the most horrible Captivity in the world," considered Boston their home port and attended the service in which Mather preached.

To describe the horrific nature of their captivity, Mather included a brief by William and Mary promoting their redemption. While noting the usual deprivations, the account ended with perhaps the most fundamentally disturbing element of the Anglo-Americans' captivity:

the enslavement of whites by black masters. The captives were “sometimes driven about by Black-a-moors, who are set over them as Task-masters; and some of them have been so severely Whipp’d, that they have dropp’d down Dead.”⁶⁰ Incongruities such as this could not help but destabilize the appearance of racial permanency in Anglo-American slave-owning. The Virginia House of Burgesses went so far as to make this scenario illegal by stipulating that no “Negros, Mulattos, or Indians, although Christians, or Jews, Moors, Mahometans, or other Infidels” could own white Christians as slaves.⁶¹

Mather notes that while “now and then a wretched Christian. . .Renounced Christianity and Embraced Mahometanism,”⁶² none of the New England captives had done so. God’s grace did not allow them to “stretch out their Hands unto the Impostor Mahomet, and his accursed Alcoran!”⁶³ Mather refers to Brooks’s story of the Frenchman who converted and the English martyr who would not as an example of the strong faith of the sufferers. He rejoices that now the slaves had been redeemed and were back among loved ones in New England. What had secured their liberty? Mather insists it was the prayers of the New England churches: “with all due Humility; This Deliverance never began thoroughly to operate, until God began to awaken a Spirit of Prayer in the Churches of poor NEW-ENGLAND for it.”⁶⁴ Because of their faithfulness, “thou, O Mully Ishmael, with all thy Diabolical Fury, art no longer able to with-hold from us, the Friends, about whom God gave thee an Efficacious Order, To let them go.” Mather closed with a warning to the liberated captives to make much of their lives now that they were saved from the “Filthy Disciples of Mahomet.”⁶⁵ As it was mentioned earlier, one of the earliest Americans to be grieved by North African piracy was Cotton Mather who, in 1702, wrote:

God hath given up several of sons into the hands of the fierce monsters of Africa. Mahometan Turks, and Moors, and devils are at this day oppressing many of our sons with a slavery wherein they wish for death and cannot find it; a slavery from where they cry and write unto us “it had been good for us that we had never been born”.⁶⁶

Cotton Mather does not only vilify Muslims, but also employed his “Knowledge” of Islam in a work he intended to distribute along the Barbary coast: *A Pastoral Letter to the English Captive in Africa* (1698), in which he advised these captives to use the Koran in defense of their creed: “if any Mohametan tempers do assault you, let the words of their own Alcoran serve to them”.⁶⁷ He quotes his version of the Koranic text stating that “The Spirit of God hath given testimony, to Christ, the son of Mary; He is the messenger of the Spirit and the word of God: His Doctrine is perfect”. The author adopts an attitude of contempt towards the “infidel” religion. The questions that arise here is thus: does Cotton Mather suggest that Puritanism is a strong religion that one cannot deny whatever the sufferings he undergoes?

In sum, the above description of how a chosen people could be forsaken seems to correspond to in many respects to the straits in which Cotton Mather’s two selected sermons found themselves in the wilderness, unprotected against enemies and suffering at the hands of devilish individuals. Such correspondences, made explicit in the sermons, are what made it possible for instances of captivity and redemption to serve as an emblem for the communal plight. Very often, Cotton Mather, like many other Puritan ministers, speak of the human condition after the Fall as a form of “spiritual captivity” since humans are never subject to sin and to being tempted away from divine grace.

Freedom and American Identity Construction in Mather’s Sermon

Having examined the clerical representation of Indian captivity in Cotton Mather’s sermon, we now turn to a consideration of captivity tales abroad, paying special attention to the descriptions of their religious practices found in Cotton Mather’s discourse delivered in a thanks giving day celebration in the address of the American subjects who were kept in most horrible captivity in the world. The latter point is important because, as we found in analysing his first sermon, the reports of religious practices of captives provide important clues to their interpretive activity while in captivity. But before, turning to the analysis of Cotton Mather’s

second sermon, let us cast a glance at a brief context in which this text was produced. The objective is mainly to glimpse something of the way in which the text was interwoven in webs of signification in the lives of the Puritans. At the same time, we must recognize that the similarities of content and the strategies of representation employed imply to represent the North African Barbary people as cardboard villains in the heroic saga of the West and its civilising process, as well as an excuse justifying its will of power, trade expansions and to domination. More importantly, Cotton Mather's second sermon illustrates and represents the remarkable staying power of the Americans with their strong anti- Muslim bias and fear. America like Europe engaged into an aggressive phase of imperialism, justifying territorial conquest by an assumed cultural primacy. Her divine mission of the "manifest destiny" including the pretention to "civilize" the savages Africans let American Captivity narratives refer to Eastern and African cultures, religion, tales of to unexplored lands and racial "otherness" that become more and more popular.

It is significant to point out that Islam's role in the popular imagination of American Christians from the colonial period demonstrates that Protestant evangelicals have viewed Islam as a global threat while also actively seeking to convert Muslims to the Christian faith since the nation's founding. We shall try to shows how accounts of "Mahometan" despotism and lurid stories of European enslavement by Barbary pirates fueled early evangelicals' fears concerning Islam, and describes the growing conservatism of American missions to Muslim lands in North Africa.⁶⁸ To expose the way American Christians' anxieties about an Islamic threat started, and then become central to evangelical "end-times" narratives. Pointing to Cotton Mather's sermons and his evangelicals' unwillingness to acknowledge Islam's theological commonalities with Christianity and his portrayal of Islam as an "evil" and false religion, this second section as a whole, is intended to examine why Christians themselves are ironically to blame for the failure of evangelism in the Muslim world. North Americans too

watched with horror as some of their sons were enslaved by “the Fierce Monsters of Africa,” and “Mahometan Turks and Moors, and Devils,” as Cotton Mather called them.⁶⁹ Though there were some North American captives taken earlier, the first case of Barbary captivity to generate significant public interest was that of Captain William Foster of Roxbury, Massachusetts, who was captured with his son in 1671 and held for three years. Increase Mather (Cotton’s father) mentioned this case as evidence that prayer worked to deliver Christians from the hands of their enemies, and noted that when Foster was in captivity the church at Charlestown set aside a day of prayer and fasting to ask for his deliverance. The situation looked dire as the “infidel King” was not inclined to liberate them for money. God intervened, however, by causing the unexpected death of their captor, leading to Foster and his son’s liberation.⁷⁰ Mather noted that this was only one of many examples when prayer helped free “Captives amongst the heathen,” such as the nearly contemporaneous deliverance of the pious heroine Mary Rowlandson from Native Americans. Direct colonial encounters with Native American peoples surely helped British colonists articulate stereotypes of supposedly inferior North African and Turkish Muslims, as well, despite the lack of English colonial success against Muslim powers.⁷¹

Cotton Mather, as mentioned in the historical background, helped frame the New Englanders’ understanding of Barbary captivity with regular comments on the pirates. In his sermons and books, Mather noted that in response to the provoking sins of New England, “God hath given up several of our sons into the hands of the fierce monsters of Africa.⁷² Mahometan Turks, and Moors, and devils, are at this day oppressing many of our sons with a slavery, wherein they ‘wish for death, and cannot find it.’⁷² He cautioned prisoners to realize that their captivity in Africa was temporary, but captivity to sin was much worse and only gave a foretaste of the eternal torment to come in hell. It was the Lord who gave the captives over to the “African Pyrates” as a judgment against their sins. Instead of giving in to the

temptations of the captors, it was much better to contemplate one's own sin, hold tight to Christ, and wait for redemption.⁷³ By 1703, New Englanders had received news of the redemption of several hundred English prisoners, and in response Boston held a day of public thanksgiving for which Mather wrote *The Goodness of God*. A number of the captives, "delivered from the most horrible Captivity in the world," considered Boston their home port and attended the service in which Mather preached. To describe the horrific nature of their captivity, Mather included a brief by William and Mary promoting their redemption. While noting the usual deprivations, the account ended with perhaps the most fundamentally disturbing element of the Anglo-Americans' captivity: the enslavement of whites by black masters. The captives were "sometimes driven about by Black-a-moors, who are set over them as Task-masters; and some of them have been so severely Whipp'd, that they have dropp'd down Dead." Incongruities such as this could not help but destabilize the appearance of racial permanency in Anglo-American slave-owning. The Virginia House of Burgesses went so far as to make this scenario illegal by stipulating that no "Negros, Mulattos, or Indians, although Christians, or Jews, Moors, Mahometans, or other Infidels" could own white Christians as slaves.⁷²

Furthermore, to commemorate the redemption of several Barbary captives, Cotton Mather, who had also helped disseminate Indian captivity narratives, included accounts of the captives' plight in Africa: "The poor Christian Captives, that are taken by any of those Hellish Pirates, belonging to the Emperor of Morocco, are brought up to Macqueness; being kept at Hard work, from Day-light in the Morning till Night: carrying Earth on their Heads in great Baskets, driven to and fro, with barbarous Negroes by the Emperor's Order; and when they are drove home by the Negroes at Night, to their Lodging, which is on the cold Ground, in a Vault or hollow place in the Earth, lade over with great Beams athwart, and iron Bars over them, they are hold in there, like Sheep, and out in the Morning; and if any be wanting, he

quickly secures the Negroes, and sends out a parcel of his Guard, to look for them.⁷⁴ By knitting into his text these eyewitness accounts of “Hellish Pirates,” “barbarous Negroes,” and the bestial conditions under which the colonists suffered. Mather provided his listeners and readers with an official narrative of relations with Barbary. Like Indian captivity accounts, Barbary captivity narratives predictably emphasized the victimization of the Christian and the inhumanity of the non-Christian. In an earlier sermon addressed to the colonists while they languished in Morocco, Mather called the captors “the Monsters of Africa,” and associated them with “the Powers of Darkness”⁷⁵. Mather’s demonization of Moroccans as satanic figures placed them in a separate metaphysical category from the colonists, suggesting a fundamental divide between the two continents as well as establishing boundaries between civilization and barbarity. To combat the forces of barbarity was to wage in the eternal battle against earthly confusion caused by the agents of Satan.⁷⁶

Like many Puritan texts, Mather’s accounts emphasize the powerful role of community in this battle, both the captive community, noting how even as slaves the American colonists had created an orderly religious hierarchical structure with its own masters and assistants, and the pious New England colonists. According to Mather, the captive community inspired the world through its resistance to Islam and degeneration, and the community back in Boston offered daily prayer and collected money with which to buy back their brethren. What he did not report, and perhaps did not even realize, was that a great number of English, Irish, and other Europeans also sailed under North African colors, making a lucrative living and in the process divulging critical maritime technology that greatly enhanced the corsairs’ ability to take captives. The Barbary captivity narrative has completely overshadowed the story of North American Indian abduction. While the prevalence and influence of the Indian captivity narrative should not be denied, the less studied abduction tale, the Barbary captivity narrative, was so popular and important to American culture. The

story of the white slave in Africa, which predates the publication of Indian captivity narratives and American slave narratives, provides one of the defining contexts for comprehending the cultural exchange among Africa, America, and England.

However, the concept of the duty continued to inform public pronouncements about the society and culture of Massachusetts Bay, its history and its destiny, right up to the time of the Revolution. However, the formulation of the sermon changed subtly in the course of the eighteenth century. For instance, Jonathan Mayhew's 1754 election sermon attributes the authority of government primarily to God but immediately to the "common consent": "government is spoken of in Scripture as being both the ordinance of God and the ordinance of man-of God, in reference to his original plan and universal providence, and of man, as it is more immediately the result of human prudence, wisdom, and concert".⁷⁷ The purpose of government Mayhew finds in scripture as divine favor towards God's chosen people, so that they might be delivered out of bondage, "and that, being brought out of the house of bondage, they might be conducted into a good land, flowing with milk and honey; that they might there possess property, enjoy the blessing of equal laws, and be happy".⁷⁸ So, in 1754, the representation of the errand is beginning to echo the terms of the Declaration of Independence: the possession of private property, equality before the law, and the freedom to pursue happiness. On the eve of the Revolution, in 1775, Samuel Langdon's sermon addressed the issue of the direct appointment of councillors by the King to replace those that had been popularly elected. He interprets this development positively, within the context of a renewed errand: America could take this opportunity to cleanse herself of the corruption of the European courts, just as the first settlers freed themselves of European corruption; good government will now be restored; and Langdon ends with a reminder of the catastrophic destruction that God can call down upon the enemies of His chosen people.⁷⁹

Freedom and American Identity Construction in Mather's Second Sermon

Cotton Mather uses the vocabulary of exceptionalism to represent his particular vision of the world and the infant American nation within it. He uses the concept of providence to describe the principle that guides and shapes the natural world. Of course, within the terms of Puritan theology, "providence" had described God's direct intervention in the human world. Cotton Mather uses the term to describe a rational principle that controls the operation of the world and he is very much of his time in this belief. One of the fundamental tenets of the Enlightenment was the idea that the universe is orderly and understandable through the faculty of reason. Because the world is governed by rational principles it can be improved by maximizing the rational government of people and institutions. America, a new nation unhampered by the complexities of European history and unburdened by a sophisticated class system and structure of inheritance, offered an unrivalled opportunity for the establishment of a democratic society based on rational principles. The guiding principle of reason that required re-engineering to produce an improved or in fact exemplary nation Cotton Mather described as "providence" is shown to further the rational and utilitarian work of providence and to create of his own life a model citizen and a model American. What Cotton Mather means by "American" is related to the context of revolutionary unrest in which he preached and wrote. The characteristics that he chooses to highlight coincide with the revolutionary ideals of the new nation.⁷⁹

Cotton Mather begins his sermon with an account of his ancestors who are described as champions of freedom, religious dissenters. From them, the author's inheritance is not money or land or title, but a commitment to the ideal of freedom. This theme also arises from Cotton Mather's description of his father and grandfather, from them, he received no inherited privileges but the more valuable virtues of community spirit, practicality and common sense. These, in Cotton Mather's estimation, are the characteristics of the model American as

enacting the newly formed American myth of individual self-realization in a land of opportunity. It is in this way that he redefined the mythology exceptionalism, away from its religious origins as an duty into the wilderness where a grand and purified church would be established, peopled by the visible saints chosen by God, and awaiting the glorious end of time. Cotton Mather represents the American errand as the creation of a secular state that is purified of the corruption of European politics and a social structure based on inherited title. It is the America that will be a model of democratic government and the envy of all the nations of the earth. He himself embodies this impulse to create oneself anew, to take opportunities when they arise and then to interpret success as the consequence of being American.⁸⁰ To be American and to be exemplary become the same thing, in Franklin's view. His life develops from poverty and obscurity to wealth and international fame; he starts life as a colonist but lives to become a citizen of an independent nation. And one of the most important aims of his sermon is to teach readers how they too can become model Americans. The tone is didactic and the didactic intention causes the author to shape the stories of his sermons in particular ways: he removes or minimizes all elements that are purely personal and not representative of the kind of life he is dramatizing.

The model characteristics of his sermons described as belonging to America in his "Information to Those Who Would Remove to America". Hard work, industry, thrift, common sense, altruism, moral integrity and fair-mindedness, all of these are the qualities that will guarantee success in America.⁸¹ Cotton Mather warns against immigrating those who seek an easy life, those who are idle or those who expect to be treated according to some inherited rank: these individuals will never make Americans. He powerfully redefined the Puritan mission: recasting the terms of success, where material prosperity assumed a prominence it had not had before, where the conditions of life for Americans were defined in spiritual terms, where the collective salvation of the community was transformed into a form

of government that would protect the rights of all citizens. What remained was the perception that America would continue to be judged by the other nations of the world to whom America would remain a model, a guide, a measure.⁸² Thus Cotton Mather represents an important element of the evolving mythology of American exceptionalism: America is to be not only a model nation but also will be the world's guardian, regulating the conduct of other nations, and representing the world's last and best chance at salvation. This claim coincides with a historical shift in national sensibility with its cult of domesticity; Mather's strategy of immobilising the experience of captivity, his fondness for the captors suggests the possibility of transcultural sympathy, captivity and rescue works to displace sympathy away from Indians and the violent scenes of their massacres.

Moreover, Mather's sermons call to mind his typological representation of the North African corcairs as agents of Satan. His texts indulge in racial stereotype and transracial sympathy, relying on the sentimental affect of imperialist spectatorship, which not only accommodates but in fact requires both violence and pity. This critique of antiquated Puritan intolerance is typical of American historical romances as examples of the American progressive history. So, it is clear that Cotton Mather's western discourse goes beyond the misrepresentation of the "other" to appropriate them and make them inferior in comparison to the civilized western selfhood to create tensions between religions. It is a discourse that aims at inferiorizing religion as well as its believers to stress that Christianity is the true faith and also to say that the westerners in general and Christians in particular are peaceful and tolerant. Captivity narratives and sentimental novels of the revolutionary era would exploit such representations in order to mobilize anti-British aggression. But as the next chapter argues, popular post-revolutionary sentiment novels elaborate the ways in which the dilemmas of agency suddenly faced by the citizens of the new republic. It can be clearly observed how

millenarian theology in America turned to the prophecies of and Revelations in order to explain the twin threats of the Indian and the North African Corsair.

Viewing both Indian communities and Muslim nations as hostile, Cotton Mather began reviling the two enemies not only in dogmatic terms but also as racial others. Implicit in this historical scheme, however, is an emergent ideology of progress in which the two sermons merely confirms Anglo-Protestants in their own superiority over all other nations and races. Such belief in the decay of other nations and races provided the emerging conditions for increasingly powerful fantasies of divinely ordained Anglo-Protestant superiority. Rapacious, lustful, bloodthirsty are the exemplified and fixed images of Arabs and Muslims whose premeditation disposition to perform any devilish act is touched in American Captivity narratives on a large scale. The examples are numerous various, ranging from legendary figures to realistic ones and targeting both Middle-East people together with North-Africans without heeding the different ethnicities, races and faith. What is astonishing odd is the fixed, inflexible, homogeneous characteristics that identify them all and make them look like one single person. Thus, it is clear that Cotton Mather's two sermons transmit a western colonialist discourse that aims at misrepresenting the "other" Indian and African and fixing the orient to the land of the exotic and mystery where "savages" live and where westerners fall victims of the barbarous, cruel "other". His sermons go beyond the scope of misrepresentation to reach the shore of religious discourse where Islam is considered as a fake faith and its believer as savages.

The subsequent chapter carries on such a representation and describes the ways that 'Westerners' understood and eventually sought control over eastern cultures and nations by designating them the 'Orient.' Royall Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* sets about understanding, misunderstanding, overlooking or ignoring the self-representations of the Barbary Coast population, the narrative left behind may often owe rather more to its author's imperial

fantasies and personal ambitions than to really existing conditions. Royall Tyler's account of the Barbary captivity developed certain representational themes that would feed directly into the Orientalist mindset: these include such notions as backwardness, licentious eroticism, 'different sexualities, barbaric cruelty, and despotic absolutism. Such ideas, images and clichés produced by early American writers about 'the terrible Barbary pirates,' their religion, culture, and society, illustrate, however, the inseparability of commercial interests from cultural change. Personal and national identities were busily re-making themselves in accordance with what was newly becoming known of the world through a wide variety of different kinds of exchange and encounter. For Americans, personal and national desires and identities could no longer be simply constructed from the local, the familiar and the traditional, but increasingly became inseparably related to notions about the global, the strange and the alien. The attractions of overseas travel were no longer restricted to intelligencers, diplomats, merchants, antiquarians or would-be travel writers, but had become an activity that even a country-bred gentleman could imagine himself undertaking.

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Chapter Four: Political Freedom in American Barbary Narratives

« [American Orientalism is] a tendency to underestimate the peoples of the regions and to overestimate America. »

Douglas Little

Introduction

Unlike previous Barbary captivity narratives of enslavement and liberation held by a nation seeking tribute but by desert dwellers that happened upon the castaway and took possession of the captive as a human salvage, the story of captivity and the plights of Updike Underhill, the main character of Royall Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* was not followed in the press, nor did it cause a national crisis. But this Mass Captivity narrative captivated many American readers in the nineteenth century. Generally known by the spine title, Royall Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* (1797), the tale was published when Barbary literature's popularity in the early to mid-nineteenth century came in on the heels of the American public's fascination and anxiety over the Barbary States and the captivity of their countrymen. By the time that the Barbary captivity narratives were reaching bookshelves in large numbers, the American public was already quite familiar with the Barbary conflict and understood who the inhabitants of the Barbary Coast were. It paints a nearly universal image of the African as sexually deviant, lustful, unrestrained, violent, cruel and despotic. These displays were not just limited to a few odd pieces of literature, nor were they smaller irrelevant scenes in a much larger story. The scenes which constructed and reinforced the stereotypes of the archetypal African were prevalent throughout and important parts of, one of the most popular forms of entertainment in early to mid-nineteenth century America and Doctor Updike Underhill's adventure is not an exception.

Entirely convinced of the reality of this discourse, the writer's revelations, throughout his account, clearly resemble the main features of the Indian captivity scenario as it has developed over time, fomented in neurotic social conditions in which 'invisible devils haunt the outskirts like Indians waiting for the chance to assault. It is little surprise then that the ultimate design of the aliens is nothing short of world domination and the catastrophe of human civilization. David Jacobs thus resembles Cotton Mather as a narrator of captivity

tales. A preacher of doom in desperate haste to be heard before it is too late. We have seen in the Puritan imaginary that the threat posed by Indians was understood to be the possession of the souls of frontier settlers. This represents of course an almost exact reversal of the captivity scenario as it is represented through the culturally popular American myth. What captivity represents in a North American context in historical actuality appears then not to be the threat of hostile takeovers but rather the desperate means of defense against it. Fantastical narrative accounts of abduction by extraterrestrials would appear to bear this out. As we have seen, the alien abduction account reflects fears and concerns for the autonomy of the individual against the power of a society and against the colonization of the 'self'. Royall Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* also suggest that even as the author peered into the future, the originating impulses of his ideas remained firmly rooted in the past, specifically in the eighteenth century backgrounds of American republicanism, European mercantilism, and the law of nations.

This chapter deals primarily with the enslavement of American sailors in the Barbary Coast of North Africa to do comparative slavery analyses, diplomatic history, or the study of early American identity formation. The same events will serve to analyze how early American society perceived and stereotyped the Muslim inhabitants of the Barbary States. The last years of the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth, a period contemporaneous with the Romantic period, witnessed the increasing activity of Muslim pirates which severely affected mercantile shipping of the U.S on the Barbary coasts of North Africa. The Barbary War (1785-1815) was the first encounter between the Muslim East and the young American Republic. The wars provided a great deal of literary material for such works as Susanna Rowson's *Slaves in Algiers* (1794) ; Royall Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* (1797); John Howard Payne's *Fall of Algiers* (1826); Richard Penn Smith's *The Bombardment of Algiers* (1829); Joseph Stevens Jones's *The Usurper* (1855). These works generally presented a polemicist image of North Africa privateering and a horrific image of "the Barbary",

obviously exaggerated an enlarged. The narratives also helped to construct two stereotypically and racially distinct Arab and Turkish archetypes in the minds of early American readers. This tendency highlights how early Americans saw themselves as the world's modern race and believed that they were truly constructing a new society following their independence from Great Britain.

Prominent among the works mentioned above is *The Algerine Captive*, a travel narrative whose principal character, Dr Updike Underhill was described as the first American innocent abroad, captured and then sold as a slave. In addition to suggesting a parallel between slavery in America and slavery in Africa, Volume II of the book, through Underhill's eyes and series of experiences, informs the reader about the Barbary Shore, the Muslim East, the prophet, and Algerian social and cultural life in general. Tyler's mastery of an impressive range of literary sources makes his novel a work that literary scholars of slavery will want to read and converse; his lucid prose makes of *The Algerine Captive* a book that anyone curious about captivity and slavery and their respective rhetoric will profit from reading it as a testimony of the end of the eighteenth century, a period that witnessed a significant change in the Christian rhetoric used by antislavery writers. Earlier writers drew their argument on biblical precept, employing an idiom founded on Protestant notions of 'Human sin, Christian morality, and divine judgment'. The writing of antislavery activists shows an increasing concern with larger questions about slavery such that it is consistently pictured as the exemplar of repulsive, non-Christian practice. The resultant rhetoric combined spirituality and economy, most especially slave trade. This rhetoric portrays slavery as a noxious combination of ignorance and barbarity that presents the African as an innocent commodity and the Anglo-American as a barbarous commercial gambler and seducer. In the polemical writing of the time, slaves are stolen and therein 'dangerous' goods. Traders in such merchandise are not only sinful; they lack the manners and understanding required to distinguish proper and

improper behavior. They are condemned as uncivilized in this world even as they will be condemned as sin-laden in the next. Does *The Algerine Captive* share this rhetoric? Or does its author resort to the fashionable Enlightenment rationality of the time?

It is significant to point out that Tyler's particular engagement is with how the novel could fashion a troubling equivalence between 'civilized' and 'savage' societies, portraying the barbarously slave holder as a marker of the potential fall of a presumably enlightened society, whose institution accommodate savage values. Yet Tyler does not suggest that the true Christian is the African slave, whose natural manners accord with his simple life; the false Christian is the white merchant, whose wrong refinement and 'Polished manners', to borrow Hannah More's words, hardly mask his unethical investment in brutal human commerce. Thus the American reader would certainly identify with, indeed imaginatively becomes, African, or at least, the properly civilized American caricature of an African. Through his literary portrayal of Americans held captive in Algiers and other Barbary cities, Tyler uses a rhetoric through which he examines white American slaves, their African masters, and the British who are sometimes pictured as complicit in the North African trade. This type of literature uses two perspectives: In some texts the perception of tacit British support of North African piracy generates a commercial rhetoric that equates savage Christian British naval officers with savage Muslim traders, damning them both; in others the promise of economic reconciliation between 'father England' and newly 'adult America' is seen as a palliative that will show ethical commerce triumphing over barbarism of the slave trade. The latter belongs in the American strategy towards European powers in an attempt to help get rid of Mediterranean piracy. Regardless of perspective, however, the rhetoric of these narratives shows the same ferocity and values as were used to condemn the trans-Atlantic trade in African natives. The interest directed towards the slave in the late eighteenth century embraced also the slave in the United States. As we will see later, sometimes they were said

to be n slavery surpassed those of Algiers; alike in condition, and sometimes it was openly declared that the horrors of American slavery surpassed those of Algiers. Anyway, That the Barbary captivity narrative is used to portray African ‘barbarity’ (just as Indian captivity narrative conjure portraits of Indian ‘savagery’) as well as critique slavery in America (work most often associated with the traditional slave narrative) suggests some linguistic discursive plasticity of the Barbary narrative and interconnections among all three genres. And Tyler, as read New Englander, borrowed many discursive categories from the other two genres.

Royall Tyler’s Biography

Royall Tyler is both a man of letters and law. He was a Federalist and an eminent defender of the abolition of slavery in the United State; he was among the pioneer American writers who advocated and urged for a national literature independent from that of England. Tyler was born in 1757 in Boston in one of the most wealthiest and respectable families in New England. At the age of fifteen, he entered Harvard College and received his degree in 1776. He was engaged to Abigail Adams, a daughter of John Adams, the future president. Unfortunately, his engagement was soon called off in 1785. Tyler did not take part in the American Revolution. Yet, he was offered a second chance through his participation in the suppression of Daniel Shay’s Rebellion in 1786. Immediately after this event, and in few weeks, Tyler wrote America’s first successful comedy, *The Contrast* (1787). This play attained him prominence and fame and in 1790, Tyler went to live in Vermont; his residence there was fruitful as it helped him generate several dramatic pieces, critical essays, poems, and it was there that he wrote his lone novel *The Algerine Captive* (1797). Afterwards, in a pursuit for his law career, Tyler removed to Brattleboro where he was appointed as an assistant judge to the Supreme Court of Vermont in 1801. Six years later, he became a chief Justice in the same court. In 1813, Tyler retired from his legal profession to spend the final

years of his life in poverty and illness. However, he did not succumb to this miserable situation, and instead he continued writing until he died from facial cancer in 1826.

Summary of *The Algerine Captive*

Royall Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* is both a fictional autobiography and travelogue that takes the reader to wander around three different locals, America, England, and North Africa. *The Algerine Captive* is composed of two volumes; through the first volume, Tyler takes his readers to America to explore the tale of his protagonist, Updike Underhill. The latter is a young New England who is enamored by the reading of Greek and Latin texts. This 'classical Quixote', if we may call it so, is unable to find or secure his place in the post-Revolutionary America. His career as a schoolteacher proved to be disastrous, and even as a physician, Underhill is unable to find a labor that fits his quixotic mind. So in a pursuit for a profession, Updike Underhill traverses the United State from the north to the south, but in vain, he fails to fulfill his ambitions. He, therefore, accepts to work as a surgeon in slave-ship. The first volume closes with Updike Underhill's capture by the Algerine Reis off the coast of Africa. The second volume tells the story of Updike Underhill's imprisonment in North Africa. After being brought to Algiers, the young Yankee is sold into slavery and taken to work in a stone quarry. Here, he laments his miseries as a slave. As the case for every Christian slave in North Africa, the hero is offered the opportunity to gain his freedom by converting to Islam, Updike Underhill rejects to abandon his faith. He is, later on, purchased by a director of an infirmary, and he is allowed to practice his profession as a doctor. A series of successful operations enable Underhill to earn money, and to be capable to ransom himself. Updike Underhill's dream to return home is soon blown into the air by the death of Adonah Ben Benjamin, a Jew with whom Underhill keeps his money. After many adventures Updike Underhill, finally, manages to escape and return to the United State on 3 May, 1795. And as any former captive he writes the tale of his adventure in the North African Orient.

The book is written in the first narrative, is about a Harvard-educated, American originated from New England school teacher turned doctor who, aboard an ironically named slave ship, sympathy, is bound for Africa to bring slaves. He is captured by Algerians and sold into slavery in the city of Algiers. Eventually, he finds his way to the Islamic second holy city, Medina, passing through “Arabia Patria”. Underhill hears many dreadful stories told by fellow travelers of “poisonous winds”, “overwhelming sands” and of “wandering Arabs who captured whole caravans and at their prisoners.” The picaresque, the marvelous, the exotic, and the fabulous go hand in hand with the grotesque, the bizarre and the weird. Yet, these features are impinged by the rational, the factual and allusions to questions like religious freedom, universality of religion and human rights. Due to the fact that Tyler was a read man who had never sailed off the Atlantic seaboard and whose intent through the work was somehow far from being purely literary, Underhill’s narrative reflects a genre of captivity narrative that reported what readers wanted to read in the seventeen-nineteenth centuries, not what was actually observed. Accordingly, *The Algerine Captive* is a specimen of fictitious travel writing about the Orient in which a vast gap exists between what is seen of the subject and what is said about it. The book also reflects the American inheritance of the age-old European polemicist against “So detestably ridiculous a system as the “Mohammadan imposture”. A significant debate to which we will come back to through the conversation between Underhill and a Muslim Mullah (priest) on the Prophet and the Koran, at the end of the which Underhill is “disgusted with the Mullah’s fables”.

However, Considering that Tyler’s tale is that of a ‘Cultural historian’ for whom the most interesting literature is that which illuminates particular aspects of a society’s outlooks and prejudices, some focus will be on the American political, philosophical, national and inform *The Algerine Captive*, especially the second of its two volumes, the one we will focus on. It is precisely this illumination that we will be concerned with, and not the literally, aesthetic aspect of the novel. For Tyler aesthetic merit is a secondary concern at best. Yet it is worth mentioning that the novel is so loaded with irony that many critics have come to notice

a great number of similarities between Tyler's style and Mark Twain's. Why not? The latter is as well committed to his Mississippi as the latter to his young as the latter to his young nation. Because of its ironical style, Volume I, which relates Underhill's travel through various regions of the United States, may read as a satire indented to address an incisive cultural critique to the author's society. Therefore, it may be viewed as the representation of young America, but not as representation of the Barbary shore, though its constant reminder of Anglo-Indian hostilities prepares the reader for the development of volume II. But our concern in this dissertation is civilization, and not literature.

Context of Publication

The Algerine Captive, besides being republished in 2002 following the events of September 11, 2001, is considered to be of great interest for our concern in this dissertation for major reasons. First and most importantly, it definitely links American and Algerian through a Barbary captivity narrative whose main character / narrator , Updike Underhill , experiences two types of slavery, the one he facilitates as a US physician working on a slave ship , and the one he offers as an 'Algerine' captive . Secondly, it was written during the Enlightenment Era, and its author was the contemporary of Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, John Adam, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, and many other Enlightenment outstanding figures and contributors to both the independence of the United States and the construction of the young republic. Thirdly, by decree of the constitution of the United States, the slave trade was permitted until 1808, and not until the ratification of the 14th amendment in 1866 was slavery forbidden. Fourthly, the civilization force of the novel lies in its being a travelogue of distant people, places and beliefs both within the Anglo-American world and outside the Islamic world under the Ottoman dynasty.

With regard to the period of the production of Tyler's accounts, Jared Gardner points out that Tyler started writing his novel in 1794. The period was marked by a series of calamities in which the new born republic was obliged to deal with challenges to peace at

home and abroad. At home, the Whiskey Rebellion was one of these challenges, in 1791; the Federal government excised a tax on the domestically produced whiskey in order to get the money needed for the treaty with Morocco. In 1794, the Pennsylvania farmers could no more afford paying this tax and instead they protested. Sending a militia, the president George Washington, ultimately, succeeded in suppressing the rebellion. As for the political factions, the Whiskey Rebellion was another domestic issue in which the Federalists and Republicans clashed over. « Republicans viewed the Whisky Rebellion episode as an example of strong government's armed tyranny. »¹ While the Federalists « believed it had proven the validity of their preparedness argument. »² Another challenge to the United States peace at home was its conflicts with the Natives. The United States launched war against the Indian Tribes in Ohio and defeated them in the Battle of *Fallen Timbers* in 1794. This time both Federalists and Republicans agreed on their government's policy towards the Indians.

Abroad, the wars in Europe were an acute problem for the newly formed republic. When France declared war on Great Britain in 1793, the United States found herself in awkward position, confused whether to take side with France or Great Britain. France helped the Americans in their Revolution. Besides, the Franco-American treaty of 1778 obliged the United States to help France to defend the West Indies. Great Britain, on the other hand, was the United States' mother country and its strategic trading partner. The hostilities between France and Great Britain provoked more tension between the political factions; as the Federalists sided with Great Britain, and Republicans sided with France. To keep the United States out of the conflict between these two great powers, President Washington decided that the United States would remain neutral and not take sides. Unfortunately, the United States' neutrality did not resolve the problem. The French with the help of the Southwest settlers succeeded in gaining some military support and in enlisting many Americans as privateers to

raid the British ships. In relationship, the British seized many American vassals in the winter of 1794.

In the period of the production of Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* the United States was also engaged in negotiating a treaty with Algiers. As we have stated earlier in our discussion of the general context, the treaty settled between Algiers and Portugal in 1793 allowed the Algerine Reis to access the Atlantic. As a result, the number of the captured American vassals increased. With no navy, the new republic was incapable to wage a war against Algiers. Hence, diplomacy was the effective solution for the federal government to secure the release of the prisoners. In the spring of 1793, George Washington directed David Humphreys (Tyler dedicated his novel to him) as a diplomat to Algiers. He, ultimately, succeeded in concluding a treaty with Algerine government in the 5th of September, 1795 by which the United States agreed to pay an amount of « \$642,000 along with \$21,000 per year in weapons and ammunition. »³

The increasing number of the American hostages in Algiers after the reopening of the Strait of Gibraltar (1793) did not only compel the United States to sign a treaty with Algiers, but it also prompted her to think about building a navy to punish the Algerines. At the beginning, it was difficult for the federal government to take the decision of construction a navy for two considerations. First, the new republic was financially incapable to secure money for « building and then paying for naval power needed to attack the pirates. »⁴ Second, the construction of a navy soon became a matter of controversy between the Federalist and the Republican groups. The federalists approved the construction of a navy, while the Republicans disapprove it, viewing it was a way to raise taxes. At the end « Congress passed a bill providing \$688,888 to construct and equip six warships. On March 27th, 1794, President George Washington signed the bill into law. »⁵. As Tyler published his account in 1797, the United States was still struggling to preserve her independence which was

threatened by the North African regencies on one hand, and France and Great Britain on the other hand.

When Tyler published *The Algerine Captive*, the United States was at peace with the North African States. The American prisoners in Algiers were realized in the summer of 1796 and landed in America in February, 1797.⁶ Furthermore, in January 1797, two months before John Adams succeeded to George Washington, the United States sent Joel Barlow to conclude treaties with Tripoli and Tunis. For the former the United States purchased peace for \$56,486, whereas the treaty with the latter cost of 107,000.⁷ In the same year, John Adams sent three ambassadors to the North African regencies, Richard O'Brien (a former captive in Algiers) was appointed as U.S. ambassador to Algiers, James Cathcart travelled to Tripoli, and William Eaton went to Tunis. Although the United States succeeded in preserving peace with the government of North Africa, she failed to do the same thing with France. Angered by Jay Treaty (1795), France broke its diplomatic relations with the United States, and the French naval ships began in 1797 to seize the American ships that carried British products. Diplomacy to resolve this tension proved to be unsuccessful after the French rebuffed the commission sent by Adams (XYZ Affairs). This resulted in the Quasi War between the United States and France in 1798.

American Slavery and Barbary Captivity Paralleled

Like any Boston gentleman of his day, Tyler knew texts of American Enlightenment, the sermons, pamphlets, and public documents that enacted the political accomplishments of the period. These were pragmatic texts in which works significantly stated and confronted political, cultural, social, moral and religious dilemmas. In 1775, for example, Thomas Paine (1737-1809) wrote an essay entitled *African slavery in America*, in which advocated the abolition of slavery in America. While Paine was not the first to propose the idea, he was one of the influential. A few weeks after his appeared in the *Pennsylvania* and the *Weekly*

advertiser , the first antislavery society in America was founded in Philadelphia . Quite understandably, Tyler was trying to write a version of the texts he had been reading and hearing his entire life. He subsequently wrote *The Algerine Captive* to address the pressing political problems of the young nation in innovative ways. Tyler's tendency to incline towards a practical – not to say pragmatic- literature derives from these covert antecedents, and the innovation lies in the complexity with which he manipulated these explicit source materials.

Depending on the reader's ethnic belonging and thus perspective; *The Algerine Captive* may be read both as an abolitionist text and as an African ethnography. For most American readers, it would fall into the second category, but an alert African reader would be more inclined to put it in the first. It is indeed a novel through which the author, as a New England federalist, tries to reconcile his simultaneous commitments to abolition and the nascent nation. Much like *Heart of Darkness*, in which Joseph Conrad decries British imperialism – with some ambivalence though, *The Algerine Captive* is told from five separate perspectives: that of the cultural milieu or worldview, the author (Royall Tyler) who intended to take part in the debate about the main issues that are facing the young nation, the author-character (Udique Underhill), the narrator, and the reader. Besides, there are three themes that dominate Tyler's list in this book: the nature of human commitments through Udique, the Mullah and Adonah Ben Benjamin, the Jew; the discovery of political right; and the role of the nations. Tyler's novel, written at a period when pamphlets and essays were almost the only literary publications in the young Republic , can be read as an expansion of the more limited tools of the sermonizer or pamphleteer .

It is important to point out that the “nation” that Tyler portrays needs a more radical literary act. The author performs this act and suggests that a slave holding nation cannot play any role in, a world of civility, nor can any civil man possibly support such a nation. Thus, the examination of nation in *The Algerine Captive* begins with an allusion to one of great

revolutionary pamphlets. In his 1765 pamphlet , ‘A’ Dissertation on the canon and feudal Law, ‘John Adams, Tyler’s almost father in law, situates the origin of American nationhood with the puritans, and in the first pages of the novel Tyler describes the Puritans with linguistic items that deliberately send the reader back to Adams:

Whoever reflects upon the piety of our forefathers, the noble unrestrained ardor which they resisted oppression in England, relinquished the delights of their native country , crossed a boisterous ocean , penetrated a savage wilderness, encountered famine, pestilence of independence, that love of liberty, with under God has enabled us to obtain freedom....¹⁹

It is true to say that Tyler writes a parody oriental romance, but one cannot deny his earnest treatment of slave narratives. His narrative engagement with slavery is informed by historical context: in 1797 more than a hundred American sailors had just returned from “Algerine” captivity of many years, and, in spite of growing abolitionist attitudes in the North, the plantation system in the South was attaining its greatest and cruelest efficiency. Yet, the difference between the abolitionist writers of the late 18th century and those of the antebellum era (1830-1862) lies in the fact that the former wrote in the context of Enlightenment rationality and optimism and the latter wrote in a fervent, moralistic, sentimental, uncompromising and direct fashion. Eighteenth-century optimism was expressed as follows: Certainly if the evils of slavery were properly explained, the major part of men and women would oppose the ‘peculiar institution’.

Tyler, through his novel, goes beyond the mere explanation of the ills of slavery by appealing to the reader’s feelings whose white fellow citizens experience the same atrocities as those experienced by Negro slaves in the South. Updike Underhill’s outrage at the sight of brutal treatment of Africans on the slave ship *Sympathy* models Tyler’s as well as the American abolitionist reader’s; when Updike fears that he will have a pointed rod run through his spine, the reader shares his terror. Further in the narrative, much like what

happens to the slaves in the South, Updike is assessed and sold like an animal, beaten, “senseless” for opposing a slave master, plans an escape but quickly reconsiders when another slave attempting escape is impaled alive, and finds himself spitting up blood as he is reduced to a “mere skeleton” from “depression of spirits, coarse fare, and constant fatigue.” In short, Tyler’s novel suggests that slavery is intrinsically barbaric, regardless of the particular identification of the slaveholders and the enslaved. In other words African slavery, with all its misery for Americans, is not worse-even slightly better-than American slavery for Africans.

White slaves in the Barbary Shore actually suffered greatly in captivity and were forced to live under humiliating conditions, eat rancid food, sleep with drovers of vermin, and face punishments. Yet it would be wrong to draw a parallel between this type of enslavement and the “peculiar institution” in the United States. Barbary slaves were not born into captivity or stolen from their homeland; they ventured into danger as travelers engaged in mercantile-paradoxically slave trade for example-or military enterprises. Furthermore, many white captives were eventually ransomed and liberated from their slavery. They could return to the intact family and community into which they were born. Slavery in America, however was freedom for a slave there-if there were any, and not to say escape from slavery-most often disrupted family ties relocating the slave far from their natal home and never liberating them from the existential and psychological effects of hegemonic racism. Thus while the Barbary captivity narrative might seem to mirror a slave narrative, the situations of white and black slaves differed, just as the social statuses of the narrators differ; Updike Underhill is a school teacher turned physician.

The real author of the book (Tyler) makes the analogy mentioned above by having his main hero and narrator (fictitious author Underhill) adopt a double perspective, that of a slave in Algiers and that of an “enslaver” on the ship. Updike is horrified by the role he is to play as a ship physician. “I execrated myself for even the involuntary part I bore in this execrable

traffic: I thought of my native land and blushed”, Indeed, he not only blushes for his presumably democratic and liberty-loving nation, but he also develops a feeling of guilt and asks for expiation by praying “ a merciful God, the common parent of the great family of the universe, who hath made of one flesh and one blood all nations of the earth.” He wishes that the miseries, the insults, and cruel wounds he receives when a slave himself, may expiate for the “inhumanity he is necessitated to exercise towards these (HIS) BRETHREN OF THE HUMAN RACE” (sic).

Orientalism in The Algerine Captive

Like many of his contemporaries, the crisis between Algiers and the United States be inspired Royall Tyler to produce his fictional captivity narrative, *The Algerine Captive*. As it depicts an encounter between a Western captive and his Oriental captors, Tyler’s tale displays the characteristics of orientalism mentioned by Edward Said. In this regard, our task in this section is to trace these features by dealing with Tyler’s protagonist’s struggle to maintain his sense of superiority even within bondage. Moreover we shall shed light on the novel’s ethnographic section which is Tyler’s major mean in essentializing the Algerine culture. The last point discussed in this chapter is the role of the protagonist’s captivity in the formation of American identity.

Reversing Captivity and ‘Heroism of Resistance’

The very fact of the Christian captive enslavement in the Muslim soil and by allegedly ‘inferior’ race renders the Christian captive in vulnerable position. According to Joe Snader such situation creates « a sense of cultural imbalance, a violation of the imagined national hierarchy that place Western above non-Western cultures». ⁸ To resort such imbalance and redeem the captive’s sense of superiority, the authors of Barbary Captivity tales often resume to reserve the captivity of their protagonists by constructing what Snader call ‘a heroism of

resistance’ ; develops as « a struggle to embrace more active efforts to reverse the impositions and abject conditions of captivity».⁹ The ‘Heroism of resistance’ in Snader’s view is achieved through the exhibition of variety of heroic activities. The activities are: rejecting Islamic conversion, economic success within captivity, mastery of the captor’s culture through ethnography, and finally escape. For ethnography we shall devote an independent section to analyze it. Tyler’s *The Algerine Captive* is the fertile field of application of Snader’s contention. Afraid to be accused of « tameness of spirit »¹⁰ by his compatriots, and to « assert the dignity of [his] nation in despite of bastinadoes, chains or even death itself »¹¹ Updike Underhill refuses to submit to the disgrace of his captivity, reversing his situation of detention in Algiers by exhibiting the heroic actions mentioned above.

Resisting Islamic Conversion

In the previous section, we have reached the conclusion that the conflict between the states of North Africa and the United States is in essence religious and consequently most of the Barbary captivity accounts generated out of this tension are as Baepler contends « framed in religious terms. »¹² Typically, it is the theme of apostasy in these narratives that articulates the ongoing hostilities between cross and crescent. Rejecting Islamic conversion is deployed as a strategy through which the Christian captive reverses his captivity from that of passivity to heroic and simultaneously promoting Christianity as a superior religion to Islam. Once captured and enslaved in Muslim land, the captivity protagonists are asked to convert to Islam by their captors either by temptation (freedom, wealth, high position in the Muslim society) or torment.

It is worth noting that the protagonists of Barbary captivity tales rarely converted. In the American accounts of Barbary captivity in particular there is no instance of an American captive who fell into apostasy; those who renounced their religion often justified their apostasy by the unbearable torture they received at the hands of their captors who were often

portrayed as ‘dehumanized » and ‘bloodthirsty’ people. In seventeenth century, English account written by John Rawlins, for instance, the Muslims flog their Christian captives « till they bleed at the nose and mouth; and yet, they continue constant, then they strike the teeth out of their heads, pinch them by their tongues, and use many other sort of tortures to convert them ». ¹³ Such scene serves two aims: the first aim, as stated by Nabil Matar, is « to inform compatriots about the fearsome world of Islam and to generate anti-Muslim sentiment». ¹⁴ The second aim is to constitute ‘heroism of resistance’ by showing the bravery of Christian captives in withstanding torture, deprivation, and even execution for the sake of the preservation of their Christian faith. Interestingly, in other Barbary captivity narratives, ‘heroism of resistance’ is not only created through the Christian captive loyalty to his religion, but is further displayed in the captive’s ability to convert his master to Christianity.

At that time, the young American republic had no political, naval or commercial dominating influence on the Barbary coasts comparable with that of Great Britain and other European countries. Subsequently, the plight of American captives was that of innocent wayfarers who had inadvertently wandered into dangerous waters. Their plight as unfortunate individuals did prove suitable thematic material for such literary works as *The Algerine Captive* in this novel, personal suffering constitutes the most characteristic feature in a work that presents Islam as the religion of those pitilessly inflict suffering on innocent strangers. As we shall see below, a religion inflicting such suffering is examined by a Royall Tyler’s Updike Underhill, and found wanting. It is found wanting by Updike, the hero narrator, but not Tyler, the real author, whose contemptuous attitude towards Islamic civilization is clearly evidenced in the biography with which he “gratifies” his character the Mullah before giving a positive of him. He is described as a witty person whose civility and resourcefulness have fascinated Updike, yet it is stated, perhaps not fortuitously, that he of non-Muslim origin:

He was born at Antioch, and educated a Christian of the Greek church. He was designed by his parents for preferment in that church, when he was

captured by the Algerines, and almost immediately, conformed to the musulman faith [...]. As he spoke Latin and some modern languages fluently, was well versed in the bible and Christian doctrines, he was often employed in proselyting the European slaves, and prided himself in his frequent success.(Vol.II,131)²²

This biography may also be meant to direct the reader to towards the relativism of religious belief as opposed to the universality of the intellect. The American interest in Muslim culture and history reached its peak in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth, when both sides were opposed by the Barbary Wars. These wars gave rise to a burgeoning literature with a censorious, pejorative and polemical view of Islam.

All in all, most writers of the young republic relied on contemporary European inaccurate, unauthentic and defective sources, which depicted the Prophet as “a sincere impostor” who invented visions granting him supernatural authority as a prophet of God; a bitter sneer at human credulity. Muhammad was viewed as a sensualist vulnerable to feminine charms, a polygamist who conceived his Paradise wholly in terms of sexual laxity. In addition to a repeated reference to the “Houris” all along some chapters of its second volume, *The Algerine Captive* gives evidence of this attitude in the following exchange between the Author and the Mullah (Vol.II,135): *Author*. But you hold a sensual paradise. *Mullah*. So the doctor of your church tells you, but a sensual heaven is no more importable to us than to you.²³

Due to obvious links of language and culture, the Americans maintained the older European attitudes towards Islam. American literature reflected this by perpetuating established stereotypes. In the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth, literary magazines provided American reads with such exotic Oriental tales as “Bathmendi” (1787); “Salyma and Osmin”(1788); and “Omar and Fatima”(1779).

Benjamin Franklin wrote such shorter works as “A Narrative of the Late Massacres” (1764); “An Arabian Tale” (1779) and “On the slave Trade” (1790). Numerous are the accounts in which the captivity protagonists succeeded in converting their captors to their

religion. Prominent example of that is Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1605-15) who was a captive in Algiers for five years, interpolates a Barbary captivity tale into his picaresque novel, which deals with a love story between Veidma, a Spanish captive and Zoriada, a daughter of a wealthy Algerian. Zoriada steals her father and runs away with her lover to the Catholic Spain where she subsequently renounces to her religion, Islam and becomes a Christian. With reference to Cervantes's romance while dreaming awake, Updike Underhill imagines a tale that has the same plot as that of the Spanish author as the passage illustrates:

I fancied my future master's head gardener, taking me one side, professing the warmest friendship, and telling me in confidence that he was a Spanish Don with forty noble names; that he had fallen in love with my master's fair daughter, whose mother was a Christian slave; that the young lady was equally charmed with him; that she was to rob her father of a rich casket of jewels, there being no dishonor in stealing from an infidel ;jump into his arms in boy's clothes that very night, and escape by a vessel, already provided, to his native country. I saw the lady descent the robe ladder ; heard the old man and his servants pursue; saw the lady carried off breathless in the arms of her knight ; arrive safe in Spain ;was present at the lady's baptism almost into the catholic Church, and at her marriage with her deliverer. I was myself almost stifled with the caresses of the noble family, for the part I had borne in this perilous adventure ; in five married to Donna some body, the Don's beautiful sister, returned into my own country loaded with beauty and riches.¹⁵

Although, Updike's adventurous story place only in world of dreams, it is pertinent to point out that this imaginary tale denotes Updike's early attempts to overthrow his status as captive and at the same time proclaim his Western superiority. Out of his world of dreams, Updike is offered an opportunity to fashion himself as a hero through Islamic conversion. To that purpose, Tyler exposes his protagonist to religious testing. Unlike many Barbary captivity accounts, Tyler does not make an appeal to episodes of atrocious conversion. Updike's captor never threatens him by physical harm or execution. Instead, he is led into rational conversation with a Greek convert, the Mollah, to make a choice between Islam and Christianity. Interestingly, the theological dialogue between Updike and the Mollah is preceded by a scene that he portrays to stress on Updike's heroic and degeneration. Tyler, in fact, deploys this scene as strategy as a helpless captive, set to hard work, beaten by a slave

driver, afforded little rest, and little provision (water, bread, and opinion). May be at this moment of hard times, the English convert's demand for Updike to 'run Turk'¹⁶ seems irresistible, « renounce the Christian, and embrace the Mahometan faith; you are no longer a slave, and the delights of life await you ».¹⁷ Updike instead, is astonished, seeing the English convert's demand shameful. It is only « the prospect of some alleviation from labor, and a curiosity to hear what could be said in favor of [Islam]¹⁸ that prompts Updike to accept conversation with the Mollah in the Sacred College of Muslims. At that place, however, our hero seems defend less in front of the Mollah's rational arguments. After eleven days of luxurious residence in the Muslim college, Updike is introduced to the Mollah. Right from the beginning, the Greek convert assures to Updike that Islam is based on rational methods, « He said, the holy faith, he offered to my embraces, disdained the used of other powers than rational argument; that he left to the church of Rome to, and its merciless inquisitors, all the honor and profit of conversion by faggots, dungeons, and racks. »¹⁹

Updike can't help but impressed by the Mollah's logic, « though I viewed his conduct as insidious, yet he no sooner retired than, overcome by his suavity of manners, for the first time, I trembled for my faith, and burst into tears. »²⁰ Comparing Islam to Christianity, the Mollah is more persuasive than Updike. In Edward Watt's terms, the Mollah seems to echo « Locke's Paine's and deistic critique of Christianity. »²¹ From the start, the Mollah's logic defeats all Updike's defenses of Christianity. The Mollah tells Updike that this Christianity is a result of birth not choice, « Born in New England, my friend, you are a Christian purified by Calvin. Born in the Campania of Rome, you had been a papist. »²² The Mollah concludes that « A wise man adheres not to his religion, because it was that of his ancestors. He will examine the creeds of other nations, compare them with his own, and hold fast that, which is right ».²³ Updike does not negate this fact, and he then, upholds the Mollah's stance. What is of notice in this theological dialogue is that Updike's refutations of the Mollah's arguments are based

on the Western common prejudices against Islam. As an example, Updike says: « our religion was disseminated in peace: yours was promulgated by the sword ».²⁴ But, the Mollah eloquently answers:

My friend, you surely have not read the writings of your own historians. The history of the Christian church is a detail of bloody massacre: from the institution of the Christian thundering legion, under Constantine the great, to the expulsion of the Moors out of Spain by the ferocious inquisition, or the dragooning of the Huguenots from France, under Louis the great. The Muslim never yet forced a man to adopt their faith ».²⁵

May be after such strong argument the readers of the novel expect that Updike will abandon his faith in favor of Islam. Yet, despite his inability to refute Mollah's argument, Updike rejects to submit to the Mollah. Updike, finally, repairs to safe slavery, « after five days of conversation, disgusted with his [Mollah] fable, abashed by his assurance, and almost confounded by his sophistry, I resumed my slave's attire, and sought safety in my former servitude ».²⁶ In this way, Updike shows to his compatriots that he is Christian hero who embraces captivity in order to preserve his religious identity. For him, it is his fact that empowers him and makes him capable of withstanding the horrors of slavery. The following passage is an illustration of his conviction:

The religion of my country was all I had left of many blessings, I once enjoyed, in common with my fellow citizens. This rendered it double dear to me. Not I had been exposed to severer agonies than I suffered, and flattered with all the riches and honors, these infidels could bestow, I trust I shall never have foregone that faith which sustained in a cruel separation from my parents, friends, and, intolerable slavery.²⁷

Updike, ultimately, succeeded in this religious testing. He refuses the powerful temptations of conversion merely to reassert that « The Christian religion is surely the most excellent religion in the world because it holds the balance so easy between superiors and inferiors. »²⁸ Although, Updike fails to defend his faith in his conversation with the Mollah, but at the end he is proud that within captivity he is able to maintain « the dignity of a free mind ».²⁹ Back to the dialogue between the Mollah and Updike Underhill, the former's rational justification of Islam and the latter's weak defenses of Christianity exposed Tyler to harsh criticism. An

article in British periodical claims: « the author too feebly defends that religion which he professes to revere. »³⁰

The contemporary readers of the novel even accused Tyler himself of apostasy. Such point may open a window to the discussion of the representation of renegades in *The Algerine Captive*. At a given moment of the story, Updike Underhill assumes that he will die in the infirmary and eventually leave Algiers, but the reader knows that he must return in order to write the narrative being read. He, in fact, recovers and begins a new chapter with a statement characteristic of most eighteenth-century serious travel accounts: “ To observe the customs, habits, and manners, of a people of whom so much is said and so little known at home ...” Tyler has much more to tell the American reader about Islam and Algiers; previously has very limited perspective. This is why Tyler makes Dr Underhill’s medical skills recognized and thus the physician bought by the infirmary, his main interest being the full range of ‘Algerine’ religion and lifestyles in general. Most late eighteenth-century Americans knew little about the Barbary Shore, its religion, society, culture of value. However, one must be skeptic about Tyler’s representation of that ‘exotic’ place, which sometimes reinforces false beliefs and impression of the region.

One of the most irrelevant and, more importantly, biased episodes in Underhill’s accounts of his captivity in Algiers is found in volume II, Chapter XXII. Not only is the episode far from being relevant to the narrative genre to which the novel belongs, but it constitutes the author’s strong belief- through the narrator’s voice , that Mohamet was a true impostor. Worse than that, claiming “impartiality” as a “good Enlightenment writer”, he writes an account of Mahomet’s life whose beginning is stained with a disqualifying contradiction. He speculates:

This fortunate impostor (Mahomet), like all other great characters in the drama of life, has been indignantly vilified by his opponents, and as ardently praised by his adherents. I shall endeavor to steer the middle course of impartiality; neither influenced by the bigoted aversion of Sales and

Prideaux, or the specious praise of the PHILOSOPHIC BOULANVILLIERS.³¹

There ensues a whole ‘rational and objective’ demonstration that Mahomet was no more than an impostor. Is there a worse vilification than that of treating a prophet of imposture? Is Jesus Christ included in “all other great characters of the drama of life”? Or is that just because Mahomet is the prophet of the “other”? Thus Tyler allows Updike Underhill –what he occasionally does throughout the novel- to write from bias to indulge the standard eighteenth – century aversion to Mahomet.

Another revealing episode is in chapter XIII of volume II of the book, where Tyler’s (or is it puritan –bred Underhill?) vaunting of the merits of Puritanism is expressed through a contrastive gymnastic involving Islam and Catholicism. Author- Updike, once again superimposing his interest on the experience of Underhill – character, speculates:

The bigotry of the Mahometan differs essentially from that of the Roman Catholic. The former is a passive, the latter an active principle. the papist will burn the infidels and heretics; the musclemen never torments the unbeliever , but is more tenaciously attached to his own creed, makes his faith a principle in life, and never suffers doubt to disturb, or reason to overthrow it.³²

Underhill, deliberately perhaps, omits a comparative-not contrastive-element. If he added it, his statement would be thus:”...to overthrow it as the glorious pilgrim fathers did.” Tyler’s depiction of life on the Barbary shore suggest that blind belief in a ruler or a leader, and an acceptance of the status quo as dog’s will, fuel a sort of intellectual and cultural lethargy. In his novel, Tyler denounces the whole genre of captivity tales for their exaggerations and misrepresentations. But by writing a Barbary captivity narrative characterized by some recycling of stereotypes, he not only constructs an imaginary Islamic world, but he urges his fellow citizens to create a nation that could successfully challenge that world. This ethnocentric attitude continues to affect American relations with diverse Islamic societies, from Iran to Morocco, to this day.

The late eighteenth-century American view of Islam was based on both a reiteration of the traditional European view and on the personally experienced Barbary wars. The plight of Americans captured by Barbary pirates was instrumental in fomenting still further late eighteenth-century American polemicism against Islam. This very polemicism can be observed throughout the whole of Volume II Tyler's novel. Moreover, New England Puritanism provided a suitable layer on which such polemicism developed. Puritanism, sober and horrified by what was seen as the sexual laxity and sensuality of Islam, proved an added boost of abhorrence to the view of Islam as a false religion and Muhammad as an impostor. But Underhill does make use of this type of strategy in his debate with the Mullah. On the contrary, as soon the discussion begins, Underhill adopts an attitude of contempt towards the "infidel" religion. The questions that arise here are thus: Does Tyler intend to present his hero just as a stubborn person, or does he suggest that Puritanism is a strong religion that one cannot deny whatever the sufferings he undergoes? Or else does he suggest that his hero was spiritually stronger than the Mullah, who had been Christian once and then converted into Islam for the same reason? The second of the alternatives is more plausible, as we shall see. This is revealed the Mullah's reply to the Author:

Mollah.[...] A wise man adheres not to his religion, because it was that of his ancestors. He will examine the creeds of other nations, compare them with his own, and hold fast that, which is right. Author. You speak well. I will bring my religion to the test. Compare it with the... Mollah. Speak out boldly. No advantage shall be taken. You would say, with the Mohomtan imposture.³³

From a purely theological perspective, Chapter 7 of Volume II from which the quotation above is extracted remains the most significant episode of the book. At the beginning of the debate (Vol. II, 131), the Mullah adopts a relativist attitude towards religion (s) by telling the Author, "Born in New England, my friend, you are Christian purified by Calvin. Born in the Campania of Rome, you had been a papist, [etc.]" He continues citing a series of geographical

origins and corresponding creeds. Thus, the states affirms that each person inherits a religion from their forebears. Yet he reveals to have a ready solution to this problem of moral relativism. The quotation above reveals that, echoing skeptical Enlightenment thinkers like Thomas Paine, The Mullah calls for calculation and proof in the exercise of reason. For Tyler's, reason is subservient to personal conviction: reason simply means that man can convince himself of what he already wants, or, in the memorable words of an another Enlightenment figure, Benjamin Franklin, "so convenient a thing it is a *reasonable Creature* , since it enables one to find or make a Reason of everything one has a mind to do." All in all, an alert reader would say that in the comparison-and-contrast game- the famous dialogue on the relative merits of Islam and Christianity- in which Underhill and Mullah are involved, the ultimate winner is obviously the former.

Tyler suggests that even though the Mullah has been more persuasive than Underhill, who has been replying with mere prejudiced phrase, the latter prefers remaining under servitude than converting to Islam, as his interlocutor once did. Does not that suggest that Puritan faith is stronger than Orthodoxy? Once again, Tyler uses a multiform protagonist to suggest that the Puritans are champions of liberty and America is worthwhile nation because of the intellectual vision that inspired its founding. He refers to the original moment of America nationhood. After the publication of the book, Tyler was immediately criticized for having allowed the Mullah so clearly win the argument, but those critics underestimated Underhill's refusal to 'to wear the turban'. How does this story about the creeds of Islam and Christianity compare to the current twenty-first century situation between Wahhabist Muslim groups, such as al-Qaeda, and the Western countries, the former accusing the latter of infidelity? The eternal argument continues, as if more than 2000 years were a second of time. But, since the present dissertation is not concerned with it, this topic remains open for potential further study.

The Image of Renegades in *The Algerine Captive*

The representation of renegades in *The Algerine Captive* is somehow problematic. But before going into any detailed discussion on that matter, it seems necessary from our part to offer, first, a definition of the figure of renegades, an overview on the way they were perceived by their compatriots, and most importantly, the way they were portrayed in the works of literature. The renegade or 'renegade' is a word deployed to denote those Christians who deserted their faith and embraced Islam. Conversion to Islam often entails acculturation. In other words, the renegades not only adopt the Muslims' religion, but also their language, customs, and traditions. Their « identity is no longer Christian, but is also not fully Islamic and remains 'redeemable' ». ³⁴ Some of those apostates were captives in the Muslim land. They turned Muslims in order to escape the hardship of enslavement, others had never been slaves and they immigrated willingly to Muslim countries to seek their fortune. Generally « [t]hey were disaffected soldiers or sailors, peasants oppressed by feudal lords, or perhaps merchants looking for advantage ». ³⁵ This does not mean that all renegades came from lower social rank, « there were occasions where men of status converted ». ³⁶

For the Christian world, the renegades were perceived as a pivotal threat that must be combated. To do so, the Christian authorities adopted a strategy to prevent Islamic conversion by using sermons to condemn the practice of converts to Islam or to « repeat stories about Muslim cruelty in order to praise those who had preserved without renouncing their faith. » ³⁷ As already mentioned, Cotton Mather in his sermon *The Glory of Goodness* (1703), praises the New Englander captives in Morocco for their loyalty to their faith. For him, it is the goodness of God that prevents them to « stretch out their hands into Imposter *Mohamet*, and his accused *Alcoran*. » ³⁸

In the literary production, the renegades were negatively represented. The figure of renegade is often deployed to reveal the futility and despair of apostasy. In his book *Islam in*

Britain, 1558-1685, Nabil Matar sheds light on the representation of renegades in a range of English dramatic works that responded directly to the anxiety aroused from the increased numbers of English converts to Islam in the early modern period.³⁹ In all the works he surveys Matar finds no instance of an English apostate who live happily after conversion. Matar's explanation is that « a happy convert to Islam would constitute further evidence of Islamic success.⁴⁰ Accordingly, the English dramatists try to inject fear about the results of conversion to Islam by:

Use [ing] all the poetic effects at their command to portray the harsh price which the Christian would pay for deserting his religion and submitting to Islam. They invented renegades who either met with grim retribution or who underwent spiritual suffering that resulted in their return to Christianity. On stage they uniformly punished the renegade for his apostasy or converted him back to his original faith.⁴¹

In a similar way, the renegades in both English and American Barbary captivity accounts are portrayed as detestable and fearful figures associated with evil. In some Barbary captivity tales, renegades expressed tremendous grief for having forsaking their Christian fact. For example, in William Ray's factual account, *Horrors of Slavery* (1808), Ray meets French renegade who although achieves wealth and high position in Tripoli, he regrets his « transmutation of religion. »⁴² More importantly, in other accounts of Barbary captivity, the renegades do not only adopt their captor's religion but also adopt their essentialist stereotypes. In Snader's words, « renegades seem entirely infected with imputed violence and passion of the East, more Oriental than the natives themselves ».⁴³

The discussion above may raise questions about Tyler's perception of renegade. Does Tyler, as his English and American counterparts, perceive the Figure of renegade as a threat to Christendom and thus continue in the same vein? Or, by contrast, does he break with those traditions? As a matter of fact, Tyler's representation of the renegade Mollah is positive. The Mollah is depicted as rational, wise and skillful. He is the one who rescues Islam from the old prejudices and defeats all Updike's attempts to defend his faith His gentleness and eloquence

impressed Updike and made him admits that « if any man could have effected a change of my religion, it was this priest. »⁴⁴ Moreover, the Mollah is the first person who converses with Updike in Latin (in the first volume, Updike resents the ignorance of his fellow citizens of such dead language). Additionally, the Greek renegade is « the generous protector who rescues the captive from the misery of the stone quarry, secures him a post in the infirmary and bankrolls his trip to Mecca. »⁴⁵ Updike declares that « this very smile exhilarated my spirit and infused health ».⁴⁶ Such portrayal prompts many critics like Si Abderahmane Arab and Edward Watts to argue that Tyler his positive representation of the Mollah, he breaks with the conventional Orientalist stereotypes. Yet, there is another point that may challenge this contention. The Mollah is not sole renegade in the novel who is portrayed differently. Updike encounter in the stone quarry is another renegade in the novel who is portrayed differently. Updike declares that he « had ever viewed the character of apostate as odious and detestable. »⁴⁷ Updike regards the English renegade with contempt. He despises his disloyalty to Christianity:

I pity you too, replied I, the tears standing in my eyes. My body is in slavery, but my mine is free. Your body is at liberty, but your soul is in the most abject slavery, in the gall of bitterness and bond of inequity. You have sold your God for filthy lucre; and what shall it profit you, if you gain the whole world and lose your own soul, or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul.⁴⁸

Likewise, Updike portrays the renegade he encounters on his trip to Medina as coward and hypocrite, in Updike's words; he is « a blustering rough renegade. »⁴⁹ Such portrayal may lead us to conclude that Tyler does not reject the Orientalist binary of Muslim/Christian but he rather follows the steps of his English and American counterparts.

Tyler himself acknowledges in his preface to *The Bay Boy* that in *The ALgerine Captive* that he was not promoting Islam at the expense of Christianity.⁵⁰ What holds Tyler to portray the Mollah in a positive way is his need to criticize Christianity in the early republic. Early in the novel, Tyler criticizes the puritan intolerance through Updike's ancestor, captain John

Underhill, who was banished his community in charge of adultery of heart. More to the point, a scene of a person who « all the way from the water to the church »⁵¹ beats and cures his tardy Negro, delivered a short sermon, and then « hastened to the horse race »⁵² quietly demonstrates the hypocritical practice of Christianity in the United States. The Mollah through his dialogue with Updike Underhill alludes to such hypocrisy: « We leave it to the Christians of the West Indies and Christians of your southern plantations, to baptize the unfortunate African into your faith, and then use your brother Christians as brutes of the desert. »⁵³ Here, the Mollah is a Muslim character who is deployed by Tyler to disclose the hypocrisies of the then post-colonial American.

Economic Success Within Captivity

Many captives of Barbary captivity accounts achieve an economic progress within captivity. Such progress often stands as a reversal of the bad conditions of abduction. Moreover, it functions as a mean to demonstrate the Western captive resourcefulness and his ability to survive economically even within the miseries of servitude. William Okeley, an English captive in Algiers, is a good example in case. Despite his subjugation, he became a successful trader in wine and tobacco. Another famous instance of such success is James Leander Cathcart. He progressed from palace gardener or coffee brewer to various clerical positions and finally he became a chief Christian secretary to the Algerian Dey.⁵⁴

Similarly, the fictitious Updike Underhill achieves an economic success within his captivity in Algiers. After being purchased by the infirmary director, Updike is given a limited freedom to practice medicine. Successful operations turned out his enslavement into a fortunate career. He is soon able to raise a ransom of one thousand dollars. About his prosperity, Updike claims: « if I had conformed to their faith, beyond a doubt, I might have acquired immense riches. »⁵⁵ Ironically, as a free man in his own country, Updike fails to secure a fortune. Updike Underhill's advancement in oriental setting reverses the hardships of

his captivity and affords a national pride to American readers as the resourceful and self-reliant Updike gains a limited freedom and progresses within bondage. The point stated by Joe Snader is that, « captive-narrators who achieved a position of relative comfort within alien cultures often shift between a tone of satisfaction at their achievements and hostility towards the alien means of their advancement. »⁵⁶ On one hand, Updike is content at the economic progress he achieves within an Oriental local. He even confesses that he could have chosen to remain in Algiers for few years « if [he] could have been assured of returning to [his] native country. »⁵⁷ On the other hand, Updike finds the Algerine physicians ignorant and their practice backward.

In surgery they were warrant bunglers. Indeed, their pretensions to knowledge in this branch were so small that my superior adroitness scare occasioned envy. Applications, vulgarly common in the United States, were there viewed with admiration. The actual cutlery was their only method of staunching an external hemorrhage. The first amputation, I operated, drew all the principal physicians around me. Nothing could equal their surprise, at the application of the spring tourniquet, which I had assisted a workman to make for the occasion, except the taking but of the arteries.⁵⁸

It appears from the above passage that Updike as Western captive confirms the binary of West's progress and the Orient's backwardness.

The Motif of the Escape in the Narrative

As a rule, many of captivity protagonists ended their captivity in North Africa by escape. Escape in fact, reveals the Western captive ability to inverse his captivity from that of helplessness and despair to happy ending that ultimately ensures the captive's superiority as he can contrive escape plan and thus easily deceives his captor. Updike Underhill ends his captivity in Algiers by escape. Soon after his captivity, Updike makes his first attempt for escape. It is the first lash he receives at the hands of his master's overseer in the stone quarry that awakes him from his passivity and submission. Updike who was unable to impose his authority on his pupils in the United States, now becomes a man of action planning for a revolt as he avows it:

I threw my spade with disdain, and retired from my work, lowering indignation upon my insulting oppressor. Upon his lifting his whip to strike me again, I flew at him, collared him, and threw him on his back. Then setting my foot on his breast, I called upon my fellow slaves to assist me to bind the wretch, and to make one glorious effort for our freedom.⁵⁹

Updike Underhill's first attempt for escape is not successful his fellow slave could not understanding his language. The president Updike decides to not yield, and begins to plan for his second attempt for escape. Again his plan for escape fails because he is afraid to have the same fate as that of a slave who attempted to escape and is punished by replacement alive. Updike therefore, decides to postpone his plans for escape for a while. G.A.Starr observes that the period of captivity makes « liberty appears increasingly desirable but unattainable. Like the lovers longing in a romantic poem, the captive's appetite for freedom is weathered by its very frustration. »⁶⁰ Updike's desire for freedom increased though he fails twice. He refuses to succumb, and thus, he makes his last attempt for escape. This time Updike's attempt for escape is successful. Now it is the help of his Jewish friend's son that he is able to return home. Though the Jew deceives him and sells him to a Tunisian captor. It is by chance that Updike is rescued by Portuguese vassal. Tyler portrays Updike Underhill as a hero who endures all the threats of escape in the sake of freedom. Updike refuses to be submissive or passive. He creates 'heroism of resistance' by transforming his captivity from despair to that of happy ending.

In the light of all this, we may say that even within bondage Updike Underhill manages to redeem his sense of superiority by constructing 'heroism of resistance'. He rejects to renounce Christianity at the cost of his freedom and prefers « suffering gloriously for his country. »⁶¹ Moreover, even as captive, Updike achieves an economic success, a success that is unattainable in his own country. Finally, Updike is able to deceive his captor by escaping and ultimately returning to the United States. In fact, Tyler's reversal of the captivity of his

protagonist can be read also as a reversal of the position of the United States at the time, from that of vulnerability to that of strength.

Updike the Ethnographer: Mastering the Algerine Culture

One of the features of Orientalism stated by Edward Said is «anatomical and enumerative»⁶² and engaged «in particularizing and dividing of things Oriental into manageable part.»⁶³ Both English and American Barbary captivity accounts employ this feature through the ethnographic section, where the captivity protagonists describe the local they confined in by dividing it into such sections as religion, language government, customs and traditions. In factual Barbary captivity tales the captive describes different aspects of his captor's culture through his genuine experience in North Africa. He records everything he can remember, or he witnessed or heard from his fellow captives. In fictional accounts the ethnographic description often depends on the authentic accounts of Barbary captivity, or on travel writings. Such description is not necessary objective, Nabil Matar argues, since the captivity writers «were often encumbered with anti-Islamic prejudice. The knowledge accumulated by the captivity protagonists about the culture of the Muslims of North Africa, is not innocent. It often promotes an imperialist and colonial agenda. The captive's portrayal of his captors' culture often resulted in depicting the North Africans as 'passionate', 'despotic', and 'barbarians'. Such portrayal creates an impression of the captive's cultural superiority and makes the Muslims of the Maghreb manageable to imperial and colonial rule. Francis Knight's narrative of seven years of slavery in Algiers (1631) is the first English Barbary captivity account that provides an ethnographic description of Algiers and Tunis.⁶⁴ Knight's account outlines for a plan for colonial intervention in Algiers.⁶⁵ Royall Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* is cast in the ethnographic mode.

To make his readers acquainted with people «of whom so much is said and so little known at home»,⁶⁶ Tyler relies on accounts of European scholars, travel writings and

plagiarizes from other Barbary Captivity narratives. Updike the « bumbling comic hero »⁶⁷ in the first volume suddenly turns into « a wise reporter acting as the agent of the new empire. »⁶⁸ He describes Algiers by dividing it into categories such as the history of Algerines, their customs and manners, government, language, and religion. Although, the narrative voice of ethnographic in *The Algerine Captive* sounds as if it is coming from an objective perspective, but in fact Updike does not deviate from the conventional descriptions of Oriental North African societies in the Barbary captivity narratives which portray the Muslims of North Africa in a reductive way.

The two first categories that Updike initiates his dissection of the Algerine society are language and history of the Algerines. Regarding the first category, Updike's analysis of the Algerines' is too condensed and superficial. The chapter that handles Algerine language is more to the description of the protagonist's return to the stone quarry than to the Algerine language. Updike informs his readers that in addition to Arabic, the 'Lingua Franca'⁶⁸ is also a common language in Algiers. For him, it is « bad defiance to modes and tenses, appearing to be the shreds and clippings of all the tongues, dead and living, even spoken since the creation. »⁷⁰ Through the Lingua Franca which is « the pidgin of slaves and masters in the Mediterranean »⁷¹ Updike is hinting that Algiers is a land of slavery and servitude. On the history of the Algerines, the longest chapter in the novel, Updike reduces the inhabitants of Algiers to mere vassals to the Turks, a Mongrel nation of Arab and Moors, and « the miscreants and outcasts of other nations. »⁷² In documenting the Algerine government, Updike portrays as despotic. He finds that the Algerine government is unstable where days are frequently dethroned or assassinated. According to Updike, the Dey is a tyrant who ascends the throne « through the blood of his predecessors. »⁷³ He is the absolute sovereign: « He conducts foreign affairs, at his own good pleasure; and, as to internal, he knows no restraint,

except from certain local customs, opinions, and tenets, which he himself venerate, in common with his meanest subjects. »⁷⁴

To keep himself on the throne the Dey must declare wars on other nations or break treaties with European countries in order to raise his revenue,⁷⁵ otherwise he will be dethroned by « disgusted sailors and various soldiers. » Updike's portrayal of the Algerine fact is inaccurate and laden with anti-Islamic prejudices. As for the documentation of prophet's life, Tyler relies on famous European biographies that were reprinted in the early republic such as Humphrey Prideaux's *The true Nature of Imposture Displayed in the Life Mahomed* (1697), and Henri Boulainvillier's *The Life of Mahomed* (1731).⁷⁶ Updike states that his biography of Mohammad will take a middle position, « I shall endeavor to steer the middle course of impartiality; neither influenced by the bigoted aversion of Sales and Prideaux, or the specious praise of the *philosophic Boulainvilliers* »⁷⁷ Yet, Updike cannot keep objective. Like Prideaux, Muhammad for Updike is an impostor who proclaims himself a prophet in order to « secure a glorious preeminence »⁷⁸ and gratify his ambitions. Moreover, Updike negates the illiteracy of the prophet and therefore, he contends that the Koran is not divinely inspired but rather written by him after his retirement. Elsewhere, however, Updike expresses some admiration of the Algerine faith. He finds that Islam is a « sincere principle »⁷⁹ in life in which most Muslims are honestly devoted to, and that the Koranic verses « ever exhibited the purest morality and the sublimes conceptions of the Deity. »⁸⁰ Updike, further, claims that the Algerines' 'immoral' and 'brutal' behavior is not due to their religion teaching:

Upon the whole, there does not appear to be any articles in their faith, which incite them to immorality or countenance cruelties, they commit. Neither their Alcoran nor their priests excite them to plunder, inslave or torment. The former expressly recommends charity, justice, and mercy towards their fellow men.⁸¹

According to Snader and Fatima Harrak, the captivity protagonists' admiration of some aspects of their captors' culture is occasional and generally those « who attempt to go beyond the limits of the prevailing discourse... are rapidly called to order by rules of the genre. »⁸²

This may lead us to say that despite Updike's admiration of some aspects of Islam, he, in fact, does not go beyond the traditions of the Barbary captivity genre that stereotyped Islam in negative way. For Updike, Islam, after all, is a « so detestably ridiculous a system, as the Mahometan imposture. »⁸³

Now mastering every aspect of the Algerine society, Updike like real captivity protagonists, becomes a colonizer. Updike blames the European powers for not taking a step to end the Algerine threat. For him, it is « the narrow politics of Europe seek an individual not a common good »⁸⁴ that promote the rise of the Algerine power. He tell us « that Christian states, instead of uniting to vindicate their insulted faith, join the cross and the crescent in unholy alliance, and form degrading treaties with piratical powers. »⁸⁵ Updike who is still dreaming in another crusading victory over the Algerine Muslims suggests a plan to demolish the Algerines. As he knows that his country is incapable to engage in any military conflict with Algiers, Updike proposes invading Algiers by a coalition of European powers. It is of notice that Updike's plan was proposed by Thomas Jefferson after the capture of the two first American ships *Maria and dauphin* in 1785. Updike soon realizes that this plan will be unsuccessful; therefore he suggests conquering Algiers from the interior.

On the whole, relying on what Edward Said terms as a « set of received ideas » Tyler reproduces the same images of orientalist European writings and Barbary narratives that portray the Oriental North African in essentialist way. As for Updike, the Algerines are barbarians, plunderers, despots and their religion is founded by an imposter. These images create an impression of American cultural superiority, as they are useful in the formation of American identity which will be our main concern in the subsequent section. Additionally, Updike who becomes « an emissary of powerful empire »⁸⁶ does not provide his nation with information about her new enemy but further after the end of his mission he recommends a colonization of Algiers. In a more explicit way, Updike the ethnographer depicts Algiers as

« a land easily understood, and mastered, just waiting for colonization. »⁸⁷ Surprisingly, about eighteen years from the publication of Tyler's *The Algerine Captive*, the American government sent William Shaler to Alger in order to accumulate knowledge about the Algerine society. His book *Sketches of Algiers* (1826), the products of his spying mission, was an effective document that the French government deployed in the colonization of Algiers in 1830.⁸⁸

American Identity and Algerine Alterity in Tyler's Account

Edward Said maintains that the construction of identity entails « the existence of another and different competing alter ego »⁸⁹ For the West, the Orient is the 'Other' which involves all the cultural characteristics that the West denies or sees as different from its own. In this sense, the Orient is the boundary that defines the West's contrasting images, ideas, and experiences. The encounter between the United States and the Muslims of North Africa was an occasion for early American writers to express their earnest search for their 'self' in the Oriental North African "Other". In this regard, Lotfi Ben Rejeb writes:

As America's first war, the Barbary wars offered postcolonial Americans a usable context to engage in nation making. There was for Americans much more at stake in the conflict than issues of commerce and piracy: their response and image as a nation was the overriding concern. Throughout the drawn-out crisis, politicians, soldiers and writers issued repeated calls for the establishment of a 'national character'. The result was a significant body of popular literature contextualized in the Barbary wars and keyed to the socio-political function of defining national identity and citizenship.⁹⁰

The Algerine captive is model is identity founded on alterity. Tyler's is among those writers who were anxious about the ascent nation's lack of national identity. His rejection of the republicans' policies that favored the definition of the United States bas a « clone of England »⁹¹ prompts him to invent a captivity tale that criticizes the early republic's attachment to English culture and dramatizes the construction of American national identity through and encounter with the Algerine 'Other'. This aim is clearly stated in Updike's preface. Updike claims that one reason that pushes him to write his captivity tale is to

counteract the influence of English novels on the minds of American readers and to contribute to an authentic American literature that reflects the American manners, not the English ones.

Tyler creates Updike Underhill as character whose attachment to the English cultural standards renders him incapable to reconcile himself to the new nation. His classical education not only makes him unfit to farming but also alienates him from his community. In search for himself, Updike traverses the United States from the north to the south. But, alas, his sense of estrangement and dislocation is only intensified. Edward Larkin in an essay entitled « Nation and Empire in Early US » points out that Updike's failure in his homeland is due to the absence of shared unified identity.⁹² Updike himself recognizes that while visiting a college museum in Cambridge. He says: « Here to my surprise, I found the curiosities of all countries, but our own. »⁹³ Updike's journey in United States is only deployed to reveal the new nation's lack of national identity as Updike or 'the picaro' portrays norms. For example when visiting the south, Updike discovers the fundamental difference between his values as new Englander and those of the south. He finds that « The very decorum, prudence, and economy, which would have enhanced my character at home, were here construed into poverty of spirit. »⁹⁴ Updike has to travel to Algiers to learn what it means to be an American.

According to Eric Hobsbawm, « there is no effective way of bonding together the disparate sections of restless people than to unite them against outsiders. »⁹⁵ The outsider or the 'Other' that Tyler uses to resolve the crisis of identity in the early republic is the Algerines. Immediately after his capture by the Algerine Rais, Updike recognizes his Americanness by a very question of identity: « by his side a man of lighter complexion, who, by the captain's command, inquired of me, in good English, if I was an Englishman. I replied I was an American, a citizen of the United States. »⁹⁶ Indeed, Updike is proud of being an American and desires recognition on the international stage. Right from the start, Updike distances himself from the Algerines whom he refers to as a 'ferocious race'. He refuses to be

acculturated. As we have seen earlier, he rejects to convert to Islam as way to keep his identity as Christian. However, this does prevent us to notice that despite Updike's refusal to adopt the Algerine culture, the threat of acculturation is apparent throughout the protagonist's captivity in Algiers. It is through clothing that such threat is manifested. As in vast majority of Barbary captivity accounts, Updike is stripped from his cloth and obliged to wear that of his captors'. Linda Colley contends that «being stripped of Western dress could be seen a metaphor for the danger that one might indeed to native. Conversely, resuming European cloth was often crucial emblem of return.⁹⁷

To construct his national identity firmly, Updike portrays Algiers as America's contrasting image. He establishes 'binary oppositions between' American freedom and Algerine tyranny, American civilization and Algerine barbarism. Such binaries are, as we have stated in the previous section, reinforced, mainly, through Updike's ethnographic description of the Algerine culture.⁹⁸ Showing Algiers as a root of barbarism, plunder and despotism, Updike here is asking his American readers to extirpate the Algerine model from their land if they want their infant nation to survive. Tyler's need to define the United States as a nation embodying freedom, urges him to exclude the issue of American chattel slavery in the second volume.

In the domestic section of the novel, Tyler castigates the practice of slavery in his country; a practice that violates the ideals of American Revolution and divides the young America. Working as surgeon on slave ship, Updike is shocked by the kidnapping and the inhuman treatment of African slaves. He spends two chapters sentimentalizing the African slaves' miserable conditions on the broad.⁹⁹ Updike even finds that his subsequent captivity in Algiers is a direct punishment for his complicity in American slave trade. He therefore, pledges to dedicate «every moment of [his] life...to preaching against this detestable commerce.»¹⁰⁰ While countering the Algerine Other, paradoxically, Updike becomes a

preacher on the United States' liberty. His shame about America's chattel slavery is erased and succeeds by a growing appreciation of his country liberty, « Let those of our fellow citizens, who set at night the rich blessing of our federal union, go like me to a land of slavery, and they will then learn how to appreciate the value of our free government. »¹⁰¹ More to the point, as the freed reconciled to his homeland; Updike seems to forget totally his plea for the abolishment of African slavery in the United States. We do not see him flying, as he promised, to his « fellow citizens in the southern states, [and on his] knees, conjure them in the name of humanity to abolish a traffic, which causes it to bleed in every spot. »¹⁰² Sarah Wood exclaimed: « Is the doctor suffering from amnesia? »¹⁰³ Certainly he is not. The crucial fact is that the liberty that Tyler is appealing for is, according to Julie Voss, imperialistic. « To proclaim the U.S., the bastion of liberty, an example for a less enlightened world, the texts must elide elements within the U.S. that restrict liberty, such as gender, class, or race inequality. »¹⁰⁴

Updike, in fact, does not forget his promise but it is the necessity to define the United States as liberal nation and to keep national union that makes his abolitionist design evaporate by the end of the novel. Throwing off his « Mohametan dress »¹⁰⁵ and recovering his Western one, « the prodigal son »¹⁰⁶, he now becomes a « worthy FEDERAL citizen. »¹⁰⁷ He ends his narrative by an appeal to national union: « Our first object is union among ourselves. For to no nation besides the United States can that ancient saying be more emphatically applied: BY UNITING WE STAND, BY DIVIDING WE FALL. » Thus, the closure of Tyler's novel « confirms the fundamental design and culture significance of the narrative as a deliberate contribution to the construction of nationhood. »¹⁰⁸ A point which needs to be stated is that the novel achieves its nationalistic purpose at the end, we notice that the distance between Royall Tyler and his fictional author is removed, and the voice of the narratives turns from that of the first person narrator to the third person narrator. To conclude with this section, we may say that

Udike captivity in Algiers is only a context pretext for the construction of national identity. The encounter with the Algerines serves chiefly to highlight threats of tyranny, barbarism and anarchy on the new nation. Moreover, Tyler's anxiety about the future of his newly independent nation which is plagued by political fraction obliges him to forget his abolitionist plea by the end of the novel and choose, instead, "union over anti-slavery division."¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

From what has been stated in this chapter we may say that Royall Tyler's approach to the North African Orient is identical to that of his European forbearers. Despite the political, economic, and military vulnerability of the United States in the time of production and publication of the novel, Tyler manages to compensate these weaknesses by asserting the American cultural superiority. This is done through portraying the Algerines as barbaric, immoral, and despotic while Americans are virtuous, civilized, and liberal. Such Orientalist stereotypes not only confirm America's cultural superiority, but also validate the definition of United States as imperial nation. Perhaps for Tyler, a national unity is not sufficient to 'enforce a due respect among other nations' It is through the exertion of power over the Orient that would secure a place for the young republic on the international stage. Ultimately we way say that the encounter between Tyler's protagonists and the Algerines in the novel allows Tyler to create an 'imagined community' (as Benedict Anderson puts it) culturally powerful and ambitions to exert its muscle on the Orient. Thus, Tyler, finally, does not derogate from the traditions of Orientalism described by Edward Said.

In the subsequent chapter, we shall reveal that Maria Martin is deeply steeped in the same traditions of captivity narratives developed by Tyler. In the eight of what has been said above one may come to the conclusion that having worn the mask of his hero narrator Udike Underhill, Royall Tyler intended to address the U.S. domestic issues through a 'navel' that tends to be more factual than fictional, a novel that also reveals the author's commitment to the

universality of religion and human rights. His pungent imagination may succeed to persuade the reader that captive life could be infernal whatever the captive and the captor are, yet it would be wrong to equate captivity in the Barbary shore with institutionalized chattel slavery in the United States. Worse than that, put in street words, the message sent by Tyler to the southern members of his creed through his work may read as follows:” you are as barbarous as the true barbarians themselves”. Tyler’s representation of the Barbary shore, based on a captivity narrative, suggests the idea that the outraged captive insists on differences between himself and his masters, differences that are usually framed in terms of something lacking and something only a ‘civilized’ country could eventually supply: rationality, progress, human values, etc. are not those the first seeds of American imperialism ? Besides, this novel may be hooked to the socio-political function of defining national identity and citizenship in opposition of the other, a fashionable practice in the post-independence United States of America, when the other was the British, the Indian, the African or the moor.

One may also say that, in addition to being an interesting example of the deliberate use of imaginative literature as an integral part of the nation-making progress, *The Algerine captive*, as a key opinion- shaper, belongs to that type of text in which the captive-narrator never loses control over the range of strategies he uses to tell his story, and he engages in what James Clifford would call a kind of “ the constant reconstitution of selves and others through specific exclusions, conventions and discursive practices”. Much similarly, this dissertation is entitled ‘*the representation of the Barbary shore...*’, but in fact, the major part of it is the representation of the late-eighteenth-century American thought by an early-twenty-first century citizen of one of the former states that made up the Barbary Shore of the time Algeria. All in all, at the risk of repeating ourselves, we may say actually, through his work, Tyler’s major concern as a “well-born” Yankee was not, as it may appear, the plight of the African slaves in the U.S.A but

rather the future of the young nation of his and the protection of its many values expressed either orally

or in written in the pre and post Revolution period. The lesson Tyler wanted teach to his fellow citizens was that a civilized people may believe in whatever God it wishes and wear or eat anything it fancies, but such a people may never hold slaves. These are premises to abolitionism.

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P a r t T w o

Mass and Feminine Captivity

Chapter Five: Feminine Captivity Narratives

The Barbary corsairs are the plague of nature, the pest of humankind, the tyrants of common liberty, the executioners of universal innocence, who incessantly harm by cruelties the unknown to the rest of men and which further surpass that of tigers and lions born in their country.¹

Introduction

This chapter deals with an account of an earlier urban captivity narrative with its increasingly and deeply inherent sentimental discourse. Martin's *A History of the Captivity and Sufferings of Mrs. Maria Martin was Six years a slave in Algiers*, (1807). The author manipulates in her narrative the transgression occasioned by captivity into a heroic that over the course of the eighteenth century would become more and more explicitly associated with nationalism. Maria Martin's text fulfills nationalist function because as a mother, she literally reproduces the body of the nation, which should be preserved. The narrative reflects the problematic aftermath of the revolution and the attendant anxieties of independence. Her text can be read as an allegory of the changing political and social conditions; it articulates an emergent identity for the new nation based on re-conception of virtue. Maria Martin's captivity and sentimental heroism also constructs a new notion of female power whose practice and limitations suggest those adopted by the government of the American republic. Maria Martin's virtue is, in fact, republican virtue, not in its classical form but as it was reconceived by post-revolutionary American federalists. However, the practice of political virtue also crossed the borders designated by the public sphere between the state and society to be transformed into something which contradicts its once defining characteristics.

There are several other aspects of Maria Martin's text and its history that severely undercut any straightforward reading of the narrative as a simple allegory of Western Enlightenment values versus Eastern barbarism. First, as previously mentioned, Martin's captivity narrative participates in a larger tradition of factual and fictional "captive narratives"

in which European settlers described their fate while held captive by Native Americans. Maria Martin's captivity narrative encourages readers to identify with the captive mother attempting to veil her violent act of agency beneath the urgency of this reproductive necessity. There is no doubt decoding a work of literature often entails knowledge of the circumstances that shaped the authors' fictional and non-fictional works, since these works can to greater or lesser extent articulate the conditions and the ideologies or the trends that marked the writers' time. In this respect, we find it necessary to give a detailed sketch about the context that shaped Martin's *A History of the Captivity and Sufferings of Mrs Maria Martin* (1807), so that we will be acquainted with what were external factors that might have influenced the making of the narrative. Given that we shall attempt in this chapter to explore the general context, dealing mainly with the hostile contact between the Christian European nations and the Muslim North African States in the fifteenth and early nineteenth centuries on the one hand, and the United States' tension with the North African regencies in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries on the other hand, we shall cast an eye on the echo of this conflict on both European and American writings on the North African Muslims. Moreover, we shall give an overview of the Barbary Captivity narrative genre in order to make the reader familiar with this genre. As we shall provide a description of the author's background and works, and the context of the production and publication of Martin's account.

Historical Context of the Barbary Narratives

Though the last crusade was in 1292, the « struggle between cross and crescent »² was soon renewed through the Islamic North African States' conflict with the Christian European nations from fifteenth to early nineteenth centuries, and the United States from the last decade of eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century. The ordinary reader may find this claim fallacious, and instead, he or she would probably argue that this conflict is merely commercial, and just a matter of who would have the upper hand in the Mediterranean.

Knowing that the Barbary States occupy an important space on the earth's surface; on the north, washed by the Mediterranean sea, furnishing such opportunities of prompt intercourse with Southern Europe, that Cato was able to exhibit in the Roman Senate figs freshly plucked in the gardens of Carthage. It is bounded on the east of Egypt, on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the south by the vast and infinite sandy wastes of Sahara separating them from Soudan. In the advantageous position they surpass every other part of Africa, except Egypt, communicating easily with the Christian nations and this, as it were, touching the very hem and border of civilization Of course, this view is with no doubt correct, but it is not the all truth. The religious ideology still lies at the core of this conflict. A glance back at the Mediterranean region and the United States of America at those periods of time will be sufficient to illuminate the essence of such hostility.

The Mediterranean Region: A Stage for a Military and Religious Clash Between North African States and Europe

Since the *Reconquesta* to the early nineteenth century, the Mediterranean basin had been a stage for a great conflict between the North African States and European Nations. The precise position and character of the territory, which was the 'seat of the evil' is related to demise of the kingdoms of Marinid, Zayanid, and Hafsid dynasties³ in the fifteenth century left the North African States prey to the Christian European powers, notably Spain and Portugal.⁴ They sent their naval forces to bombard and seize North African coastal cities. These expeditions, in fact, were « a disguise for crusading aggression, and a means of pressure for obtaining greedy commercial privileges and concessions. »⁵ But once under the sway of the Ottoman Empire, the configuration of power changed, and North African regencies became the masters of the Mediterranean. These states were, in fact, practicing corsairing across the Mediterranean basin. Their rulers (called emperor in Morocco, Dey in Algiers, Bey in Tunis, and Pasha in Tripoli) commissioned sea captains or what called Reis to

raid the Christian merchant ships in the Mediterranean. The crew of these ships were either held for ransom or auctioned in slave markets. This practice reached its height in the seventeenth century, when the Moors expelled from Spain between 1609 to 1614 and renegades from all over Europe played a great role in strengthening the fleet of the North African States through their mastery of art of sailing and of building ships that can sail for long period of time and in high seas. Consequently, the North African sea captains were able not only to rove the Mediterranean, but the Atlantic as well, reaching as far as Iceland. By the end of seventeenth century and the beginning century the Muslims of North Africa extended their power over the Mediterranean, and controlled the world commerce.

In order to guarantee a safe passage for their vessels, the European states were forced to sign peace treaties and thereby paying a yearly tribute to the North African government. England was the first European state that signed a peace treaty with Algiers in 1646⁶. In a similar way, France followed the steps of England and concluded treaties with Algiers and Tunis in 1665. Yet, these treaties were not respected, and the European states that were in peace with the Ottoman regencies often sent their squadrons to bombard or blockade the North Africa cities. For instance, England sent her squadron to Algiers in 1670, and France bombarded Tripoli in 1728. These expeditions were often doomed into failure and the European states were compelled again to renew their treaties with the governments of North Africa. As a fact be noted, corsairing was not solely limited to the North Africa States, but to the European nations as well. Famous of their practice were the states of southern Europe, chiefly, Spain, Malta, Sardinia, Monaco, and Tuscany.⁷ These states licensed corsairs to prey on the Muslim ships in the Mediterranean. A larger number of the Muslim Captives, especially from North Africa were to be found in Spain and Malta.⁸ The North African governments in their turn were obliged to follow the prevailing custom and thus paying ransoms to redeem their citizens.

Interestingly, corsairing for the European States was not held for an economic benefit as it was the case for the North African States, though, it will be a mistake to negate the fact that piracy for the Muslims of North Africa was held at first as a sort of *Jihad* against the Christians who had driven the Moors out of their homes in Spain. Soon, this practice lost its religious impetus and turned into a profitable enterprise that provided the North African governments with both wealth and dominance over the Mediterranean area. For the Christian European Nations, however, piracy which was essentially licensed by the papacy was another means utilized by those states in their Holy War against the ‘infidel’ Muslims. There is no wonder therefore, that order of St. John of Jerusalem, stationed first Rhodes and then at Malta preyed on more Muslim shipping, captured more booty, and took far more hostages than the North African [Reis] ever did.⁹

The last point discussed above compels us to return back to our earlier contention that the European conflict with the North African States another episode in the Christian Holy War against Muslims. The question that still persists here is why this religious hostility was renewed despite the fact the last conflict between cross and crescent ended by the victory of the former over the latter (the re-conquest of the Iberian Peninsula 1492). Nabil Matar answered this question, saying that it was the increasing number of the conversions from Christianity to Islam in the modern period that horrified the Christian European powers. In Matar’s words, « Islam exerted power and allure which resulted in drawing European Christians from their religion, Islam became the bone of Christendom ».¹⁰

By the late of eighteenth century and the first decade of nineteenth century the North African States were able for more than two centuries to repel all the European expeditions, and may be the last of these was with Spain in which Algiers defeated the Spaniards in Oran and took hold of the city in 1792. Spain, thus, was compelled to sign a treaty with Algiers like the other European states. It is of note, that despite that the North African regencies were able

until that period of time to maintain their control over the Mediterranean region; they were, in fact, in decline. Many historians believe that the demise of the North African regencies was unanticipated and unexpected, but if we try to consider the problems that started to appear within the North African States in the second half of eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, we will deduce that the decline of these states was inevitable ; These problems were mainly political such as, the rivalry between the North African regencies (each state wanted to control the Mediterranean and commerce with the European states), the defeat of the Ottoman Empire by the Hapsburg Empire, and the creation of dynasties by the North African rulers. The Europeans Nations, on the other hand were engaged in fighting each other. The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 and then the Napoleonic Wars led the European States to turn their attention from the Muslims of North Africa, and concentrate more on their new enemy, France.

The North African Muslims in the European Writings: Distortions and Prejudices

Undoubtedly, the contest between the Muslim of North Africa and the Christian European powers had its echo on the European corpus. In political tracts, histories, and imaginative writings, the representation of North African Muslims was full of distortions and prejudices. Perceived as « scourge of Christendom », ¹¹ the European writings painted frightening pictures to the Muslims of the Maghreb. They were portrayed as savages robbers, and hellish people who revel in enslaving, torturing, and murdering helpless Christians. Such demonizing representations, according to Daniel Vitkus, stem essentially from the Europeans » ‘fear of being conquered, captured, and converted». ¹²

John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon’s *Cato’s Letters* (1723) is an example of political tract that misrepresents the Muslims of North Africa. Like John Locke and Montesquieu, Trenchard and Gordon deploy Muslims as antithesis to the West’s freedom and democracy. In advancing the principles of liberty, they point to the Emperor of Morocco Mulley Ismail

(1672-1727) to condemn the evils of tyranny. He is depicted as an absolute despot who uses the 'divine right' to justify his illegal practices as the following excerpt testifies:

The emperor of Morocco, than whom a more inhuman butcher never lived, makes God the author of all his barbarities; and when he murders a slave (as he does every day) out of wantonness or wrath, he lifts up his eyes and says, *Tis [sic] God that does bit*: no man talks more of God and religion and he certainly thinks himself a most religious man.¹³

According to Trenchard and Gordon, the Moroccan emperor, whom is believed to be a descendent from the prophet, dispatched four thousand Moroccans.

The European histories' perception of the North African Muslims is similar to that of political philosophers and theorists. A seventeenth century French historian, Pierre Dan in his book entitled, *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires* (1649) describes the North African sea captains as the most dangerous pirates the world has ever seen. Perhaps the passage that we deployed to initiate this chapter is illustrate of that. In the same vein, his fellow citizen Diego de Haedo in his book *Topographie et histoire générale d'Alger* provides no more than that view impregnated with blind crusading hatred and aggressiveness against Islam and Algiers. »¹⁴. The subsequent passage illustrates better the point:

They here snap up a ship laden with gold and silver from India, and there another richly brought from Flanders : now they make prize of a vessel from England then from Portugal [...] in so much that before these corsairs have been absent from their adobes much longer than perhaps twenty or thirty days, they return home, rich with their vessels crowded with captives, and ready to sink with wealth ; in one instant, and with scarce any trouble, reaping the fruits of all avaricious Mexican and greedy Peruvian have been digging from the bowels of the earth with such toil and sweet, and the merchants with such manifest perils has for so long scraping together, and has been so many thousands leagues of fetch away, either from the east or the west with inexpressible danger and fatigue. Thus they have crammed most of the houses, the magazines and the shops of this Den of thieves, with gold, silver, pearls, amber, species, drugs, silks, cloths, velvets, &c., whereby they have rendered this city the most opulent in the word : insomuch that the Turks call it: not without reason, their India, their Mexico, and their Peru.¹⁵

As this long excerpt indicates, literature was used as another venue for the spread of these stereotypes. Perhaps good examples can be taken from the Elizabethan drama. At that time, it

was a fashion to introduce Moorish characters on the London stage. Interestingly, the Moorish characters are always depicted as ‘men of color’, or more explicitly black. Blackness, at one hand, is used as a distinctive aspect of these Oriental characters like in Shakespeare’s *Othello*. On the other hand, it denotes the Moor’s blackness of spirit. In other words, this physical trait (blackness) is deployed as sign of the Moor’s wickedness, his vicious nature, and as he represents the incarnation of the devil itself. These distorted images of Moors are also perpetuated in the English Barbary captivity narratives. Despite the fact that considerable number of these narratives are based on first-hand sources (eyewitness accounts), their representation of their Oriental North African captors derives, mainly, from legends about Muslims that had already accumulated in the European traditions rather than on actual observations. A hint about English captivity narratives will be given through our description of the genre in the subsequent chapter.

Post-Colonial America: Weakness, Fractions, and Wars in Foreign Soil

As a newly independent nation, the United States of America, between the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth century was a powerless nation, suffering from domestic and foreign problems. At the domestic level, the huge war debt, the weak economy, the lack of strong navy, the wars with the natives in the Northwest, the nation’s inability to control its territory (with the standing of the British, French, and the Spanish military forces in US borders), rebellions, and the debates over slavery, were, in fact, the major problems that plagued the new republic. The American policies to handle these problems, however, create a split between the government leaders, the Federalists and the Republicans; each opposed the other and each viewed their agenda as the appropriate one to conduct the nation’s policies. Their conflict was a real threat for the American national unity and for the future of the young country. At the foreign level, two main issues disturbed the United States: the harassment of the American merchant ships by the North African Reis and

the wars in Europe. The last issue will be dealt with in our subsequent discussion of the context of the production and publication of Martin's narrative. Now it seems more adequate to shed light on the United States' tension with the North African States.

The contest between the United States of America and the North African States started immediately after the United States independence, when the British Royal navy ceased to protect the American merchant ships. As a result they became a prime target for the North African sea captain. The *Betsey* was the first American vassal that was captured by the Moroccan sea captain in 1784. Thanks to the Spanish mediation, the crew of the vassal was released in 1785.¹⁶ Within the same year, the Algerine Reis seized two American ships, *Maria and Dauphin* and held their crews for ransom. As a weak nation that did not own the ransom monies, and even without a clear foreign policy, the negotiations between the American Diplomats (Thomas Jefferson, U.S.K ambassador to France, and John Adams, U.S ambassador to Great Britain) and the Algerine government were not successful. Thus, the new republic diplomacy failed to redeem its citizens.

The capture of eleven American trading vessels by the Algerine Reis in 1793, outraged the American federal government, and urged the president George Washington to follow the example of his European counterparts by concluding a treaty with Algiers in 1795 as an initial solution to this crisis. However, afraid that « the United States would become prey to every robber, pirates, and cheat », ¹⁷ Thomas Jefferson who became a president in 1801 rejected to persist in paying these humiliating tributes to the North African government and, instead, he decided to hold a military action against Tripoli (the Tripoli an War 1801-1805). This war, according to Robert Allison, « carried great ideological importance for the Americans. In essence, they imagined themselves doing what the nations of Europe had been unable or unwilling to do- beating the forces of Islamic despotism and piracy. »¹⁸ But in spite of that,

the United States continued paying to Tripoli. It was only until its war against Algiers in 1815 that The United States succeeded in ending the payment of tributes.¹⁹

A thorough analysis of the United States' conflict with the North African regencies may lead us to deduce that the conflict was more than a struggle for defending the commercial interest of the United States in the Mediterranean. « Americans at the time saw these episodes [American conflict with the North African States] as part of the contest between Christians and Muslims. »²⁰ The American war against Tripoli (180- 1805) was hailed by pope Pius VII who declared that « the Americans, with small force, and in a matter of few months, had done more against the Muslims infidels than all of the Christian Europe had for centuries. »²¹

The Images of North African Muslims in American Thought

The Americans inherited from their mother pejorative views about the North African Orient, conceiving it as « a vicious realm of inhuman bondage, unstable tyranny, illicit sensuality, and self luxury that symbolized the dangerous forces that threatened their fledgling political rights. »²² In fact, post-colonial Americans had poor knowledge of the North African Orient. Their information about this local derived mainly from the European writings which, in turn, shaped their perceptions of the North Africans and the Orient as a whole. For example political writings such as Thomas Paine's *common sense* (1775) or as John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon *Cato's Letters* not only influenced the ideals of the American Revolution but also influenced the American Founding Fathers' perception of the Muslims of North Africa. « George Washington, for example, called the North African States 'little piratical states », Jefferson referred to them as 'nests of banditti', and to Algiers particularly as 'pettifogging nest of robbers', John Adams called Muslim rulers unfeeling tyrants. »²³

American literature, on the other hand, found in their nation's conflict with the Muslim of North Africa an opportunity to make a rupture with the English literary sentimental and romantic rhetoric that dominate the American literary scene at the time and establish their

own native literature that reflects the American ideals and potentials through the American Barbary captivity narratives. But perhaps, for American writers, a rupture with all what is English or more generally European does not entail breaking with the European traditional clichés on Muslims and their faith. As for a newly independent nation with people from different cultural and racial backgrounds who do not know what it means to be an American, the reproduction of these clichés is essential in the resolution of the identity crisis in the post-colonial America.

Furthermore, American writers invoked the European Orientalist stereotypes in their writings about the Orientals of North Africa to confront the early republic's vulnerability and submission to Muslim masters. For Americans, these writings represent their cultural triumph over what they perceived as a 'decayed' and 'barbaric' North African culture.

Overview of the Barbary Captivity Narrative Genre

Among the diverse Western literary genres that came to the fore in the early modern era is the Barbary captivity narrative, a genre that introduced the Orient to both English and American readership. The Barbary captivity narratives can be defined as a body of texts that document the enslavement of Christian Western sailors in the North African States from fifteenth century to nineteenth century. Through this brief definition, one may fall into the mistake of recognizing that these narratives are only factual (concerned with the authentic experience of the captives), but the crucial truth is that in addition to factual accounts there are also fictional narratives, « Texts that mixed the narrative pattern and imagery of the factual accounts with fictional protagonists and plot line. »²⁴ It is of note that these fictional narratives were often regarded as fact.

There are common themes in Barbary captivity narratives. One of these themes is the antagonism between Islam and Christianity. The accounts of Barbary captivity can be regarded as a medium through which the West articulates its fear and hatred for Islam. These

narratives helped popularize a false image of Islam and Muslims. Islam is always portrayed as a religion of licentiousness, despotism and tyranny, while Christianity appears as a religion of virtue, tolerance and freedom. Generally, this theme is enhanced through the use of crusading vocabulary such as 'Mohammedanism' and 'Mohametans' in reference to Islam and its believers. The two terms were invented by the crusades in order to raise hatred against Islam. For Muslims the two terms are abusive, because they allude to the fact that Islam was founded by Mohammad and therefore takes its name. Whereas the real truth is that Muhammad is only a mortal being commissioned by God to deliver his message. Royall Tyler for example' deploys the term 'Mohametan in his novel *The Algerine Captive*. These accounts also deal with themes that are related to domestic issues. According to Linda Colley, « Captives were more than just helpless individuals abroad: they were often foci of anxiety at home. »²⁵ Examples of such domestic problems are: slavery, or as we have stated earlier; the crisis of identity or gender discrimination.

Regarding the form of Barbary captivity Narratives, our discussion will be limited to the explanation of plot structure, narration, and finally the ethnography mode. Starting with plot, it is important to notice that most of the Barbary captivity narratives have the same chronology. They are arranged around three phases: Captivity, enslavement, and redemption. Concerning narration, the authors of these accounts often employ the first- person narrative. This means that, the narrator is the story teller, the author, and the protagonist. As far as the ethnography mode is concerned, the protagonist of the story often turns into an ethnographer who tries to provide the readers with a detailed description of the history, the religion, language, and customs and traditions of the local where he or she was confined in. According to Nabil Matar, the Christian slaves' direct contact with the North Africans allowed them to provide a firsthand description of their captors' culture.²⁶ While for Joe Snader, the presence of the ethnographic in Barbary captivity accounts serves to scorn the Muslim captor's

cultural traits, on the one hand, and to emphasize the Christian captive's cultural insularity on the other.²⁷ Earlier in date than American Barbary captivity narratives, the genre entered the English literary tradition in the Elizabethan period. A series of printed texts started to appear in England, describing the British captives' subjugation by the North African Sea captains, their efforts to escape, and their return to their homeland. Prominent examples of factual accounts of English Captives in North Africa are those of William Okeley's *Ebenezer or a small Monument of Great Mercy* (1675) and Joseph Pitt's *A true and Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammedans* (1705),²⁸ Although Daniel Defoe's novel *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) contained only one episode of English captivity in North Africa, which is that of the hero's enslavement in Morocco, Defoe's novel does form a part of fictional accounts of English Barbary Captivity. However, the Barbary captivity narratives genre made its way to American literature in the late of eighteenth century. Nonetheless, its early roots stretched back to seventeenth century through two surviving North American Barbary captivity narratives by Abraham Browne and Joshua Gee. The former was a captive in Morocco in 1655, and spent only three months. The latter was imprisoned in Algiers and spent seven years under captivity (1680-1687). According to Paul Baepler, Gee's fragmented account « Didn't see print until 1943 ».²⁹

It is worth mentioning that the American Barbary captivity narratives genre flourished alongside another popular genre called the Indian captivity narratives, accounts of North American settlers about Native Americans. Though the two captivities occurred in different settings, they both seem like a morality play that depicts the struggle between the forces of evil embodied in the innocent Americans. Published mainly in newspapers and magazines, the accounts of American captivity in North Africa became immensely popular during the tension between the United States and North African States. The American readers were eager to know the tales of their fellow citizens' enslavement in the North African Orient. As a result, a

huge number of captivity accounts were written and published, and even some of these narratives saw more than one edition within the same year of their publication. Examples of these narratives are: Mathew Carey's *A Short Account of Algiers and its Several Wars* (1794), Susanna Rawson's *Slaves in Algiers* (1794), Royall Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* (1797), and William Ray's *Horrors of Slavery* (1808). These narratives have played a great role in shaping the Americans' attitudes towards the Muslims of the North African orient.

Maria Martin's Biography

Maria Martin's life is unknown. In her account, she mentions that she is English, born in 1779, and a wife of Henry Martin, a commander in a ship of the British East Indian Company. She has been a captive in Algiers for six years (188-11806). Yet, this information is not trustworthy since Maria's account is fictional. Her novel has been regarded as an entrée into the heated debate about the social responsibilities of authorships, the operative understanding of the power of narrative representation, the didacticism of sentimental literature, the role of imagination in the reader's creation of the meaning of the text, the role of the cult of sensibility or cultivated emotions in the composition and reception of the novel, and the topos of Barbary captivity as an instance of the American virtue-in distress.

Summary of Maria Martin's Narrative

A History of the Captivity and Sufferings of Mrs Maria Martin is a fictionalized account about English woman held as a captive in Algiers for six years (1800-1806). This narrative saw its first printing in 1807 by William Cary,³⁰ and went into eleven editions between the years of its first publication to 1816. It is worth noticing that these editions do not have the same content, and that even in one of these editions which is that of 1810, the writer was given a name of Lucida Martin. Another important point to mention is that Martin's account is a modified version of Mathew Cary's *A Short Account of Algiers* (1714), and Mary Velnet's *An Affecting History of the Captivity and Sufferings of Mrs Mary Velnet* (1804).³¹

The chronology of Maria Martin's narrative can be summarized as the following. Maria Martin sets sail with her husband to Minorca in 1800. During this voyage their ship is struck by a storm and ultimately shipwrecked off the shores of Ténès (Algeria). There, the three survivors (Maria Martin, her husband, and a clerk) encounter the inhabitant of the region (most of them were Moors) who in their turn declare the party as their prisoners and take them to be sold in a slave market. Maria Martin is separated from her husband and sold to a Turkish official who leads her to his house to join his slaves. After three years, the Turkish master asks Mrs Martin to be his concubine. Mrs Maria rejects his offer. As a result, she is confined in an old castle loaded by chains and suffering from starvation, pain, and, loneliness. At the end, Mrs Maria is released by the British Consul and sent to her father's home in England in 1806. Few months later, Mrs Maria is unified with her husband.

Context of Publication

Martin's account was produced and published during the republican era. Having been a captive in Algiers for six years (1800-1806), it is believed that Martin wrote her account during that period, a year after her return in 1807, her account was published. If we try to consider the period in which Martin's narrative was produced in (1800-1806) we shall find that the circumstances of the production of Martin's work was nearly the same as that of Tyler's. What makes the exception is that United States under Thomas Jefferson was able to take the profit of the weaknesses that started to appear in the North African States, and therefore, declared a war on Tripoli in 1801, after refusing to pay the tribute demanded by the Pasha of Tripoli, Yusuf Karamanli. In what was known as the Tripolitan War, the United States for the first time used its navy, and also fought her first wars in foreign lands.

When Maria martin's account was published in 1807, the United States was trying to avoid the entanglement in the conflict between Great Britain and France that was renewed in 1803, but in vain. The country found herself drawn in the conflict as each side seized the

ships that carried goods or stopped in the ports of the other. The American trading ships were the first victims of this policy. The situation climaxed in 1807 when a British frigate opened fire on an American ship, killing and wounding its crew. Jefferson's reaction was to hold Congress to sign the *Embargo Act* in 1807 that prohibited the American ship from leaving U.S ports. In 1807, moreover, the United States again was confronted with another tension with Algiers. The main reason for such crisis is the United States' delay to deliver maritime stores to the Algerine government as stipulated by the treaty of 1795. As to put pressure on the American government to respect the treaty, the Dey Ahmed Khoja (1805-1808) sent out sea captains who capture two Americans merchants. At the end the United States found herself obliged to honor the promise, and thus the American captives were released.³² Overall, Martin's captivity account was written and published in moment of sharp division between the federalists and republicans generated by their different agendas in handling the infant nation domestic problems, and in dealing with the United States tension with Great Britain and France. The issue of the North African sea captains, according to Jared Gardner, came here only to create a sense of political unity against an Oriental outsider.³³ Tyler in his novel deploys the latter to serve the same function (political Unity).

In the light of what has been stated in this section, we may come to the conclusion that Martin's *A History of Captivity and Sufferings of Mrs Maria Martin* was generated in circumstances that were characterized by a religious hostilities and struggle for the control of the Mediterranean basin between the Christian West and the Muslim North African States. The European powers saw the Muslims of North Africa, maritime power at that period of time, not only as a threat for their commerce in the Mediterranean, but also a threat for Christendom. The conflict found its echo in European writings. Fed by a crusading hatred to Muslims and their faith, these writings perpetuated distorted images about the Orientals of North Africa. More importantly, the United States, in the late and early eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries, did not enjoy any military or economic power over the North African States. It was a nation that « seemed itself a captive to dissension and disunity. »³⁴ Nevertheless, with a European background and heritage, the infant nation attempted to counter her weaknesses through cultural forms that would reflect in different writings the tension between her and the North African States and exhibit the new nation's ability to survive in those times. Perhaps we may at the end of this chapter raise a fundamental question: to which extent these circumstances will influence Tyler's and Martin's perception of the North American Muslims. Certainly the answer will be in the subsequent sections.

Orientalism in Maria Martin's Captivity Narrative

I quickly felt him forcing his way into me, with fury that caused me to scream anguish; my petitions, supplications, and tears were of no use. I was on the alter, and, butcher-like, he was determined to complete the sacrifice; indeed, my cries seemed only to incite him to finishing of my ruin, and sucking my lips and breasts with fury, he unrelentingly rooted up all the obstacles my virginity offered, tearing and cutting me to pieces.³⁵

Emily Barlow

Introduction

In the two first decades of the nineteenth century the American literary scene witnessed a resurgence of female Barbary captivity narratives that emerged as to fulfill the American readership demand for “‘true’ African captivity tales, particularly accounts of women in peril.”³⁶ These female-authored tales were, written by English women who experienced captivity in North Africa, nevertheless, they were popularized as American writings. In general, the female Barbary captivity narratives recount the same story; a western, woman captured by the North African sea captains, separated from her male companion and led to her captor's harem or seraglio³⁷ where she either recounts the story of her rape by her captor or her ‘heroic’ resistance of sexual predation. Importantly, like male's accounts of Barbary captivity, the female Barbary captivity tales are among the earliest writings that shaped the American perception of the Muslim world in general and the Orientals of North

African in particular. Having said that, our mission in this chapter is to highlight the Orientalist traditions in Maria Martin's *A history of the Captivity and Suffering of Mrs. Maria Martin*, dealing with through with heroism of resistance through resisting sexual assault, her mastery of her captor's culture through ethnography seeing the way the female gaze represented this culture, and finally the role of Martin's captivity in identity formation.

Female Heroism: Resisting Sexual Predation

As a common Orientalist stereotype, the Orient was perceived by the West "as a world of polymorphous, uncontrollable, and predacious sexuality."³⁸ As such as, the Western women captives' sexual assault in the North African Orient was predictable in both factual and fictional female Barbary captivity narratives. In Penelope Aubin's *Noble Slaves* (1722), for instance, one captive husband anticipated the fate of his wife after their capture by the Algerine sea captains: "you will be ravished from me by some powerful infidel, who will adore your charms, and forced you to his cursed embraces."³⁹ However, most often in female Barbary captivity narrative, women captives save themselves from that fate, by exhibiting a heroic defense for the preservation of their virtue. In this vein, Paul Baepler contends that women in Barbary captivity narratives "often gauged their moral strength by facing extreme adversity and bearing physical pain."⁴⁰ Similarly, Khalid Bekkaoui in the introduction of his anthology *White Women Captives in North Africa* interprets the Christian women captives' vigorous defenses against sexual predation as a type of heroism:

In female-authored narratives... women acquire remarkable agency; flouting infidel sexual predation is a recurrent trope. Though the captive maiden is dragged into alien lands, sequestered from her male compatriots (crew and passengers), and actually menaced by foreign masculinity, she emerges as defiant, spirited, and steadfast, absolutely immune to temptation.⁴¹

Maria Martin is an illustrative example in case. She constructs her heroism through rejecting submission to her captor's sexual desires. After having separated from her husband and sold to a Turkish official, Martin finds herself alone confronting her captor's sexual advances. She

has either to accept to be a concubine and thus enjoying liberty and the luxurious life of the women of the harem or seraglio (as it is often described in female Barbary captivity tales), or death. Like Samuel Richardson's heroines, Martin chooses the second alternative. She reinforces her refusal in the standard eighteenth-century language of heroic sexual self-defense: "no! I will sooner suffer death."⁴² According to Joe Snader, this declaration "compresses the drama of besieged chastity with the orientalist vision of the East as a place without the protection of laws, where absolute tyranny can exercise political power over vassals, and sexual power over virgins."⁴³

To reinforce her heroic preservation of her chastity, Martin's decision not to subdue to her captor's lust is followed by scenes depicting idealized virtuous Christian woman enduring torture and physical ordeal. After refusing her captor's offer, Martin is confined in lightless dungeon where she is chained by the neck and waist to the wall, suffering pain, illness, and starvation. Sentimentalizing her abject situation, she states.

What must a 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 were, with no refreshment but dry moldy bread, without so much as a drop of broth, without a consoling friend, and who under all these afflictions, trust for her recovery to the effort of nature alone!⁴⁴

The excerpt encapsulates the informing religious and moral worldview of the sentimental novel: the virtuous will be rewarded with happiness in the end, even though they suffer terribly beforehand, because divine providence has so ordered the world. At the same time, Martin's work is linked to the earlier tradition of captivity narratives; the passage marks it as also belonging to newer genre of sentimental literature that embodies American virtue and liberty. With the lack of any recourse, Martin, like the female captives of Puritan captivity narratives, devotedly, appeals to God's mercy. Thus, God's providence, ultimately, rescues and grants her freedom. Maria Martin's heroism is constructed in juxtaposition to a terrifying of her captor. She describes him as "blood-thirsty, cruel and inhuman monster, who... had put

several of his slaves to death for no grater fault than that complaining of indisposition, and an inability to perform their daily tasks.”⁴⁵ Martin encounters Christian captives, some of whom “had lost a limb, some an eye and others nails of their fingers”;⁴⁶ marks that, according to Martin, bear witness of her master severity. She, moreover,, recounts stories that denotes her captor’s ‘cruelty’ One story is told by her befriend Malcolm about an English captive who tries to convey information about his captivity to the English Consul at Algiers. The slave is punished by having “his nail had been torn from his fingers and toes, and his whole body lacerated in a manner not be described.”⁴⁷ As a fact to be noted, Maria Martin’s enhances this frightening portrait of her captor by the use of the epithet Turk in reference to her captor. The work Turk here does not denote Martin’s captor’s identity, since Baepler contends that when female captive states that her captor is a Turk this means that he is a sea captain. But as for Martin, she deploys the epithet Turk as a connotation of her captor’s ‘cruelty’ and ‘ferocity’.

Perhaps through his exaggerated terrifying portrait of Martin’s captor one cannot help but ask himself how can for a lonely, powerless women, be able to stand in front of a captor whom she portrays as a ‘monster’, and say no to him. The very answer to this question came from Timothy Marr’s work *The Cultural Roots of American Islamism*. In this book, Marr traces the history of the American engagement and perception of the Muslim world in a variety of literary works. Taking American women’s writings about the Muslim world during America’s crisis with the North African States as an example, Marr argues that women writers often deploy clichés of Ortiental despotism and licentiousness to bolster what he terms as ‘imperialism of virtue’, “the democratic vigor of American gender performance that celebrated the fortitude of female virtue and the viability of male valor in the face of global challenges.”⁴⁸ According to Marr the imperialism of virtue “enables the female captives to be moral revolutionaries in the Muslim context,”⁴⁹ able to undermine the power of their captor and convert them to their own ideals and values. In Susanna Rawson’s play *Slaves in Algiers*

(1794), for instances, the American women protagonists not only challenge their captors and maintain their virtue but they are also able to ‘democratize’ what they perceive as ‘tyrannical’ and ‘lascivious’ captors’ through teaching them the blessing of American liberty.

The mission of democratizing or converting the Oriental of North Africa to American culture and values is not typical to female-authored narratives. In Peter Markoe’s *The Algerine Spy in Pennsylvania* (1787), Mahomet, an Algerine sent to America by the Dey in a spying mission, influenced by the American values and ideals, he “renounces his country and adopts America as his homeland.”⁵⁰ In fact, Maria Martin does not undertake this role (democratizing her captor), her ‘imperialism of virtue’ is limited to an exhibition of her fortitude in maintaining her virtue which ultimately depose the, power of her captors. The Moors of Algiers, according to Martin, were mistrustful to the last degree, false, jealous, and the very picture of ignorance. They abominate the Christians, for the very word in their language signifies dog; and are continually seeking means to destroy them.¶ Martin explained to her readers that the Moors were like this because —Mahomet has 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. Martin’s construction of Islam is not only revealing in and of itself, but Martin’s narrative also reinforces the notion that Islam encouraged, even rewarded, violence against Christians. Accordingly, we may deduce that women virtue is deployed by Americans as a triumph over the Muslims of the Maghreb. Interestingly, in male-authored narrative, the male protagonists’ sexual intercourse with Muslim women has the same purpose. Khalid Bekkaoui writes:

The Christian slave’s sexual conquest of Muslim femininity is useful for his struggle for selfhood and freedom. The black patriarch is almost by definition a powerful governor, naval – captain wealthy merchant, spiritual leader, or even a dread monarch. So by subjugating and appropriating infidel femininity, the slave metaphorically achieves spiritual and cultural authority over Otherness.⁵¹

Martin's Heroism Against Gender Discrimination

Another function of female heroism in Muslim land is to challenge the conventional perception that women are by nature vulnerable and helpless and are in need of male protection. Such view was perpetuated in early American writings mainly through the theme of seduction, notably in works such as William Hill Brown's *The Power of Sympathy* (1789), and Susanna Rawson's *Charlotte Temple* (1791). The heroines of these works are depicted as morally weak and vulnerable to temptation. Similarly, in both British and American male Barbary captivity narratives, female captives often appear as "passive victims, sexually conquerable, and culturally malleable."⁵² They often rely on male captive's help to rescue themselves from their captors. In female captivity narratives, however, the white male captives' assistances prove to be inadequate. As to whom their autonomy and power, women captive alone, actively rely on themselves and confront sexual assaults, because submission to their captors is a sign of their femininity. In some cases, women captives even restore to violence to prevent their rape and to affect their escape. In some female Barbary Captivity tales we find female protagonists who are able to attack their captors, set fire in the seraglio, and free the women slaves. For instance, Emilia, a heroine of Aubin's *Noble Slaves*, stabs her master with his own dagger.

Maria Martin in her stalwart defenses of her chastity does not attack her captor or commit any violent act. She patiently ⁵³waits for redemption. But as she resists her captor and endures a physical ordeal for three years, Martin wants to prove to her readers that "[she] was capable of suffering what man had never suffered before."⁵⁴ A claim denotes that women are no longer the weaker sex that needs the protection of man; instead women can withstand what men cannot. Yet it should be noted that Martin's survival in Algiers is partly due to Malcolm's assistance. Marin acknowledges that, "in him I found a real and valuable friend, and without the assistance and aid of whom, I should probability at this moment have been

still held in a better captivity.”⁵⁵ It is Malcolm who encourages and incites Maria Martin to reject submission to the Turkish captor’s wishes; “fear not, do not be terrified at his threats, he will not doubt do everything in his power to compel you to comply with his request, but should he attempt any such things against your will , he will lose his head.”⁵⁶ Furthermore, Martin’s redemption at the end of the tale is due to Malcolm’s effort. He escape to Algiers to meet the British Consul and tell him about the woman captive’s miseries. Martin, thereafter, is freed. Hence, it is true that Martin is able to challenge the conventional image of women through her heroic defense of her virtue, nonetheless, she does not relegate the male captive a marginal position as any female-authored narratives. Her reliance on Malcolm proves that the male’s aid in foreign is needed.

In the light of the above, we conclude this section by arguing that Maria Martin constructs her heroism of resistance through her valiant defense of her chastity. Martin’s heroism in the North African Orient has three implications (throughout this section we have cast an eye on two implications; the third one will be dealt with in the last section of this chapter). The first implication is to thwart the power of her captor which, metaphorically, can be read as America’s triumph over Algiers. Second, Martin’s heroism works as to transgress the prescribed female role by constructing an unconventional image of women. That is, bold powerful, and self reliant women who are able to stand for and challenge powerful captors.

Ethnography Through a Female Gaze

Ethnography is an area that presents the female captive mastery over the Oriental culture; a mastery that reveals the Western women captives’ complicity in advancing what Diane Long Hoeveler labels as ‘a female imperialist gaze toward the Oriental sphere,’⁵⁷ which in turn challenges the argument of the inadequacy of female nature to the demands of empire. In This sense, like their male counterparts, female captive protagonists’ dissection of North African societies often promotes “sarcastic and derogatory content for social, religious,

and political organization of the Muslim world.”⁵⁸ Certainly, Maria Martin is no exception. She manages to provide her readers with ethnographic information about the Algerines’ manners and customs. It is worth mentioning that Martin’s description of the Algerine society is entirely plagiarized from William Rufus Chetwood” *The Voyages and Adventures of Captain Robert Boyle* (1726), this is, partly due to the fabricated nature of Martin’s text.

More often, the female captive’s analysis of the culture that enslaved her is basically centered on the description of her captor’s harem (seraglio) since this feminine space was only open to women slaves, while “male captives were confined in masculine spaces: the bagnios, building sites, dockyards, the army, the weapon factories, or corsairs galleys.”⁵⁹ This is what explained the absence of the ethnographic description of the seraglio in male-authored captivity narratives. In unexpected way, Maria Martin in her sketch of Algiers does not refer to her captor’s harem. She solely mentions the female slaves whom she labors with in the kitchen of her captor’s house. Perhaps Martin does not deal with her captor’s harem in order to elide any suspicious about her chastity. Unlike Updike Underhill who adopts a tone seemingly scientific objectivity in his analysis of Algiers, Martin’s ethnographic description of the Algerines’ manners and customs is in the tone of personal vituperation. As she handles the inhabitants of Ténès, categorizing them into Moors and Turks, She describes the former as people “of tawny complexion, of a lazy, idle disposition, and cursed with all the vices of mankind; mistrustful to the last degree, false, jealous, and the very picture of ignorance.”⁶⁰ In a similar way, she portrays the Turks as “a wretched crew of indigent, ragged, thievish fellows,” and who “treat their slaves very barbarously, at night they confine them in dungeons and in the day time compel them to toil in chains, and frequently allowing them only a little bread and water.”⁶¹ It is clear here that Martin paints a hostile image of her captors.

On their faith, Maria Martin depicts Islam as an enemy to Christendom. For her, Muslims have antagonistic attitudes towards Christians because in her view, Islam incites its

believers to abominate and fight the Christians. She deploys the epithet “Christian dogs” in order to stress on the Muslim’s and-Christian feelings. Furthermore, Martin portrays Islam as a religion of polygamy, alluring that Islam grants women derogatory status by permitting such practice. Interestingly, in Tyler’s *The Algerine Captive*, Updike Underhill subverts this Western preconceived notion of Islam’s polygamy by acknowledging the fact that most males satisfy themselves with solely one wife.

In her description of the Vadi (the local governor of Ténès), Martin confirms the Orientalist Stereotype of the Muslims’ tyranny and brutality. For her the Cad “only differs from his subjects in the larger propensity to their ill qualities, with the addition of a degree of cruelty and avarice.”⁶² As to reveal the Cadi’s severity Martin recounts an incident about a workman who is arbitrary punished by the Cadi who repeatedly strikes the workman with a dart as the latter, compliantly, returns the weapon after each blow. It is worth noticing that for Martin, brutality is not limited to the Muslim males, but females as well. An instance of that is her captor’s governess whom according to her:

The wretch would not infrequently compel us for the least offence to strip ourselves naked, and [...] throw hot embers and coals of fire into our bosoms; and shocking as it may appear, she in my presence deprived of life a poor unfortunate girl by strewing her naked body with hot rice.⁶³

In Khalid Bekkaoui’s terms this scene ‘evoked eroticized violence.’⁶⁴ Martin’s analysis of the Algerine government is too brief. She like most of Barbary captivity protagonists portrays the Algerine government as tyrannical. According to Martin, it is the Government of Algiers despotism that renders the Moors of Ténès generates. Yet, for Martin the Moors are unconscious of such political oppression, and instead, they enjoy tolerable share happiness.⁶⁵

In regard to the portrayal of Muslim women in Martin’s ethnographic record, one may observe that she remains faithful to the representation of Muslim women in most Western writings, in which they appear as objects and victims oppressed by their patriarchal society. According to Hoveler, British middle class writers like Elizabeth March, Eliza Haywood, and

Penelope Aubin all depicted the Algerine women as “either pawns or abused sex slaves.”⁶⁶ When Martin describes the women’s way of dressing she refers to the veil. For Westerns, the veil is a metaphor for the Muslim female subjugation and enslavement. Elsewhere while dealing with the Moors’ marriages, Martin depicts the Moorish women as mere objects solely to be purchased and sold. In *The Algerine Captive*, however, we are encountered with different representation of the Muslim women. Updike admits that the Algerine women “enjoy greater liberty than is generally conceived”.⁶⁷ Yet, Updike is still largely reliant on a preconceived stereotyping of the sexualized Eastern women, when claiming that “the women take great liberties in this general disguise [the veil].”⁶⁸ As the Veil allows women to move freely without being detected, Updike here is hinting that the veil grants the Muslim women freedom to engage in subjective sexual acts.

Other ethnographic descriptions about the Ténès inhabitants’ manners and customs focus on their ‘ignorance’ ‘irrationality’ and ‘laziness’. Martin finds the inhabitants of Ténès ignorant and most of them illiterate, though some of them have a little knowledge of astronomy “their system of astronomy is ... so replete with fable and absurdities”.⁶⁹ Ann Thomson in her book, *Barbary and Enlightenment: European Attitudes Towards the Maghreb in the 18th Century*, point out that Western writers often associates the alleged ignorance of the inhabitants of North Africa to their religion.⁷⁰ Martin does not explicitly state that, but the idea is doubtless in her mind. Moreover, she depicts the Moors as lazy people who spent their times in ‘smoking, telling merry tales... singing or dancing.’⁷¹ Additionally, Martin during her captivity in Algiers observes some Moors stripping naked and sitting on their clothes in rain storms. Martin cannot help but laughing at their ‘irrationality’.

From what has been stated in this section one may say that, as a middle class woman, Martin’s ethnographic analysis of the Algerine society reinforces an imperialist assumption of the West cultural superiority through inferior stereotyping of her captor’s culture. At the same

time Martin's mastery of the local that enslaves her enables her to exercise agency and even authority over her captor's.

Identity Construction: The Algerine Licentiousness vs the American Virtue

The female captive's heroic defense of her chastity has been read by critics and literary historians like Joe Snader, Robin Miskolcze, and Khalid Bekkaoui as an action having nationalist implications. Snader writes "within the framework of oppositions between oriental despotism and the free-born Western subjects, chastity assumes national importance as a field in which limited female autonomy can be defined against images of Oriental predation."⁷² Likewise, Miskolcze points out that the western female captive's preservation of her virtue in foreign lands "reinforced dominant notions of morality so integral to the definition on national identity."⁷³ In this sense, Postcolonial Americans in their process of forming national identity tended to rely on the sexual experiences of British female captives in North Africa in order to define their nation as virtuous in contrast to images of Oriental sexual lust perpetuated by these narratives. Miskolcze maintains that "English women recounted tales of captivity made room for Americans to conflate Englishness and Americanness into an Anglo-American identity. Such conflation facilitated a rationalization for racial superiority with both the U.S and abroad."⁷⁴ Indeed, images of North Africa captors as lustful rapists, incapable to control their passion on one hand, and idealized virtuous female captives struggling to maintain their chastity despite peril, on the other hand reinforce, in fact, the binary opposition or the dichotomy of eastern licentiousness and that of America in particular.

As a fact to be noted, the harem in these narratives is the epitome of the Oriental North African 'licentiousness'; a site of sexual debauchery that holds a number of women all working to fulfill the Muslim male's sexual desires. Robert Allison in his book *The Crescent Obscured: the United States and the Muslim World, 1776-1815* argues that the harem is also an emblem of the North Africans 'political tyranny:

Westerns saw the eighteenth-century Muslim world as a wicked mix of political tyranny and will sex. The lustful appetites for Muslim rulers for political or sexual power were not restrained by either social or moral codes. In fact, sexual tyranny became the ultimate for of Muslim political tyranny, as Western magazines, newspapers, plays and novels reported on the unrestrained sexual conquests of Muslim rulers, who supposedly kept large harems or seraglios filled with beautiful women, all slaves to the tyrant's lust whose only function was to gratify his libidinous appetite.⁷⁵

Accordingly, the harem is both used to portray Muslims as licentious and despotic and in this way defining the West as moral and democratic. Maria Martin in her *Captivity* tale does not derogate to the rule. She appeals to images of the Algerines' 'sexual lust' in order to establish the dichotomy of eastern licentiousness and Western virtue. May be the question that comes to our reader's mind is why we have solely foregrounded this binary opposition, while in the previous section we have shown that Martin's ethnographic description of her captor's culture establishes different dichotomies like West's rationality and the East's irrationality, the West's civilization and the east's backwardness, the West's freedom and east despotism, which are all usable in Americans' self construction. Of course our reader is absolutely right, but the reason that holds us to handle only the dichotomy of the Algerine licentiousness and American virtue in dealing with American identity formation is because it is so prominent and recurrent in female-authored texts.

Robin Miskolcze argues that "middle class- Anglo women consistently conceived as the moral and Christian strongholds of the home."⁷⁶ Thus, submission to the Oriental Muslim captors means a violation of the female captive's nation and religion. When Martin rejects her captor's offer to serve as a concubine she claims "I would never consent to gratify him in his unlawful request, as it would be in direct violation of the laws of my God and my Country."⁷⁷ For her, chastity is a sign of her nation's integrity and a symbol of her religion morality as Islam is conceived as religion that encourages sexual licentiousness are through its sanction of polygamy and concubinage. Here again, religious hostilities are central to Martin's narratives. By showing Islam as immoral religion Martin defines her religious identity as moral.

Martin's maintenance of her chastity is contrasted to the representation of her captors as sexual promiscuous people. Perhaps, the first thing that denotes such stereotype is the picture that appears in Martin's tale."⁷⁸ It depicts the heroine as bare-breasted loaded with heavy chains which is quietly refers to the Algerines' 'sexual violence'. Another sexual stereotype is about her captor. As we have stated in the previous section, Martin does not venture into describing her captor's harem, but she states that he is polygamous and owing many concubines and almost ruins her life because she rejects to gratify his sexual desires additionally, while describing the Cadi in her sketches of the inhabitants of *ténès*, she claims that he's much addicted to women, having no less than four hundred concubines.⁷⁹ This exaggerated number of concubines can only but reinforce a picture of the sexual depravity of her captors in contrast to her virtuousness.

Overall, we have seen in this section that identity construction in female Barbary captivity accounts depends on the captive's ability to resist sexual assault. As for Martin, through preservation of her chastity she becomes a symbol, representing America's virtuous identity. In this way Maria Martin "becomes the protector of racial divisions and cultural boundaries."⁸⁰ Her story becomes that of the American virtue triumphing in the end. It leads the reader to a heightened appreciation of God's goodness and providence. Absent, though, is the Puritan emphasis on the fallen, sinful nature of mankind, instead, one finds an optimism concerning the innate goodness of human beings, at those of the "better sort"; and this is characteristic of sentimental literature at large and marks a significant change from religious anthropology of the Puritans. It is in the light of these developments that we can better understand the tremendous upsurge in interest in recording the manners, customs and beliefs of peoples around the world, including the North African people. By gathering and ordering these objective facts, it was believed, it would allow one to determine the degree of humanity these people possessed or lacked.

Conclusion

In the light of what has been said so far, one way conclude that Maria Martin's *A Journal of the Captivity and Sufferings of Mrs Maria Martin*, Offers an earliest female Orientalist glimpse at ten oriental North Africa. Through her captivity in Algiers, Martin paints a derogatory picture to the Algerines as being barbaric, licentious, brutal, irrational, lazy and despotic. These stereotypes are deployed to define her identity in contrast to that of her captors, and thus reassuring the supposedly superior Western culture and promoting earliest imperialist agenda in Algiers. Simultaneously, they serve to resist challenges to women's traditional role. More significantly, the author constructs reductive image of the Algerine religion because it is portrayed as an extremist and a regressive religion. Martin, like the author American and English authors is unable to break free from the centuries' long sphere of negativity that has been built around representation of Islam and Muslims by European then American writers. Influences of Orientalists' discursive structures are visible in Maria Martin's narrative representation. Several strategies of representation have been used by her. For instance, typecasting, generalization, and East/ West split. Martin, not alone, conforms to representational techniques; but, also reinforces typical images of the Algerines and their Muslim religion. Images of demonical images and figures are in abundance. Islam and Muslims have been described in terms of violence, barbarism, superstitions, and low status of women that were specific of Orientalists' traditions.

Maria Martin represents a generalized and superficial view of Islam as no effort has been made to differentiate between Islam and violence. She rather shows Algerine Muslims on two extremes: one has too much religion and the other has too much irreligion or superstition. If religion is to be followed (Islam or any other religion), certain restrictions automatically apply. Islam (or any other religion), for an objective author at least, lie somewhere between these two extremes. Large pronouncements have been made in terms of

Islam such as Maria Martin suggests that socializing with people of other religions is forbidden in Islam that portrays Muslims as isolationists. Moreover she carelessly lumps together Islam and barbarism. In narrative, Islam is the reason of North/South division, which are fully capable of assimilation in West because of their indifference to religion. In short, this chapter has made clear the Maria Martin's text generates negative images of North Africans and their Islam; her discourse on the Algerines and their religion can be classified as a byproduct of the othering Western discourses.

This chapter has traced the discursive exchanges between gender and American nation in the eighteenth century when representation of female shifted from a helpless figure of threatened sexual virtue to a powerful figure of national virtue, articulating an emergent American autonomy and authority. The rhetorical figure of Martin's captivity functions as one of the sites in and through which the new republic articulated its conception of power through the dialectic between corruption and virtue and the effort to protect freedom, the force power that is evident in the captivity narrative. In the subsequent decades, such a vision will shift from national to transcontinental relations with the Barbary Coast states. As it did, the ambivalent trope of captivity, which provided a rhetoric in which sentimental nationalism cloaked the practice of imperialist aggression, continued to be a site through which U.S national identity and power were figured.

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P a r t T h r e e

Elitist Captivity Narratives

Chapter Six: William Shaler's *Sketches of Algiers* (1825)

People are indeed the essential of commerce, and the more people the more trade; the more trade, the more money; the more money, the more strength; and the more strength, the greater the nation...All temporal felicities, I mean national, spring from the number of people.

(Daniel Defoe)

The United States whilst they wish for war with no nation, will buy peace of none. It is a principle incorporated into the settled policy of America, that as peace is better than war, war is better than tribute.

(James Madison)

Introduction

This chapter accounts for and examines relations between Algeria and the United States of America during one of the lesser-known periods in the modern history of Algeria (1783-1826) through an analysis of William Shaler's *Sketches of Algiers*, which deals with the issue of piracy in North Africa as well as the diplomatic relations between Algiers and the United States of America and hence between the East and the West. It is an attempt at understanding the nature of those early contacts. For this purpose, the first section of the chapter gives an historical overview about the general conditions that prevailed at the end of the 18th and early 19th centuries and subdivides the period into two phases. The first phase was dominated by peaceful negotiations that aimed at concluding a treaty of peace and obtaining the release of American prisoners at Algiers. The second, however, features a naval encounter between the flagship of the Algerian navy and the American Mediterranean squadron, which ended by forcing a second treaty more advantageous to the United States on the Dey of Algiers.

In its second section, and from a different angle, we will look at the way William Shaler described Algerine people in a way which was different from the way it was depicted in American historical writings. Shaler attempts to reassess those early relations as objectively as possible. Unlike accounts of how Western Europeans viewed North African peoples and

cultures in terms of radical ‘otherness,’ the essayist sketches out the historical subjectivity and humanity of the so called African “other”. In writing from the position of an American, Shaler describes and defends the humanity of the “other” through an approach that can be taken in reverse. In the following sections, we will begin by surveying the historiography of what is now known as the American-Barbary War. We will briefly examine histories about the American conflict in North Africa, looking at general, military, and popular interpretations of the war that focus on the causes. More broadly, this section will propose that we must examine how the modern, popular historiography, like the texts that come before it, is shaped by the language it uses to describe “piracy” on the “Barbary Coast.” While in the United States at the turn of the eighteenth century a number of authors were producing works that, in some form or another, retold the history of the Barbary Coast of North Africa, described and characterized the inhabitants and their customs. This chapter sketches another type of Barbary narratives written by one of the most perceptive foreign observers of the Algeria in the early nineteenth century, William Shaler. His essays remain an interesting and informative way to measure how Americans may have perceived the Algerines. Of the authors of the Barbary narratives considered here, William Shaler was the only American who had actually been to Algiers or for that matter any of the Barbary Coast cities. In his preface, Shaler explains that he was a secluded man, unused to literary labors. But since there was an absence of any work giving an ‘objective view’ of the real power and political importance of the piratical state of Algiers, he had to undertake his work because few other people had had equal opportunity for becoming acquainted with, in authentic shape, the facts which they treated.¹

Through an examination of his seven chapters, *Sketches of Algiers (1825)*, we begin with a discussion of Shaler’s status as “an American Consul “in order to situate him in a broader social, political, and intellectual context. Then, we will examine closely the individual correspondence, both political and personal, of Shaler from the years 1815. The man played pivotal political and military roles during the United States conflict with North Africa and

developed his own views and styles when describing the North African rulers, corsairs, and general population. We also intend to explore how Shaler's information, which was obviously shaped by sources provided by Dr Shaw, by informants and by the circumstances surrounding his inquiries, rewrote the "Orientalists writings of Lane, De Sacy, Chateaubriand, and other European pilgrims helped the French conquest with arguments regarding the causes and consequences of Shaler's distinctive contributions to it. 2

In the final sections of the chapter, we intend to deal with Shaler's *Sketches*, mainly how one quickly gets the sense that Barbary was once a place of greatness, but then it lay in ruin; the author paints an image that reverses the early works of Americans depicting the barbarous inhabitants of Algiers standing among the ruins of former glory, a glory entirely unknown to them, a glory the Algerines could not recreate reflections on race and ethnicity in colonial life. We also seek to emphasize the politics of America, which viewed the Turks at the end of the eighteenth century and how focus was especially directed towards showing them to be fierce and brutal adversaries. In particular, we are interested in is the relationship between population and the construction of commercial society. The chapter uses the ethnographic insights provided by the American diplomat and his anthropological theories about Algerian culture to examine the cultural milieu created by western sojourners in the Barbary Coast, contestation over the interrelated issues of morality, sexuality, religion, economics, and politics that occurred with the arrival of American Consul, and the ways in which Algerian chiefs and commoners negotiated a delicate and calculated path between the embattled imperialist forces in their land. This study places Algerian experiences within the broader outlines of American social, religious, and expansionist history. It offers a new interpretation of imperial relations in North Africa, one that others western powers (France) will later choose to build upon.

More importantly, the essays can be analyzed in the contexts of the frontier theory of development in which geographical space is re-figured as outer space, but with the attendant

national themes of progress through frontier expansion resonant of the original myth centrally intact. In this the America of the nineteenth century may be imagined to stand on the brink of frontier progress, the exploration of realms that are alien and unknown. The entire American national entity itself would seem to symbolize the colonial community settled precariously on the frontier borderland between what is known and unknown. To employ this metaphor further, each American individual can imagine himself or herself as a part of a supra-frontier community. A community that exists in preparedness of necessary adventures into the unknown and which as a condition of this exists in a more or less permanent state of anxiety. The overwhelming national scale of this historic adventure, represented through the control and sponsorship of government, corporations and other institutions of national significance and influence provides for an important extra dimension to which we may add a specific layer of social concerns, agency panic, and the fear of a loss of individualism through ideological domination.

In this respect, the work of William Shaler is especially revealing. The evidence for the above arguments may be also found in his essays written on Algeria, which describe the United States of America having the honor of having first set an example of spirited resistance to the pretensions of the Corsairs. So long as they had been at war with Great Britain, the States were unable to protect their commerce in the Mediterranean; and they were forced to fall in with the prevailing custom and make peace with the robbers on the basis of a bribe over a million of Spanish dollars, and a large annual tribute in money and naval stores. But as soon as the Treaty of Ghent set them free in 1815 they sent a squadron to Algiers, bearing Mr. William Shaler as American consul, and Captains Bainbridge and Stephen Decatur as his assessors in the impending negotiations. The result was that after only two days a Treaty was concluded on June 30, 1815, by which all money payment was abolished, all captives and property were restored, and the United States were placed on the footing of the most favored nation. The arguments of the Americans appear to have been more eloquent than British

broad-sides.³ The bombardment destroyed a large part of Mr. Shaler's house, and shells were perpetually whizzing by his ears. His report is full of graphic details, and he was always a true friend of the unlucky McDonell. It is stated that the fleet fired 118 tons of powder, 50,000 shot, and nearly 1,000 shells. The English lost 128 killed and 690 wounded. The admiral was wounded in three places, his telescope broken in his hand, and his coat cut to strips. Nor was the Dey less forward at the post of danger.⁴ But before, it may be useful to start by a short biography of the author with emphasis on his stay in the Barbary State of Algiers, the American and Algerine diplomatic relations that he describes in length throughout the fifth chapter of his essays as well as in the extracts from the journal kept in the Consulate of the U.S at Algiers from October 22nd 1823.

William Shaler's First Experience in Algiers

William Shaler was born just prior to the Revolution, and the premature death of his father had caused him to take to the sea at an early age. He became an agent for an American house, which traded extensively with France during the French Revolution. Shaler learned French and French business methods, but more important, he waxed enthusiastic over French ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity. He had also sailed to South America and the Orient, and when the Spanish-American revolutions broke out; he was appointed an American agent to Cuba and Mexico (Adams 43). Meanwhile, the humiliation of tribute was resented in the United States, but for some years, there seemed to be no alternative. The dangers and perplexities which beset Jefferson and Madison during the confusions of the Napoleonic wars prevented any change, and the little effort they could spare was engrossed in the Tripoli tan War.⁵ By 1812, Algerine conditions had become intolerable. The Dey of that country had started a quarrel over the tribute and had begun piratical attacks upon the merchantmen of the United States within his reach. Only the fact that the War of 1812 drove its flag out of the Mediterranean saved United States shipping from great damage. The Algerine navy succeeded in capturing only one American prize, the *Edwin*, George C. Smith, master, with a

crew of ten and a single passenger. These unfortunates were thrown into slavery; even their government was unable to ransom them. While the war lasted, Madison and Monroe could do nothing, but they were determined to settle the score at the first opportunity. The Algerine question was first on the agenda when the ink had dried on the Treaty of Ghent. President Madison promptly asked Congress to declare war on February 23, 1815, and by March 2, the declaration was proclaimed. A naval expedition was speedily organized and plans made to send with it a commission of three, two naval officers and a civilian, with power to negotiate for a peace. The American navy was rich in competent officers, but to find a civilian of sufficient capacity and training for the diplomatic responsibility was more of a problem. President Madison, however, chose a man admirably fitted for this task, William Shaler of Connecticut, a man with unique qualifications for so taxing a post.⁶

However, critics and literary reviewers regard William Shaler as a shadowy figure in the annals of early American foreign policy. He was known during his lifetime as an author and a merchant, who undertook diplomatic missions to Algiers, Cuba, and Mexico for the administrations of James Madison and Andrew Jackson. Until the late twentieth century, he was remembered in two ways; first, as an ideologue who sought to spread enlightened democratic republicanism throughout the Americas and elsewhere. Such interpretation was provided by Roy Franklin Nichols, who depicted Shaler as an “advance agent” for the expansion of American ideas and influence, especially in Spanish America where he planted seeds that came to fruition in later nineteenth-century Pan-American schemes (Nichols 521). The other consideration comes from information describing rather a more sinister portrait of Shaler as a secret government agent who promoted a filibuster the celebrated and colorful Gutiérrez-Magee raid of 1812-1813 into Spanish Texas for the Madison administration. The two descriptions of William Shaler were combined in ways to reinforce a broader impression: that the ideologue and the agent, in thought and in deeds, anticipated America’s future as a hemispheric and a world power.⁷

For several reasons, the above impressions require modification and revision. One is that, it is simply inaccurate to interpret Shaler's involvement in the Gutiérrez-magree raid as proof of Madison's desire to acquire Texas. The other is that, there remains little value in continuing to describe Shaler's thinking merely as an early anticipation of Pan-Americanism or American world power. Some of the agent's main concerns were more global in nature than they were exclusively American. At the same time, it seems inaccurate to state that Shaler envisaged the United States itself as a world power because his position remained unclear and more complex. Shaler was anxious for another assignment to Spanish America, where he might further aid the cause of liberty, but his superiors saw in him potentialities for the African post. Madison invited him to undertake this peace mission and then to settle in Algiers as Consul General for all the Barbary states. To this Shaler acceded, and prepared to demand respect for American power from behind the guns of a fleet. He entered upon his new assignment with great enthusiasm. To him it was "an employment very distinguished in itself, surrounded with all 'the pomp and glorious circumstance of war'; and in many respects more agreeable than anything at this time in the gift of the government." It was his hope that the United States would "have a controlling aim in the general affairs of the civilized world" before he died.⁸

On May 20, 1815, squadrons were organized under two great captains, Stephen Decatur and William Bainbridge. It was with the former that Shaler sailed on the *Querriere*. The commissioners were instructed to make an honorable peace and a treaty which would free the prisoners and relieve the United States from further tribute. However, the United States was to give voluntarily as much money as either Britain or France agreed to continue. While there was to be no stipulated ransom paid for the prisoners, a private gratuity might be presented afterwards. The commission was provided with \$30,000 for the expense of the negotiation, and among the presents they were to take was a beautiful sword for the Dey, which had been secured in London at a cost of \$5,000. On the long voyage of nearly a month

Shaler was busy making plans. Desiring to secure publicity in Europe for the fleet's display of American strength, he wrote a series of letters to diplomats and agents of his acquaintance. He asked them to see that the European press printed accounts of the expedition and its full naval strength, so that the powers might be impressed by the rapidity of American recovery from the War of 1812.⁹

Not until after the fleet had sailed from Gibraltar in mid-June did it see action. Shortly after leaving this haven the squadron encountered an Algerine frigate of forty-six guns which the *Guerriere* immediately engaged. The battle lasted a brief twenty minutes, during which not an Algerine shot struck the American ship. To Shaler, it "resembled a sham fight more than anything else." A few days later a brig of twenty-two guns was captured under circumstances that were later to cause much trouble. These prizes were taken into the Spanish port of Carthagená where it was learned that the grand admiral of Algiers had been killed in the battle. Since they also learned that the Algerine fleet was away from the city, they realized that the opportune time to present their demands was at hand. The fleet sailed immediately, reaching its destination on June 28, while the Algerines were still uncertain as to the fate of their ships.

Under these auspicious circumstances Decatur and Shaler prepared to negotiate. Since Tobias Lear, Shaler's predecessor had found the Swedish Consul, Johann Norderling, most helpful, Monroe had instructed the commission to work through him. When the Swedish ensign and a white flag were hoisted on the *Guerriere*, Norderling and the Algerine captain of the port came on board. The latter was dumfounded to learn of the capture of the war vessels and immediately asked for a truce while negotiations were pending, for he feared that the remainder of the Algerine fleet might return at any time and be captured by the American expedition. Decatur and Shaler not only refused the truce, but also a request that the negotiations be conducted on shore, the treaty was to be made aboard the *Guerriere*. These demands were transmitted to the Dey, who, having no option in the matter, consented, and the

next day his representative appeared on board the flagship. Captain Decatur and Shaler presented a draft treaty which they demanded should be signed immediately. This treaty, as Monroe had instructed, contained no references to tribute nor to presents; such payments, the American Commissioners declared would never again be formally agreed to by the United States. But, they added, the United States was a magnanimous and generous nation and would give presents on occasion. The Algerine representative made various attempts to bargain, but received only one concession. As the war vessels just captured by Decatur were in poor condition and would require a large expenditure to fit them for a voyage to America, the commissioners agreed to return them, although such a stipulation was not included in the treaty. ¹⁰

Finally, the emissary of the Dey was ordered to take the treaty ashore and to bring it back signed. Until this was done there would be no truce, and the Algerine fleet might sail into the trap at any moment. Despite the fact that the distance to shore was five miles, the treaty was signed and returned in three hours, none too soon, as it happened, for immediately thereafter one of the Algerine vessels hove in sight. By July 4 the formalities had been completed, and Shaler went ashore, where he was introduced to the Dey, to whom he presented the ceremonial sword. He also dispersed some \$17,000 among myriad officials, including the Dey's barber and two cooks. Thus Shaler entered upon the duties of his new position as Consul General to the Barbary States, with general oversight of the activities and expenditures of the American consuls at Tripoli, Tunis and Morocco.¹¹

Ethnographic Aspect of the Essays

Shaler found his new post a strange, unreal sort of place. Algiers was impressive, unlike anything most Americans knew. The city itself was located on a semicircular bay twelve to fifteen miles wide, rising from the sea and stretching out on the sides of a steep amphitheatre. It was a walled city, shaped like a topsail, compactly filled with 50,000 people living in square, whitewashed houses. Its narrow streets were steep, seldom wide enough to

permit carts to pass, all seeming to lead to the fortress or Casauba which dominated the city. The houses were flat with roofs protected by parapets. There were no windows on the street, and the long and narrow rooms were built around interior courts.¹² The metropolis was heavily guarded, fortified with a thousand pieces of heavy cannon, and the gates of the city were closed each night. Shaler in time rented one of these square houses from the heirs of a murdered Dey for \$250 a year. Two sides of his house looked out over the sea and had a terrace from which he might enjoy the chance sight of an American ship entering the harbor.¹³

He could not, however, fly his flag from his house; it was a violation of Moslem religious custom to permit a foreign banner in the city. As it was necessary to display a flag as a sign of peace to assure incoming vessels that the harbor was safe to enter, Shaler, like the other consuls, hired a garden outside the city where he could fly the Stars and Stripes, protected by a soldier whom he had engaged. His household was small, for he was a confirmed bachelor, though one with a roving eye. He had brought with him his nephew and namesake, William Shaler, and during the early years of his stay, William Buell, a young man in ill health, served as his secretary. As was customary, he employed a native factotum or dragoman, Baptiste Joli, and various other servants. Whenever he landed or boarded a boat, he was saluted with five guns, for which he had to pay \$40. Whenever American vessels arrived in the harbor and remained more than three days, a present of bullocks, poultry, bread, fruits and vegetables was sent on board, for which the Consul had to pay \$14. Life was made up of paying for presents. However, his salary of \$4,000 was ample to support a style of luxury which he described as splendid and elegant, but entirely unencumbered with fastidious and fatiguing forms. In fact, his social opportunities were limited, because his relationships with the Turkish rulers were confined to official business. He and his fellow consuls were consequently thrown much into each other's company, and they formed a society which Shaler found "most friendly and pleasing." His closest ties were with the Swedish consul and, in later times, with the Danish and the Dutch representatives. Although his relations with the

British were to be friendly and fateful, he unfortunately found little reason to like the French.¹⁴

Shaler, while reflecting on the former wonder of the region, claimed that these places of ancient glory did not fall into decay by chance: he directly linked Turkish governance (despotism) to their downfall. In discussing the Algerine city of Tlemsen, he writes that it had been the capital of a kingdom of the same name, and a place of much importance since the establishment of Turkish domination in this country. Tlemsen, notwithstanding the advantage of its position, has fallen into entire decay. Shaler makes the same claim about a different place, stating that during the possession of Mustigianim by the Spaniards, it was a city of much importance, but since its restoration to the Regency, it has fallen into entire decay. The liability of Turkish rule was continually impressed on Shaler's American audience and its effects were so clear to him that he could claim that the position of this city of Constantine is certainly one of the most happy that can be imagined, and under a reasonable government, would entitle it to every sort of prosperity.

While he was a Consul General in Algiers, he seemingly could not have had the depth of knowledge required to confidently state that Turkish domination directly led to the collapse and rot of Tlemsen, Constantine, and Mustigianim (one wonders just how successful these cities were before Turkish rule). The following quote tells more: "*The Turks, who govern, influenced by their narrow, selfish views, are jealous of any prosperity which is not immediately under their control*".¹⁵ To reinforce his arguments, the author states that the situation of the Turkish governors was necessarily precarious, and the tyranny and oppression which they exercised within their respective jurisdictions to procure the means of keeping their places, were probably without a parallel in the history of any other country.¹⁶ Shaler's readers, therefore, are continually left with the understanding that the rule of the Turks "*this absurd empire*" led to the downfall of numerous cities, and that many of these cities were perfectly capable of being prosperous if it were not for the inherent failures of Turkish domination.

Political and Military Organization in the City of Algiers

The government with which Shaler had to deal was a peculiar one. The kingdom of Algiers was a fief of the Turkish Empire and was ruled by a military force of some four thousand Janissaries from Turkey. All administrative posts were held by the officers of this alien force. The Dey or Bashaw was elected from among them by the Divan or Council composed of present and former corps commanders. These elections were ratified by the Turkish Emperor. The Dey appointed his ministers from the Divan, including the Hasnaggee (minister of finance and interior), the Aga (war minister), the Vikel Argee (minister of marine and foreign affairs) and two others. The Dey and these ministers were the government and ruled unchecked, except by the fear of revolt among the Janissaries. These revolts were apt to occur at any moment, once, in fact, there were seven during a single day. When Shaler began his consulship, Omar was the Dey, but Shaler was to see several successors within his years of service. This Turkish government ruled a mixed people. The largest group was the Moors, who were predominant in the cities. There were also Arabs, Biscaries, Mozabis, Kabyles and the Touariks, in Algiers alone, there were 5,000 Jews. The Moors themselves were a mixed race of the ancient inhabitants, Mohammedan conquerors, Turks and emigrants from Spain. The Arabs were plainsmen, descendants of the Mohammedan invaders who had swept in from Asia in the seventh century. The Biscaries were related to the Arabs, and all spoke Arabic in some form. The other three groups were probably descended from the original African inhabitants, and spoke a language which was distinct. These people were eventually to be of great interest to Shaler.

Throughout the fifth chapter of his essays, Shaler describes his stay in the city of Algiers while becoming acquainted with the North African people and their customs. He found his diplomatic duties difficult and dangerous. He found himself early "on his own," for Decatur did not remain long, taking his fleet to Tunis and Tripoli. To be sure, Bainbridge arrived not long afterwards, but after displaying his forces to the Dey, he also went on to

impress the Tripoli tans and Tunisians. These visits concluded the tour of African duty of the fleet, and, according to orders, most of the war vessels returned to America leaving only a frigate and two sloops in the Mediterranean under Captain Shaw. Even before Bainbridge left, however, Shaler discovered that his position was not secure. The first trouble arose from the agreement to return the two warships which the squadron had captured on its way to Algiers. This concession had been made at Decatur's insistence and against Shaler's better judgment.

There had been some friction between the two men at every step. Decatur was overbearing, and was inclined to run things without too much deference to his civilian associate, thus earning from Norderling the title "Bashaw Decatur," as he strutted about sporting the Order of the Cincinnati. The captain, although he insisted upon the return of the ships, did not wait to see that transaction consummated. Shaler thought that he should have brought the boats to Algiers before sailing for home. Decatur did no more than take an Algerine captain to Spain and secure the transfer to him. No sooner had Decatur departed than Spain refused to let the Algerine brig sail. The difficulty lay in the fact that Decatur's capture of the brig had been irregular. He had pursued it into Spanish waters where it had run on a shoal; it had then been seized in violation of international law. Decatur's excuse was that the brig lay among shoals which he could not blockade, and that she would undoubtedly slip away at high water in the night. Since she was provisioned for a long voyage of depredation, he had decided to stop her. Spain, however, refused to recognize Decatur's claim, as Shaler and the Algerine authorities learned when the frigate returned on July 23 without the brig. The Dey lost little time in making sharp demands upon the American consul, even insisting that if Spain did not surrender the brig, the United States must supply one in its place.

The Consul was in a difficult position. He was far from home and without instructions. In writing to Secretary Monroe of his difficulties, Shaler requested authority to secure aid from Captain Shaw in bringing about a settlement. But there was no way of telling when he might receive a reply; the Consul was almost completely cut off from his home government.

There was no mail or dispatch service of any kind, and he had to depend upon the accidental opportunities presented by the visit of a war vessel or the sailing of a captain whom he could trust. Such procedure was irregular and uncertain, for even American naval officers were careless about forwarding his dispatches and his letters often lay for long periods at various ports, while waiting for ships bound to America. Shaler was further hampered by financial difficulties. Word of this dilemma reached the Dey's ears, making him disdainful of American resources. Shaw was short of money with which to supply his fleet, and this curtailed his cruising range. On the other hand Shaler, Decatur, and Bainbridge had been entrusted with \$30,000 deposited with Baring brothers which could be drawn on order of two of the commissioners.¹⁷

Before Decatur left, he had drawn half of the money for Shaler's use. He now advanced some of these funds for Shaw's needs, but when this expedient became known, the Algerines became contemptuous of American poverty. The Dey came to enjoy the idea that the American demonstration of the previous year was a feverish and unusual burst of strength which could not be maintained by a weak, poverty-stricken, and very distant power. Under these circumstances, the Consul General found it extremely difficult to establish the respect and maintain the prestige which he felt was due his government. As the United States did not pay tribute and as he was not in business, and had no favors to dispense, it was not easy for Shaler to create influence; he was determined, however, and overlooked no opportunity to assert his rights. When he found that Turkish soldiers were taking fruits, flowers, and vegetables from his garden outside the city walls, he made the strongest efforts to redress this wrong. After several fruitless protests, he declared to the Dey that he would consider such pilfering a national insult; this threat brought results.¹⁸

William Shaler, the American Consul, took decisive action to prevent any harmful actions against American trade during the period when the Algerians were angered by the loss of an American brig. Shaler made a bold threat to the Dey, warning him that the American

navy would retaliate if any harm came to American shipping. He stipulated that Algerian vessels must carry an American passport; otherwise, they would be vulnerable to seizure by the American navy. To convey the seriousness of his stance to the Algerians, Shaler issued passports to native shipmasters for each voyage, emphasizing that any interference with American vessels would result in the cancellation of their protection and the possibility of facing the American navy's full force (Perkins 72). He was particularly insistent upon enforcing respect, because he had discovered that the Algerines often brought in vessels and then let them go, just to show their power. Even the British, Shaler believed, tolerated this practice, but not he. He told the Minister of Marine that any such treatment of American merchantmen would mean reprisals upon the Algerine navy. His attitude in those early days of his mission was belligerent. As wrote Shaw, "We must fix upon something as near to what is just as we can and browbeat them into its acceptance. Indeed the only way to deal with these people is to treat them as you would plantation Negroes".¹⁹

Algerian-American Negotiations and Treaties

The controversy over the brig held by the Spanish had come to a partial settlement before Shaler could hear from Monroe and without a call upon Shaw's little fleet. On March 17, 1816, a Spanish flotilla came into port bringing the disputed brig which was to be returned conditionally. In December, a Spanish war vessel had foundered on the Barbary shore; Spain was willing to exchange the Algerine prize for this ship. To this proposal the Dey had to agree, although he felt cheated and suspected that the United States had connived with Spain to rob him. Within a fortnight after this settlement, another diversion occurred which was to have unfortunate consequences upon American interests. The Algerines had been in the habit, during the confusion of the Napoleonic wars, of preying upon the coasts of the Italian states, kidnapping the inhabitants for slaves. Great Britain, on the warpath against the slave trade, had decided to put a stop to this practice.

On March 31, 1816, Lord Exmouth arrived with a large British fleet, and soon flattered and persuaded the Dey into making treaties of peace by which the captives were restored to Sardinia and Naples. During these negotiations, the American squadron put into Algiers on April 3. Shaw had received the Decatur-Shaler treaty of the previous year, duly ratified by the United States Senate, and he and Shaler forthwith proceeded to present it to the Dey for an exchange of ratifications. Unfortunately, however, Omar was feeling particularly elated because of Exmouth's visit. He had interpreted it as a compliment to his power and it had given him a new sense of strength. Consequently, when the two Americans appeared before him, he immediately demanded the President's views regarding the Spanish prize. Shaler explained that the ship bearing the treaty had left the United States before the Consul's request for instruction had been received. The Dey was then brought to discuss the treaty, and produced his copy which was not the same as that just ratified. Evidently, the Algerine minister had inserted some provision relating to indemnity for sailors captured in the war vessels. "This interview terminated by mutual professions of friendly disposition but without the confidence necessary to give any value to such professions." ²⁰

The day after, the treaty was returned to Shaler unratified. "The reasons which they gave for it were probably true," Shaler reported, for in all likelihood no such formality had ever been practiced before. "The treaties existing between foreign powers and Algiers' as far as Shaler knew, were nothing more than capitulations. The return of the treaty caused the naval commanders to talk of war; Captain Oliver Hazard Perry read Roman history to learn how Rome had fought against Carthage. Shaler, however, was opposed to force despite renewed insults from the Algerines which, he declared, forced him to retire to shipboard. He was therefore relieved when this move proved effective. After some delay, the Swedish Consul Norderling reported that the Dey was much surprised that Shaler had left. He wanted only peace. Negotiations began again, and it was finally agreed that the Dey would write to President Madison directly, in the meantime observing the treaty until a reply was received.

This letter was duly prepared in Turkish and addressed to his Majesty, the Emperor of America. In it the Dey declared that as the ships had not been returned, the treaty was broken and of no effect. He now proposed that they go back to the original treaty, under which the United States paid tribute. He also requested that Shaler be removed as soon as possible. The Consul suspected that these proposals were made because the Dey did not believe the United States could muster sufficient force to support its demands. At any rate, there was to be further delay. Shaw and his fleet sailed off, the Commander having sent Shaler a cask of old whiskey as a farewell gift. There now ensued another long period of waiting during the slow transport of dispatches. The British, however, varied its monotony by providing an exciting summer. In May, Exmouth returned with new demands that excited the wrath of Omar, and insults were exchanged.²¹

The British Consul was arrested, and his wife and children unceremoniously hustled about. The Dey also captured British subjects engaged in coral fishing under his license, and in the melee some of them were killed. For the time being, this quarrel was smoothed over by presents and meaningless exchanges. Shaler was naturally a close observer of the episode and, in particular, of the plight of the British Consul, Hugh McDonnell. There were two reasons for deep interest on his part. First, he liked McDonnell and his family. The Consul he recognized as a "strong John Bull but an honorable man" with whom he lived "upon most friendly terms." More particularly, however, Shaler was interested in protecting the dignity of the consular position. He was disappointed in the outcome, which only increased his contempt for British policy.²²

It was his belief that the British had an interest in maintaining the Barbary pirates who conveniently kept down the profits of commercial rivals in the Mediterranean. Great Britain, however, did not intend to overlook the Dey's insults. Making common cause with the Dutch, whom Shaler had expected to strike before this, the British ministry sent a joint fleet under Exmouth to inflict punishment. Word of the approach of this armament came from France in

July, and when a British war vessel appeared, to take away the British Consul on August 3, the Algerines knew what was coming. They sought to prevent the departure of McDonnell, whose wife and daughter were smuggled on board disguised as midshipmen. When this was discovered, the Consul and some British officers and sailors on shore were arrested. Such was the state of affairs when Lord Exmouth's fleet arrived on August 27, 1816. Exmouth demanded the release of the hostages, and when it was refused opened up a bombardment. The fleet threw in 30,000 shots and 300 shells. Hardly a house went undamaged, and the Algerine navy and merchant marine were severely crippled. By the next afternoon the Algerines surrendered.²³

Shaler was a witness to all this. During the battle many Turks, probably sulkers, constantly passed in and out of his house, breathing vengeance particularly upon the British Consul upon whom they blamed their woes. From his roof he could see hundreds running along the seashore under his very walls, many of them slaughtered by the guns of the fleet. By night the upper part of his house was in ruins, for five shells had exploded within its walls. As night fell, he learned that the British Consul had been thrown in a dungeon, loaded with chains. By eleven, the general firing had all but ceased, only an occasional gun was to be heard. At midnight he viewed from his terrace a "peculiarly grand and sublime spectacle." Everything in the port seemed aflame, and two burning vessels were drifting out to sea. At this moment a terrific thunderstorm came up, and in the vivid flashes of lightning he could see the fleet retiring offshore before a land breeze. Occasionally the scream of a shell or the flash of a rocket vied with the thunder and lightning. But the battle was spent. When the British landed in the morning, they found Shaler at breakfast on his terrace, served by frightened servants whom he compelled to wait upon him. The British Consul was rescued from his dungeon and a peace was dictated by Exmouth. The Dey was forced to agree to the abolition of Christian slavery, to restore captives, and to pay back the ransom money received under the

recent treaties with Naples and Sardinia. While Algiers was recovering from this humiliation, Shaler awaited the arrival of his instructions and the answer to the Dey's letter.²⁴

At length in October, Commodore Isaac Chauncey appeared with a fleet of six vessels. His appearance spread consternation among the Algerines, for so wrecked were their defenses that they could expect nothing but a second chastisement. As Chauncey had no dispatches, Shaler decided to sail with him to Gibraltar to await their arrival. After reassuring the Dey that peace alone was desired and that no punishment would be attempted without due warning, he boarded the flagship and sailed off. On finding no word awaiting him at Gibraltar, Shaler visited Morocco, which was under his general supervision. After concluding a satisfactory inspection there he returned to Gibraltar, still seeking his instructions. The long period of uncertainty finally came to an end when the *Spark* reached Gibraltar with the long-awaited dispatches. Shaler and Chauncey learned that they had been appointed commissioners to settle all difficulties. The Dey was to be told that the United States had been working to persuade the Spanish to surrender the ships. The United States now demanded that the Algerine government sign a new treaty, only slightly modified. In the preceding document it had been provided that United States prizes might be sold in Algiers, a privilege accorded to no other power. Monroe suspected that this might have aroused British opposition and in order to avoid further hindrance, he was willing to drop the point. The fleet set sail shortly, and on December 7 arrived off Algiers

with all plans made and a formal note ready to be delivered to the Dey. Chauncey and Shaler had originally planned to demand that the negotiations be conducted on the quarter-deck of the *Washington*, but the weather was bad and the fleet could not safely run in and anchor under the guns of the fortifications.²⁵

In addition, the fleet was short of provisions. It was therefore decided that Shaler should go ashore with the acting chaplain of the *Java*, Charles O. Handy, who was to serve as secretary of the mission. Chauncey in the meantime was to go to Port Mahon, the American

fleet rendezvous on the island of Minorca, for provisions. So tempestuous was the weather, however, that Shaler and Handy were prevented from landing for a week; on one wild night the *Spark*, on which they were quartered, nearly foundered in the bay. Had the ship been anchored, it and all on board probably would have been lost. When Shaler finally got ashore on December 15, he was met by further delays. The Dey, first of all, made much of Chauncey's absence. He then brought up the old question of the ships and the Spaniards, which he claimed the President had not satisfactorily dealt with in his reply.²⁶ He even called all the foreign consuls to be present while he raised this issue with Shaler. Shaler, however, refused to discuss the matter further, as the President had spoken officially and finally. Then the Dey made another play for delay. He said it had taken eight months and a day, which he counted off on his fingers, for the President to answer him; he would ask the same privilege of time. Because he had just been through a war, he was not ready to make a treaty. If the United States compelled him to sign, he would break it at the first opportunity. He had entered into one treaty with the United States in good faith, but the complexion of things had changed and difficulties had arisen between the two nations. Shaler then said he would have to consult Chauncey who would return in a few days, a demand which the Dey thought unnecessary since Shaler had just certified that he was competent to conduct the negotiation. Shaler demanded ten days and, in effect, threatened war, which finally brought the Dey to agreement.²⁷

The following day, however, it became apparent that the monarch believed that Shaler had agreed to the eight-months-and-a-day delay. This Shaler stoutly denied, and concluded not to wait for Chauncey but to inform the Dey that no such delay could be tolerated. There must be an immediate treaty. This time the task was finished. The second treaty was to be the law between the two powers for years to come. It had been achieved by two naval expeditions and the havoc wrought by the British bombardment. Despite this successful outcome, however, Shaler was depressed. He was tired of the mission and anxious to return

home. Just before Exmouth's bombardment he had written, "In the course of years, this dreary place would hardly furnish a single event worth retailing, unless the roasting of Jews and the strangling of Turks be regarded as such." Also there seemed no future in the post, and so far he had been unable to save anything from his salary. He was a poor man, and, since his brother Nathaniel had perished in the War of 1812, his family was dependent upon him. Worst of all, he had lost his feeling of superiority: "I am not qualified for any employment of a higher grade than this is, therefore, this must be the extreme limit of my diplomatic honors." In order to persuade Monroe to release him, he may have been over sanguine about the durability of peace. Wishful thinking may have convinced him that he might advise the State Department, despite Captain Oliver Hazard Perry's dissent, that the fleet might safely be withdrawn. This was counsel for which he was later to repent.²⁸

With the task at Algiers accomplished, Shaler next turned his attention to his other consular charges, Tunis and Tripoli. Since it would be some time before he could receive an answer to his request for a recall, he planned to visit Thomas D. Anderson and Richard B. Jones, the consuls stationed in these kingdoms. In Tunis, particularly, his presence was needed because of trouble that had arisen over injuries to an American citizen. He set forth determined on a show of authority, "well satisfied that any relaxation of a just and severe discipline in support of our new system [no tribute] towards the Barbary powers will inevitably tend to the injury of our credit and of our interests." He left Algiers on May 8, 1817, leaving his secretary, William Buell, in charge of his office. At Gibraltar Shaler was delayed by fever, and by a recuperative trip to Italy. His visits to Naples, Messina, and Syracuse caused him to ponder the message "of the crumbling monuments of the greatness of nations whose existence has passed away but the rays of whose glory still shine upon us." It was not until September that he finally reached Tunis and Tripoli in the company of Chauncey who had returned to the Mediterranean. As a result of his tour, Shaler was able to

adjust several problems of varying seriousness, including the difficult question of whether the American consul should kiss the foot of the Bey of Tunis.²⁹

A treaty with that monarch was also concluded. Since Shaler's investigation showed him that there was no natural dependence of the other Barbary consulates upon that of Algiers, he recommended that each be made independent of the Consul General, a recommendation later accepted by Monroe. Bad news prevented Shaler's return to Algiers. The plague had broken out, and Death stalked the streets. This terrifying Figure was accompanied by revolution and the overthrow of the Dey. The misfortunes of the Algerine monarch had been too much for him: he had been beaten by the British, he had been forced to sign a second treaty with the United States, and now the plague was scourging his subjects. It was evident that his fanatical people saw him as the object of divine displeasure, so they destroyed him, "the only man," Shaler believed, "amongst them who appeared capable of sustaining their rickety fortunes." A religious fanatic, Ali Khodja, described by Shaler as an "old imbecile shopkeeper," organized the Turkish Janissaries against Omar, and having killed him with their aid, shut himself up in the fortress and began a high-handed rule. The first task of the new Dey was to rid himself of the Turkish soldiers and to make his government hereditary. With the assistance of native tribesmen he succeeded in slaughtering a number of the Janissaries. He also sought to make his rule a social success, and gathered about him a harem of beautiful girls.³⁰

The fact that most of these girls were Jewesses, some of whom enjoyed British citizenship, suggested the desirability of religious zeal for proselyting, and the new Dey began with his Jewish interpreter, whom he insisted should turn Mohammedan. The linguist refused, despite offers of promotion, claiming the protection of British citizenship. Such defiance infuriated the Dey. Immediately he had a fire kindled, he would burn Bensamon at the stake. The sight of the flames caused the interpreter to swoon; when he revived, he found that his head had been shaved and that he was dressed as a Musselman.

When the British Consul protested this action, the Dey opened a door and showed the interpreter a number of recently severed heads; he threatened to add his to the collection if he did not acquiesce.⁹ These reports confirmed Shaler in his determination not to return to Algiers until the plague subsided, and he settled himself at Marseilles to direct at long distance the performance of consular duties by Buell. A problem loomed most formidably. The usual semi-piratical fleets which put out from Algiers might well carry the plague infection with them, and woe betide any ship which fell in with them.³¹ Buell reported that the Dey claimed to be friendly, but Shaler was suspicious, partly because Anderson wrote from Tunis that the Bey had repudiated the September treaty with the United States and had made an alliance with Algiers. That cruisers were being armed foretold piratical forays. Dr. George Eustis, American Minister to Hague, was wintering in Marseilles for his health, and both diplomats worked on the problem. After full discussion Shaler sent Buell his instructions. He was to tell the Dey that the President of the United States had been informed that Algerines would not molest American ships. Buell was also to tell him that, because of the plague, it was necessary that the Dey "make an explicit declaration that in future all commanders of Algiers cruisers shall receive his positive instructions not to board any American merchant vessel during the existence of pestilence in his dominions on any pretext whatsoever." He was further to impress upon the Dey that such aggression would be considered "an act of hostility of the most aggravated nature." Buell reported in due time that he had given the Dey Shaler's demands, to which the Dey had replied that the flag of the United States was often flown by others and that he must board some ships in order to prevent this deception. Could not bona fide American ships display a signal? Shaler instructed Buell to tell him the United States would stoop to no signals and would hold the Dey accountable for any violations.³²

While these policies were being worked out, Shaler left Marseilles for Sicily in March, 1818, aboard the U.S.S. *Franklin*, the flagship of the newly arrived Commodore Stewart.

From there he proceeded to Tunis and then to Algiers, where he found the plague still raging. He did not go ashore at Algiers, but learned that the bloodthirsty Dey had died of the plague, and that a new Dey had been legally elected by the Divan. Power was once again in the hands of the Turks. The new regime seemed more inclined to respect American rights, and the Algerine fleet was kept at home that spring. From Algiers Shaler proceeded to Leghorn, the new rendez-vous of the fleet, where he planned to settle down with the satisfied feeling that "it has been my lot in Barbary, at least in Algiers, to substitute a system of political relations upon a footing of independence and economy, in the place of one that was tributary and of unbounded extravagance." For all his satisfaction, however, he was still hoping to be relieved and allowed to go home.³³

When the cessation of the plague finally permitted Shaler to return to Algiers in the fall of 1819, his responsibilities were relaxed. He had accomplished his mission, insofar as he had made the name of the United States respected on the shores of Barbary. He sought from time to time to be transferred to other duties, but the State Department kept him at his post, none knew better than he how to handle this peculiar people. Save for a leave during the winter of 1821-1822, which he spent in the United States. Shaler was to remain on the shores of the Mediterranean for nine more years. He did not complain too much. Not only was great consideration shown him, both public and private, but some of his driving ambition was flagging with the advance of years. Furthermore, he could now save \$1,000 or more a year, and was prospering. He even admitted he was beginning to set a higher value upon the luxuries of fine climate, abundance, and leisure. It was up to the State Department, he felt, to dispose of him. "I am growing fat, I am becoming a water drinker. I have become a moderate reasonable politician but what will surprise you the most I am a poet, and as far as I have gone, no very mean one."¹² Shaler had really grown quite contented in Algiers, which had become known to Americans in the Mediterranean as the "Old Consul's Bay' Here he kept watch, and grew in his understanding of its strange people.³⁴ As he wrote Bainbridge: "The

Algerines, though a sensible people, pay no attention to abstract arguments; they reason only upon experience and palpable facts. . . . These Barbarians are generally cunning and cowardly but capable of an activity that is really admirable, it is my opinion that they can equip a fleet for sea with more dispatch than any other people. . . . Morocco is null as a marauding power, and in Tunis and Tripoli we have a certain guaranty for good conduct in the hereditary form of these government.³⁵

Algerian-American Relations

William Shaler's essays were written when the shores of Barbary have provided historic grounds of conflict between Americans Christian and North African states, between Western Civilization and strange and sometimes hostile neighbors. Meanwhile, the waters of the Mediterranean have frequently been cut by the prows of hostile flotillas, and its winds have borne the sound of thundering batteries and the acrid smell of burning gunpowder. Early in its career as an independent republic, the United States was drawn into conflict on these shores and waters. The flag of the new republic was fouled with insult, and American citizens were held in slavery by bandits putting out from African ports. Various expeditions and agents had been sent there unsuccessfully to right these wrongs, but it was not until after the War of 1812 that ministers of punishment and peace were to succeed in the difficult task. On the southern shores of the Mediterranean sprawled the four Barbary kingdoms, Algiers, Morocco, Tripoli and Tunis; they were ruled by Turkish military chieftains whose main interest and principal support was piracy. For years these Moslem marauders had preyed upon the Mediterranean commerce of Christian nations, and when the United States came into being, the new republic found its infant commerce likewise beset. Algerine corsairs immediately began to harry American merchantmen, and the Tripolitans finally drove the United States into war, 1801-1805. War with Algeria had been avoided because the United States, before the navy was created, had begun the practice common even among powerful European nations of paying tribute to secure immunity.³⁶

But the Government of Algiers is always that of a predominant faction liable every day to be overturned, the present only is important to them, as they openly prefer to rely alone upon piracy for existence being without agriculture, commerce or arts . . . the standing that we have acquired here is irksome and vexatious to all the governments of Europe, to some because they wish not, and to others because they cannot follow our example. ³⁷ I have endeavored to make them comprehend that we have nothing in view beyond the maintenance of the positive security of our flag and the respect which is due our character in Barbary." These years, however, were not without incident. Twice Shaler was called upon to participate in delicate negotiations. In 1822, when he returned from his American sojourn, he found his position in danger. He had left his nephew and namesake, William Shaler, in charge of the consulate when he departed for home, but the youth was irresponsible and prone to escapades. From Commodore Jones his uncle received an unpleasant report. William, it seems, had gone into the country one day on a hunting expedition without "that attendance proper to denote his quality and procure for him the desired security when he quitted the highway," which he had so often been warned to take. He followed accustomed path and was surprised to be halted by an armed guard. The construction of a canal had recently been undertaken by the Algerine Ministry of War, and a guard had been stationed to keep strangers away from the new work. When young Shaler defied the guard and threatened him with his gun, the young man was tumbled from his horse in the very presence of the war minister himself.³⁸

Enraged and humiliated, the young man tried unsuccessfully to make a diplomatic incident of it; the Dey would not take him seriously. He had already had difficulty with Buell because of the "lightness and irregularity of his conduct," and young Shaler seemed just as irresponsible. The Algerine sovereign sought a meeting of the other consuls to discuss the question. They refused to become involved, and the Dey dropped the matter until the elder Shaler returned. This attitude so aroused William, Jr., that he left the country to await his uncle at Port Mahon. When the Consul first heard the story, he thought the attack might be

premeditated. ³⁹He soon changed his mind, and sent his nephew home to the United States. Reaching Algiers on November 16, 1822, three months after the incident, he learned that the Dey was inclined to forget the matter, but not Shaler. White men, and particularly citizens of the United States, could not afford to lose face with these natives. Taking a firm stand, Shaler told the Dey "that the outrage which had been offered to the Government of the United States" in the presence of one of his principal ministers "was of a character too serious for me to decide upon inasmuch as it involved peace or war," and he had therefore referred the matter to Washington. He knew that his position was tenuous, but he had to uphold his nephew. Withdrawing to his consulate, Shaler held no further communication with the Dey. This was all he could do, for when he finally heard from John Quincy Adams, he learned that the Secretary considered it only a petty insult for which the youth was in large part responsible, and that it must be noticed no further.⁴⁰

Shaler was, perforce, brought out of his retirement the next year by a new rampage of the Algerine Dey. These were the times of the Greek rebellion against Turkish misrule, and so strong had been the Greek spirit that the Porte had called upon its Barbary vassals for aid. The Dey of Algiers had entered the conflict with some degree of success and had been stimulated thereby to return to piracy. In October, 1823, he decided to begin depredations on European and American commerce and to resume Christian slavery. He believed he could now defy the powers with safety and sought an opportunity to test his strength. The occasion for this defiance was an outbreak on the Algerian frontier among the Kabyles, an independent group of tribes which had never been controlled by the Turkish rulers of Algeria. In the course of the hostilities a Turkish official had been carried into the mountains as a hostage. The Dey, seeking reprisal, turned upon the consuls of the Powers, because a number of Kabyles were servants in Algiers, particularly in the consular households. Condemning these tribesmen to death, the Dey attempted to arrest them. He made demands upon the various consuls for the surrender of their servants, and most of the consulates complied. McDonnell and Shaler

refused. Shaler had two of these young men in his household and had no intention of turning them over to probable death. His house was respected, but that of the British Consul, who was unpopular, was violated and the servants dragged out. McDonnell was anxious that all the consuls join in signing a remonstrance against this action of the Dey.⁴¹

At first Shaler was not willing to comply, because he felt that the other consuls had not co-operated but had weakly surrendered their rights. At length, however, he consented, when he was permitted to draft the remonstrance based upon the general principles of international usage. During this dispute, the Algerines were preparing for war with Spain. Early in January, 1824, prizes began to be brought into Algiers, their crews quite apparently being enslaved. When the British Consul protested, the Dey declared that the treaty made by Exmouth had expired and that Christian slavery had begun anew. Hardly had this defiance been uttered when a British frigate appeared with orders for the Dey to sign new articles to be added to former treaties. The Algerines were to agree never again to violate a consulate, and to permit the British flag to fly from the consulate in the town. The Dey refused to sign, and on January 29 McDonnell and his family withdrew to the frigate. Although some concessions were made by the Dey, he would not agree to permit the flag to fly in the city of Algiers.⁴² The frigate sailed off with the McDonnells, leaving British interests in the charge of Shaler. That day, January 31, the British fired on an Algerine war vessel off Algiers, and the Algerines declared a state of war. Shaler then turned his efforts toward persuading the Dey of the folly of war with England, and even undertook to send a letter from the Dey to the English government through the American minister in London.⁴³

On February 22 a British fleet appeared in Algiers under command of Vice-Admiral Sir Harry B. Neale, accompanied by McDonnell. Shaler went aboard the flagship to tender his good offices and to report that the British consulate was undisturbed and that McDonnell's agent was carrying on his affairs. The admiral, in turn, informed Shaler that he was to blockade the port until the Dey signed the additional articles and made amends to the Consul.

After a day of sickness, for Shaler was beginning to suffer from attacks of sick headache which were to occur with increasing frequency, he tried to persuade the Dey to see reason in the affair. This was not easy, for the Dey himself was in a difficult position. It would violate a deep-seated religious prejudice to allow the British flag to fly inside the walls of Algiers. The populace was fanatical about it, and he would raise a storm of protest if he yielded on this point, particularly to McDonnell. The citizens still held the British Consul responsible for Exmouth's bombardment, and the Dey knew that he was dangerous to him as long as he remained. He therefore welcomed this opportunity to refuse to allow McDonnell to return.⁴⁴ Shaler kept up his efforts for a month, encouraged by the desires of most of the Algerine officials to avoid war, but he found the Dey "impractical" and fatalistic. All he gained was the ill will of the potentate. After a month of blockading, the Vice-Admiral pressed for an answer, and at length went ashore on March 28 for an interview in which the Dey again refused to yield. The admiral threatened to leave if McDonnell were not received, but the Dey refused to make any decision until he had heard directly from the British government in answer to his letter. The blockade continued.⁴⁵

The later years were not wholly concerned with diplomacy, for Shaler was returning to an old interest. Scholarly pursuits had always attracted him, and he was tempted in the leisure of his consulate to return to this enticing pastime. Just before he had terminated his furlough in 1822, an eminent scholar had sought him out. Peter S. Duponceau, noted Philadelphia lawyer and officer of the American Philosophical Society, had begun a correspondence with Shaler regarding the languages of northern Africa. He was particularly interested in the speech of those tribes descended from the pre-Mohammedan peoples who had flourished before the conquest. No one knew much of the Berber dialects, and Duponceau asked Shaler to gather information regarding them and to supply vocabulary lists. This task appealed to Shaler's scholarly bent and he now went to work on it. In due time, he sent several reports to Duponceau which were discussed in the American Philosophical Society and published by

them.⁴⁶ These reports to Duponceau aroused his interest in philology in general. Feeling that he needed more knowledge as background for his Berber studies, he studied Greek and Latin. To his old friend Senator Johnston of Louisiana he wrote: "You doubtless recollect that I stupidly refused to join you in the study of the Latin when I was last in Washington on the pretext of its being too late? Well, I have since become a most devoted classical student, and I have really overcome all the great obstacles in the way of my being rather a good scholar. As I provided myself with elementary books in France I had occasion to remark the excellency of their methods for studying the classical languages. They appear to me superior to ours in simplicity of arrangement and perspicuity of demonstration.⁴⁷ My Greek grammar was composed in 1813 by an illustrious professor for the use of the celebrated Normal School in France [. . .] ; it has gone through the 13th edition and is the best synopsis of any language that I have ever seen. It entered into my plan of study to make a complete translation of this grammar and finding as I proceeded that I could do it justice, I have determined to make a fair and correct copy of it in order for publication, if it should be judged sufficiently useful by my literary friends at home' Unfortunately, he was to learn that someone else had published such a translation in Baltimore. In this work he was aided by the arrival of a competent secretary, William B. Hodgson, who joined him in the spring of 1826.⁴⁸

Shaler had urged for some time that he be sent a scholarly assistant, part of whose duties would be the investigation of North African dialects. At one time he had even thought of bringing over a child who would be brought up to speak them, and had written to Duponceau about it. But none could be found. He had then considered having one of his younger nephews try it. Now, however, a young man of scholarly tastes had been selected, and undertook these philosophical studies upon his arrival. Shaler found him apt, and when the Consul left Barbary in 1828, Hodgson continued reporting to the American Philosophical Society on North African languages. These two diplomats had thus extended the bounds of knowledge as well as the interests of the young republic.⁴⁹

Shaler's Position Amid the American-Algerian Conflicts

Shaler's scholarly interests were not circumscribed by the bounds of philology. He aspired to write for a wider audience. From the very beginning of his sojourn in Barbary, he had been curious about these people and their customs. He had collected a mass of information regarding Algiers, its people, their environment and their behavior. He describes the variety of population and William Shaler, judged them as the following: The Jews , of whom there are about five thousand in this city, have the free exercise of their religion secured; they are governed by their own laws in civil cases, administered by a chief of their own nation, who is appointed by the Bashaw; as Algerine subjects they may circulate freely, establish themselves where they please , and exercise any lawful calling throughout the kingdom; and they cannot be reduced to slavery... they practice trade in all its branches, and are here the only brokers, and dealers in money and exchanges; there are many gold and silver smiths amongst them, and they are the only artificers employed in the mint.⁵⁰ These data he worked into a narrative which had a double purpose, to give information and to promote an idea. His experiences had demonstrated the necessity of destroying these pirates. The Powers or one of them at least, should wipe out this nest which threatened Christian interests.

Shaler was anxious to do what he could to spread the idea of the conquest of Barbary. He had viewed the terrain of Algiers on various excursions into the country, and he had studied the military plans used by former conquerors. He reviewed his findings at length in his book. He explained that previous expeditions had made their attacks the hard way, by landing in the bay east of Algiers. Instead, the attacking force should approach from the west. Ten miles to the west of the city was the bay of Sidi Ferraj. The road from this bay to Algiers could be covered on horseback in three hours, and there were copious springs of water along the way.⁵¹ The only fortification in that direction was a "castle" about a mile from the Casaubia in Algiers, so situated that it might be commanded from heights. Shaler believed this could be "scaled and breached by a mine in a short time' There batteries might be planted on heights

commanding the citadel itself. While this was being accomplished, the fleet which had brought the land force would sail to Algiers and enter the bay stripped for action.⁵²

Shaler supplied with these general strategically directions minute information regarding the fortifications and the strength of the garrisons. From these details he turned to general policy. He was still thinking in terms of a plan he had written in 1812, in which he would divide much of the world between the United States and England. He now argued at length that "it would be for the general interests of the world that Great Britain should determine to occupy and colonize this portion of Africa."⁵³ Jared Sparks had recently become editor of the *American Review* and had asked Shaler for some articles on Algiers. Shaler now looked to him to arrange for the publication of his book. He was anxious that it should appear in print, for he had received no commendation from the State Department for his work as peacemaker during the recent British expedition. He therefore hastily added an account of his part in the difficulties which were brought to a climax in November, 1824. Despite his interest in British advance in North Africa, or perhaps because of it, he belabored the conduct of that armada. He emphasized his own resourcefulness and the "tameness" of the "preposterous expedition" which had ended in realizing the fable of the mountain in labor, "despite the fact that it numbered twenty-three sail" sufficient to "raze Algiers to its foundations." This manuscript he sent off in March, 1825.⁵⁴

Shaler's *Sketches of Algiers* appeared during the next year and attracted a certain amount of attention. The commander of the British expedition, Sir Harry Neale, took quick umbrage, and immediately set about to answer it. In a pamphlet with the formidable title "A Reply to Erroneous Statements and Unwarranted Reflections in a Publication entitled 'Sketches of Algiers' by William Shaler," the British Admiral stated flatly that all Shaler had done was to come aboard his ship upon the arrival of the fleet and communicate the Dey's pacific intentions. ⁵⁵ He contradicted a number of Shaler's claims, and charged that he could have gotten most of his information only from Bensamon, whose understanding of English

was imperfect. On the whole, the criticisms were not serious, and we are led to believe that Neale was more exasperated at Shaler's general contempt for the British, or as Neale put it "the illiberality of sentiment pervading the censure which I have been called upon to repel." Shaler's reply to this has not survived Sparks would not accept it for publication.⁵⁶

It is to be noted that the British made no effort to follow Shaler's suggestions by invading North Africa in the region of Algiers. Shaler and his book were to have more influence with the French. He spent the summer of 1825, before his work appeared, renewing old acquaintances in France. There he suggested to such influential men as Hyde de Neuville that French enterprise should encompass Algiers.⁴⁷ No action was taken immediately, but his words were not forgotten, and when his book appeared it had some French circulation and was printed in a French translation. Events were shaping the policy of France along the lines Shaler had suggested. Trouble between Algiers and the French was brewing. Shaler had become ill of gallstones and dropsy in the fall of 1826, and by spring was so sick that his life was despaired of. He was taken to Spanish mineral baths where he spent most of 1827 in slow recuperation.⁵⁷

During his absence the Dey of Algiers had become incensed at the French. The latter had a concession for coral fishing on the coast of Algeria and had erected a bastion there to protect the industry. The French now undertook to enlarge this fortification without the consent of the Dey. He complained to the French ministry, and felt insulted when the Consul told him that his protests must be made only through the Consul and not directly to the French government. The potentate in his rage struck the Consul and so precipitated a crisis. In June, 1827, the French began a blockade of the port of Algiers which they were maintaining in some halfhearted fashion when Shaler returned in October. It was plain to Shaler that the French policy was not effective. He himself was winding up his affairs preparatory to returning home. His prolonged illness had warned him that he could stay in Algeria no longer, so he had once more applied for his recall. ⁵⁸

In February, 1828, the good news arrived. He was further gratified to learn that his scholarly efforts had been crowned by election to the American Philosophical Society. He now hoped to go back to Latin America, having been promised the Havana consulate whenever Spain might allow the establishment of an agent of the United States in that port. The diplomatic grapevine bore rumors that such an opportunity was about due. William Shaler left Algiers on April 3, 1828, nearly thirteen years after he first sighted it, directing his route homeward through France.⁵⁹ Once more he took the opportunity to urge France to take over Algeria. He reported to those in authority on the unsatisfactory state of the blockade and pressed for more decisive action. The French government was not yet ready, but a decision was not far off. Finally, in 1830, the die was cast. In January the council of state adopted a plan presented by a young naval officer, Abel Aubert Dupetit- Thouars, for the invasion of Algeria. He was interestingly enough a relative of the famous botanist, Louis Marie-Aubert Dupetit- Thouars, whom Shaler probably had met nearly thirty years before on the Isle of France. Dupetit-Thouars' plan was very similar to that of Shaler, and the French expedition which captured Algeria in July, 1830, followed the general strategy laid down by the American consul.²⁵ When the story can be fully told, it will be known whether in mapping out the invasion of Algeria in 1942, the Anglo-American board of strategy studied Shaler's plans. In any event, the American shock troops landed at Sidi Ferrajh and proceeded against Algiers just as Shaler had advised in 1826. American diplomacy on these strange coasts of Barbary had not been without its far-flung and long-range consequences.⁶⁰

Shaler and the Turkish Despotism of Algiers

Shaler wrote that life in Algiers was directed by the Turks, who had all the government and power in their own hands, and no man could hold any post of great distinction among them except the Turks. For Shaler's readers, however, the Turks were not only despotic, but their despotism and tyranny were unmatched in the history of the world. Shaler saw the biggest difference between Americans and the Turks in their different types of

government. He even seems to suggest that if liberty were instituted in Algiers such cruel atrocities against the different people residing there would no longer exist. With his claim that only he had the knowledge to write an accurate account of Algiers, Shaler told his American readers. A dey of Algiers, while alive is the most despotic and implicitly obeyed monarch on earth. Shaler continued. The situation of these governors [beys of the provinces of the kingdom of Algiers] is necessarily precarious, and the tyranny and oppression which they exercise within their respective jurisdictions, to procure the means of keeping their places are probably without a parallel in the history of any other country.⁶¹ Stevens, too, reached a similar conclusion, and while Shaler did not obviously plagiarize Stevens in this case, the similarity of their statements reinforces the idea that a commonality of thought existed among the Barbary writers. Though Algiers has some appearance of a military republic, according to Shaler, it is in fact the most horrible of all monarchies in the world.⁶² The dey, Stevens says, is perhaps the most despotic prince in the world. The deys of Algiers may very well have been despotic and ineffective leaders, though it was not necessarily clear from Shaler's writings that they were; yet, both authors' readers were left with the impression that the despotism of the Turks of Algiers was unmatched by any seen before anywhere in the world and that that despotism continually led to the failure of the formerly great cities of Barbary.⁶³

Subversion of the Western Descriptions of the Algerines

The lack of publication data notwithstanding, one can still get a sense of American society's understanding of the inhabitants of Barbary from the histories themselves. Shaler specifically comments on what he believes society's broad understanding of the Algerines to be, stating that from remote antiquity the inhabitants of this country have been styled inconstant and treacherous; this imputation may be regarded as not unfounded now, but they are far from being the ferocious barbarians which the term Algerines seems by common consent to imply. Society's general view of the Arabs, Moors, and Turks of Algiers as a group of treacherous and ferocious barbarians falls in line nicely with Shaler's discussion of the

inherently flawed barbarian inhabitants of Algiers. Shaler's statement on society's common understanding of the Algerine raises another important point: was it the histories and the Barbary captivity works that were constructing and then reinforcing these stereotypes for society? Or did early American society already possess and understand these stereotypes and the Barbary literature was simply a reflection of this? In reality, the answer probably lies somewhere in the middle. The stereotypes present in the Barbary literature certainly did not emerge from nowhere, but had to be present, at varying levels, throughout society. For more well-read and knowledgeable Americans, these works probably served more as a reinforcement of what they already believed to be true of the Barbary Arabs, Moors, and Turks whereas the literature probably served as more of a construction and education for Americans who were unacquainted with the barbarous character and manners of the Turks, Arabs, and Moors.⁶⁴

In this regard, the stereotypes that were prevalent throughout the Barbary literature were the result of both society pulling the Barbary canon towards those conclusions and the Barbary literary field pushing other segments of society towards those very same conclusions. In Shaler's remark on what the term Algerine regularly implied, it appeared that he was about to go against what society believed and what his American compatriots had written. Shaler does, in fact, for a short passage, take a surprisingly positive view of the Algerines. While he acknowledges that there was some grounding for society's interpretation of the Algerines as inconstant and treacherous, he goes on to argue that the characterizations of them as ferocious barbarians were unfounded, noting that:

They are a people of very insinuating address, and in the common relations of life, I have found them civil, courteous, and humane. Neither have I ever remarked anything in the character of these people that discovers extraordinary bigotry, fanaticism, or hatred of those who profess a different religion; they profess the Mohammedan creed, and fulfill with the utmost scrupulousness the rites which it ordains, but without affectation, and as far as I have remarked, without hostility to those who adopt different measures to conciliate the divine favor. I am well aware that this character of the Algerines is contrary to what has been heretofore promulgated, and to the general belief of the world; but my impressions of them, which I have received from a long residence in Barbary, differ very much from the general opinion, particularly within the last fifty years.⁶⁵

It appears from the above passage that Shaler's positive understanding broke from the established image of Algiers in that nearly all the Barbary literature took an overwhelmingly negative view of the Algerines and reinforced decidedly negative characterizations of the Arabs and Turks.

Despite what his personal interactions may have showed him, Shaler returned to the standard line that was established in the works of other American authors had never been to Algiers. Nearly a hundred pages after detailing his personal encounters with the Algerines, Shaler claimed that in the possession of a civilized and industrious people, this portion of Africa might, even within our own time, aspire to every sort of prosperity; and to the glory of civilizing a vast continent, whose inhabitants are as yet enshrouded in the night of barbarism. Despite how easy it would have been for a civilized people to restore Barbary to its former glory, the barbarous character and ignorance of the Turks, "*handful adventurers to govern the country in their present arbitrary manners*"⁶⁶ was entrenched to such a degree that it would forbid any hope of a change for the better. Shaler's own interactions may have suggested to him that the Algerines were not the all-encompassing barbaric, savage, despotic, and violent people that they had been portrayed to be. But Shaler could not quite bring himself to argue that. He ignored what he observed on the ground and opted for the established, and possibly institutionalized, stereotypical view of Algiers. His failure to confront what he knew to be incorrect, or at the very least, exaggerated, however, was not that uncommon. In his commentary on nineteenth-century travel writing, Edward Said noted that it was, and still is, the case 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. Shaler's firsthand experience may have showed him one version of Barbary, but the preexisting Barbary literature and society had convinced him of another, a discourse which he could not easily, and never did, abandon.

The histories did not just single out the Turks as the reason behind the rot of Barbary. Shaler, specifically, often discussed the inherent character flaws within all the native peoples. In his remarks on the rivers of Algiers, Shaler told his readers that none of them is made use of in navigation. It is however likely that they might be made use of for this purpose, were the inhabitants of a more *intelligent and industrious character*, for some of them are of a tolerable depth.⁶⁷ Such is the *gross ignorance* of the natives in whatever concerns domestic improvement. Shaler, too, remarked on the flawed character of the natives, stating that all the fruits of the temperate climates are produced here in abundance, but except figs, pomegranates, and grapes, they are of inferior quality; though, from the peculiar physical character of this country, which abounds in plains of various elevations, it must surpass most others in variety and excellence of its vegetable products, if it were inhabited by a *civilized and industrious people*.⁶⁸ Not only were the natives incapable of bringing prosperity to their domains, but Carey also seems to suggest that the natives were opposed to the more refined elements of civilized societies, remarking that in this part of the world, elegant architecture has been utterly forgotten or despised.⁶⁹

These Barbary commentaries not only offer a picture of the ways in which the Barbary Coast and its inhabitants were stereotyped for early American audiences, but they reveal a great deal about the authors themselves and their view of the United States in the days of the early Republic. The writer's extensive discussion of Turkish despotism begins to make more sense when one considers the fact that both Federalists and anti-Federalists employed images of the Turk during the debates over the Constitution in 1787. The Federalists emphasized the anarchy of the Ottoman Empire in their arguments for a strong central state; whereas anti-Federalists pointed to the despotism and tyranny of the Turks, and the subsequent failure of their states, as a warning against a centralized government.⁷⁰ Shaler's discussion of Turkish despotism and the rot of Barbary came between ten and twenty-nine years after the Constitutional debates, but as any historian of American history would note, the debate over

the power of the central government and states' rights was, and still is, an ongoing discussion in American politics. In this sense, one can see Shaler's discussion of Turkish despotism and ruin as a warning against excessive centralized power in the early Republic.⁷¹

In Robert Allison's argument, the generation of Americans who won the revolution were setting out to create a new society and government that would benefit not only themselves, but their future generations. They viewed the demise of the formerly great regions of Egypt, Syria, Turkey and North Africa, which had stopped growing and allowed their once fertile lands to turn to desert wastes, alongside the anarchy displayed by events in France, as potent political lessons which proved the necessity of checking the power of the federal government.⁷² Shaler was simply following in a tradition of thinkers and writers who emphasized the despotism and subsequent failure of the Barbary Coast as a warning against an excessively centralized United States government.

Shaler's Description of Islam

Unlike all American authors mentioned previously, Shaler took a relatively different view of Islam and its role in the inherent flaws of the Algerines. Much differently than any of his predecessors, he believed, there does not appear to be anything in Mohammedan faith more contrary to civilization and social order than in any other religion when unconnected to the strong arm of power.⁷³ Shaler suggests to his readers that Islam was not responsible for the uncivilized tendencies seen in the Algerines because Islam was no more incompatible with civilization than any other religion. But he seems to suggest that when Islam is connected to the ruling government (as it was in the Barbary Regencies) that it leads to an uncivilized, barbarous, and perhaps, despotic society. The Indian Muslims of Calcutta, by contrast were, according to Shaler, quiet ordinary citizens, who are capable of living under British governance, and were not liable to the same inherent flaws as the inhabitants of Algiers because their government was not connected to Islam. In this regard, Shaler taught his

American readers that an Islamic government was not only uncivilized and barbarous in and of itself, but that it inspired those very same tendencies in its citizens.⁷⁴

Representation of Woman in Shaler's Essays

The modern reader may have expected that the Barbary commentators would have discussed the role of women in Algerine society in relation to their discussion of the barbarism of the Algerines, Turkish despotism, or Islam. While this theme did emerge to some extent in the commentaries, Shaler analyzes all the aspects that may be surprisingly unconcerned views on the role of women in nineteenth century Algerine society.⁷⁵ While the Turkish harem would have been a perfect opportunity to discuss women, it was never mentioned in Shaler's essays where he discusses the roles of women, but it is done matter-of-factly and without characterization. Early Americans viewed women within Turkish society as being an exploited sex in the harems or seraglios of the Middle East. The harem, as it existed within the early American lexicon, was founded upon fantasy and imagination. American men and women believed that women in these harems were literally locked up within the Sultan's palace and kept for his every erotic whim. Americans perceived this cultural and social practice as the ultimate subjugation of the female sex. Advocates for women's rights, most notable Mary Wollstonecraft, frequently referred to the status of women in Islamic culture as one of complete exploitation that "kills virtue and genius in the bud." According to Wollstonecraft, if women could not pursue reason and respect within society, then they would be condemned to the same kind of subjected status as Muslim women.⁷⁶

Shaler notes that Arab women subsequent to marriage are obliged to wear a veil and for a month after marriage, Arab women never blend from the veil and faith. He notes that ladies of condition seldom 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 for a restoration of the rights, of which barbarism and ignorance

have defrauded them.⁷⁶ While barbarism and ignorance had stripped women of their rights, the women of Algiers were less slaves to their husbands, according to Shaler, than to customs and long received notions of decorum and propriety.⁷⁷ The ways he describes, or failed to characterize, their observations on the treatment of women in Algerine society not only highlights how early Americans may have viewed the Algerines, but it also suggests a great deal about how the author, and their contemporary American audience, viewed the place and role of women in their own society. Shaler, on the other hand, viewed the restriction of women to the home as a barbarous defrauding of their rights, but he did not seem to think that men in Algerine society actively forced women into this role.⁷⁸ It was more the result of inherited tradition. One wonders if Shaler thought the restrictions on women in his own newly liberated society were not the direct fault of his sex, but the result of inherited tradition.

Conclusion

We can deduce that that Shaler's essays despite the colonial discourse that it transmits and despite the fixity that it draws about the Turkish "other" as despotic barbarian, "who are born to command while the natives of Algiers to obey", it paradoxically produces a counter orientalist discourse that constitutes a break within the work itself and which weakens the colonialist discourse and reveals the complex and the ambivalent nature of the colonial discourse itself. The Barbary Coast essays and commentaries of Shaler reveal a great deal about the ways in which the Algerines as a whole and the Arabs, Moors, and Turks as specific groups were stereotyped for early American audiences. At the most basic level, the Algerines were barbarous, savage, ignorant and incapable of returning Barbary to the greatness it experienced under Roman rule. At the more specific level, the Turks and their government were directly associated with a level of despotism that had never been seen before in history and led to the destruction of Barbary.

The Arab and the Moor were conflated as natural criminals and thieves. We also see the beginnings of a racial divide being drawn among the three. The Arab and the Moor were

tawny barbarians, as American authors noted in their comments on the thievery of the Arab and the Moor. Their similar skin tone furthered their conflation, a theme which was even more prevalent in the captivity narratives, and set them apart from the lighter-skinned Turk. However, Shaler reflects with disdain the qualities with natives were treated by the Turkish governors. While the Arab and the Turk each had their own unique set of stereotypes, the characteristics that made up the essence of the archetypal Arab and Turk were stereotypes that were not necessarily limited to the inhabitants of the Barbary Coast. The accounts of primordial, wild, and savage Arabs could have just as easily been passages about Indians. The despotic nature and elaborate torture schemes of the Turks could have been substituted with the oriental despotism. The proliferation of these stereotypes in Shaler's essays can be linked back to the idea that early Americans saw themselves and the West as the world's modern race. The American society was the most advanced and their form of government was the most effective and rational. American writers, therefore, looked out at the world's barbarous races and saw regions of oriental and Turkish despotism which had rotted under the weight of tyrannical governments. The Barbary Coast was the region of despotism and savagery that captivated American public consciousnesses. It was the Arab and the Turk who were the primary characters juxtaposed to American or European protagonists in the Barbary captivity narratives. And it was the Arab and the Turk who were continually stereotyped in one of the more popular forms of literature and entertainment in early American society.

William Shaler stands as a representative of the American's vision of the Ottoman Empire as a formidable, established power whose history stretched back several hundred years. Americans were both intimidated and beguiled by the Ottoman Empire. Although it as a non-Christian, theocratic world power, it also possessed an array of goods held to be desirable luxury items. Thus, Americans viewed the Ottoman Empire in both a positive and negative light. They would selectively appreciate and admire certain aspects of Ottoman culture while simultaneously dismissing and condemning others. Shaler wholeheartedly

believed that Africa could be returned to its former glory, and its inhabitants civilized, through colonization. He proposed that Great Britain should determine to colonize this portion of Africa for the benefit of the world because under British colonization, this portion of Barbary would become more abundant in the staple productions of corn, wine, silk, wool, and cattle, than any other country, the sources of interior African trade, through which several cities in this part of Mauritania rose, under the Roman domination, to a degree of opulence and splendor which at this day seems incredible, would be re-opened; and through these channels, the production of the arts, and the principles of European civilization, would penetrate into the very centre of this benighted continent.

One question still remains to be asked, however: why would Shaler, an American, whose country had only just recently won its freedom from Great Britain, argue for another people to be colonized by the British? Shaler's logic seems only to make sense if he truly believed that the substitution of Turkish despotism with British government would bring prosperity and Western civilization to Africa. Accordingly, his stay in Algiers as a privileged witness of the reign of three Deys allowed him to collect a precious number of political and military data that would become later the reference document par excellence of the then future colonial power in Algeria, France.

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Chapter Seven : The Other's Disruptive Resistance

El Euldj, Captif des Barbaresques (1929).

In dominance without Hegemony, there can be no colonialism without coercion, no subjugation of an entire people in its own homeland by foreigners without the explicit use of force

(Henry Lefevre)

*One's own voice is never completely of
one's own self, in isolation from community.*

(Emma LaRocque)

Introduction

We have studied so far that one of the most prolific sources and bases of the Western captives remains the iconoclastic power of submission and suffering found in Christian cosmology. Suffering and displacement are salient terms in the vocabulary of Christians and Captives; it enabled membership and communion with ultimate reality according to a Christian worldview. To remember, then, is to re-member, to reorganize and invest meaning into events. More to my point, inasmuch as Western and American captivity narratives are animated by, dependent on, and shared through the dynamics of memory, they also possess the ability to remake and renegotiate the apparently immutable facts they rehearse. In this way, they become a site for the contestation of Western defended and imposed identity, not just its transmission. Such contestation will begin with the way we examine the Barbary Captivity told by an Algerian writer about the colonial and historical realities from inside and within the frame work of orientalist trend to know the implications behind such a work and hence study the relationship between the east and the west.

Throughout this concluding chapter, we argue that despite the orientalizing discourse produced by the Barbary captivity narratives about the North African other, the west fails to achieve its imagined perfection and fails to cherish its superiority over the “other”. That “other” ironically becomes a sign of a subversive destruction that debunks the zeal of the west to continue its rhetorical building of the western empire and gives the “other” more space to

act and react and hence resist such produced body of knowledge in re-telling the Barbary narratives from inside. In sum, our aim behind the contents of the present chapter is to support our claim that **captivity is a metaphor, and even an allegory, for talking about freedom and other ideologies at home.**

By re-telling, we mean an approach which centers upon the psychic experience of the colonized and his interaction with the representations of other. To the extent that in this text, therefore, it is only for the purposes of telling a story of colonization from his own perspective. We have seen throughout the preceding chapter the histories and commentaries of Shaler offered only part of the picture that Americans were receiving of the Barbary Coast and its Muslim inhabitants. Considerably more important were the immensely popular Barbary captivity tales that filled bookshelves in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Whereas the Barbary commentaries often constructed a more singular stereotypical view of the Algerines as a whole, it is in this different perspective that this concluding chapter centers on. As explained in much more detail in the preliminary chapter, this theoretical approach of a postcolonial persuasion attempts to view the colonizer as actively seeking to construct himself as the opposite of the Other, which was used to legitimate colonialism, sexual violence, and genocide. It explores an Algerian writer, Chukri Khodja's third novel entitled, *El Euldj, Captive des Barbaresques* (1929) with the intention of trying to study mainly the ways the author appropriates and then subverts the colonialist discourse that manifest therein.¹

The chapter is devoted to investigate prototypes of representation particularly as they pertain to the notion of counter discourse and counter hegemonic modalities of resistance and subversion. It also explores the discursive methods Choukri Khodja has used to represent the West and highlights how western cultural prejudices and stereotypes can be destabilized and how the discursively inflected distortions of the Orientalist mindset are disturbed in his work. The choice of this text is determined by a strong desire to discover how the "Other" of the Orientalist ideology examines and understands the Western "Self" and how the Centre vs the

Margin binarism of imperial discourse can be debunked. In this sense, cultural exchange challenges the project of cultural identity that Homi Bhabha describes as the representation of a radical rhetoric of the separation of totalized cultures that live unsullied by the intertextuality of their historical locations, safe in a mythic memory of a unique identity.²

What also makes Choukri Khodja's *Eluldj* important to our corpus is the fact that it offers a narration of his experience through the times and spaces of colonial Algerian society. His story speaks of the violence of the Algerian settler-state as an integrative assault on the author's own identity as a Native through a gridlocked system of interlocking modes of oppression. The text also provides a site of colonial contest, for such "in-between" space, to paraphrase Homi Bhabha, and a ground for elaborating strategies of selfhood that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of Algerian society. The text demonstrates that crossing transcultural borders exposes the captive not only to physical hardships but also to psychological trauma. It also reveals that such crossing expose the captive and the reader to the alternative paradigms of his captors.

Choukri Khodja's Novel Read as an Alternative voice

El Euldj was produced during the first quarter of the century and the novel contains all Westerners' clichés and colonial stereotypes about the evils of the Barbary pirates, insecurity, poverty, marginalization, and especially religious conflicts. Its direct relationship to our subject matter rests on the fact that it can be regarded as the outcome of writing and literary requirements; which is expressed in the language of the occupier denying this literature in its practice the assimilation policy advocated by the French colonial power. More significantly, the novel follows closely the political events of the period and aspires to be heard as an alternative voice of the colonized. Its author provides his views on issues from the colonial phenomenon by coordinating the narrative around dichotomous reports such as history vs. ideology; colonized vs. colonizer, Metropolis vs Colony. In short, it is a moralizing text that marks a series of themed breaks, formal and ideological, which are directly linked to

our topic. The author examines through a discursive narratives how group identity is represented, constructed and negotiated and how the relationships between identities and actions build up group self-representations.

For the author there are strong relationships between narrative and identity. He explores the various linguistic and rhetorical resources that can allow identifying the narrator's identification in the storytelling. By telling stories, the narrator represents not only the social worlds and to evaluate them but also to establish himself as a member of particular groups through interactional, linguistic, rhetorical and stylistic choices. In so doing, he evaluates how the colonized people present themselves in relation to others through an examination of narrative technique to express solidarity. He also looks at the kinds of categories that the narrator uses to talk about the self and the other. In the narrative, ethnic identity is expressed through the use of different ethnic terms. The author maps the discourses of two groups: the Captive's discourse but also other discourses of the natives' experience of colonization. The author looks at how encounters between the two groups have an impact on their self-reflection and the emergence of new identities. Choukri Khodja shows that the image of the captive as a naïve and unreflective individual is quite wrong as, even though one can easily get the impression that he searches for authenticity, his discourse evolves between various (often contradictory) positions and dimensions. For example, Bernard Ledieux is well aware that the local people are actually "inventing" their cultural identity for them. It seems that the author is interested in how his informants understand the racial, ethnic and cultural labels created by the "other". By using a dialogical self approach, which challenges static identities, he debunks the idea of the Westerners captives, who hold fast to their ideals while courageously struggling for freedom. The study of the polyphonic construction of self in dialogue with the other can help review canonical "culturalist" and static approaches to acculturation and assimilation often used by the colonizer.³

The Author and his Time

Since the writer is not well known, it seems necessary to give some biographical references. Chukri Khodja is the pseudonym of Hassen Khodja of Hamdan. He was born on February 11, 1891 in Algiers (Casbah). He is issued from a wealthy and well ranked family of small traders. His maternal grandfather was president of the Justice Court of Algiers and well established writer. Chukri started his primary education at the native school of (Soustara) in Algiers. At the age of sixteen, after the death of his father, he enlisted as an accountant in a Jewish merchant street Lyre in Algiers. The following year, he was admitted in a religious Madrasa, which he attended until 1922 where he obtained the higher degree. Then, he worked as a court interpreter; he was also appointed to do the same job successively in many regions such as Remchi, Oued Fodda, Tablat, Medea. Finally he settled in Blida. In 1933, he was selected to be supervisor all the Court interpreters' classes. He was then affected by the trials imposed by the war of liberation. Consequently, he demanded his retirement by gradually ceasing his activities in 1960. A few years before his death, he suffered from a serious depressive crisis and destroyed all he had as manuscripts. He died in 1967.⁴

Chukri Khodja belongs to the group of intellectuals educated and trained in French colonial schools. He masters the culture of the colonizer then he uses such an education to assert his Algerian identity. His two novels Mamoun, *L'Ébauche d'un idéal*, and *El Euldj, captif des Barbaresques*, illustrate the writing movement, challenge of the colonial ideology to subvert its historical significance. Throughout his third novel, he tells the story of a French character named Bernard Ledieux who was captured by the Barbary pirates. To escape the harsh living conditions of captivity, he was converted to Islam but not totally because he renounces his Muslim religion to become a Christian again. Thus, he suffers from an inner conflict as his identity becomes disturbed and unable to enter the world of the "Other" and ends in death. The date of publication of the novel is very significant. It corresponds to the centenary of the conquest of Algeria. French colonization was about to celebrate its centenary.

In order to escape censorship, Chukri Khodja anchors his story about Algeria during the Turkish period. The central character is not an Algerian native, who faces the French assimilationist ideology, but a Frenchman called Bernard Ledieux; he is a Christian captive of the tyrannical Barbary pirates of Algiers. To escape the unbearable conditions of captivity, Ledieux agrees to be converted to the Islam and also accepts to change his identity. He becomes Omar Lediousse, who marries Zineb, a Muslim daughter of an Algerian notable Baba Hadji.

As many Christians converted to Islam, Bernard Ledieux becomes Muslim either from perceived necessity having become a slave; he thought it was in his best interests to do so in order to improve his conditions and escape captive servitude or from a desire to improve his social status and material circumstances. Tales of renegades, Christians who had ‘turned Turk’ by converting to Islam, and had subsequently prospered, were numerous throughout the period; many were not fantasies, but accounts of actual events. But deep inside himself, the new convert feels overwhelmed by his French and Christian faith. The conflict works on a historical situation of displacement. It can be interpreted as a kind of “deviation” by the author to express himself freely on the Algerian situation, not from the Turkish period, but of the French colonial situation.⁵ Chukri Khodja uses deviations and stratagems in his discourse to show and express his awareness of colonial injustice. He highlights the oppositions and differences between the Muslim and the Christian worlds while proving that assimilation is often a “façade” or an appearance that hides a lot of things.

Far from meaning a full integration in the cultural and religious systems imposed by the colonizer, the story of Bernard Ledieux or Omar Lediousse is not presented as a positive example of assimilation. As an illustration, during one of his prayers at the mosque, the hero reaffirms his Christian identity and publicly renounces to his adopted Islam. His route ends in madness and death. The work focuses on the barbaric and despicable act that the occupant

requires a colonized to assimilate the religion and culture of colonizer. The novel offers also to be read that French colonization, which lasted a century in Algeria, may follow the same fate as the powerful Turkish Regency, which was dismantled by the French colonization. More importantly, in this historical novel, Chukri Khodja lets the voice of the oppressed heard rather than that the oppressor. In so doing, the author breaks the oppressor's monological discourse. The Algerian population becomes the basis of the breakdown of colonial monological discourse and shows that Islam posed a problem since it encouraged far greater piety among its adherents than Christianity.

Re-telling of the Barbary Captivity in Choukri Khodja's Novel

As it has been mentioned earlier, no discourse can be completely silenced or negated. If the perspective known as Orientalism focuses on the West's perception of the Orient in the process of self-representation, what could then be the discursive ramifications of a strategic reversal of modes of representation inherent in such a perception? The author of *El Euldj, Captive des Barbaresques* (1929)'s Eyes on the French, Turkish, and Western domination underlines an invective and counter hegemonic attitude of the author who is functioning not simply as an individual but metonymically as the eyes and voice of long silenced and misrepresented Algerian. Based on the author's experience of colonial history, the novel is a good example of how "the "culture concept", as made of contested codes, concerns the ways in which different modes of interpreting culture are tight to the historical, institutional, and social contexts in which these interpretations are produced.

As mentioned earlier, from the tenth to the fifteenth century, Algeria suffered from the domination of many European forces that were played power in central Maghreb. For instance, in 1510, after the persistence of the Christian Crusade led by the Spaniards who attempted to submit the city and its population, Algiers sought the protection of the Barbarossa brothers who settled in Algiers in 1516. It was thanks to them that Spaniards were driven from its soil. From 1529 to 1830, during the three centuries of Turkish presence, the

Algerian state was known and given the name of the "Regency of Algiers". Since the founding of the odjak Algiers by Kheir Eddine Aroudj and brother, who were the subject of their time, were respectively appointed as beyler-Beys: Kheir-Eddine, Hassen- Agha (adopted son of Kheir Eddine), Salih Reis and El Euldj Ali. All of them have demonstrated competence, loyalty and courage. They have fought against the Spaniards and their allies to defend Islam. They have also fought against internal insurrections. This meets the goals they were assigned, which aimed to expand their territory and to impose their power and suzerainty. For three centuries, "the Regency of Algiers" was directed by the Janissaries, Turkish troops based in Algiers after the arrival of brothers Barbarossa.⁶

Throughout the centuries of the Turkish governance, there had been many conversions. The best way to withdraw from captivity and slavery was to become Turkish and embrace Muslim religion. Conversion was the only option for the poor captives and slaves who had no chance to be ransomed. Once converted to Islam, they became Muslims and therefore servants of the Empire. These renegades of all races and ages could access to the highest offices. Those who embraced Islam and behaved honestly and fairly could obtain function and be appointed in official jobs. Still, it should be noted that the conversion of these freed slaves is not always true. Sometimes, it is only a pretext for escape or to avenge their master by killing them. In 1634, people speak of 25000 male slaves and among them 2000 slave women. In different parts of the Regency, which was known for its convict, the condition of the slaves depended solely on the will of their masters since, in Algiers at that time, there were no laws or regulations of slavery. The Christian captives unconverted to Islam were subjected to inhuman conditions. Most of the time, the prisoner is the property of a master who has won him the right to death or life. They were given hard jobs, for instance, they do household chores, fetching water, keep children, whiten houses.⁷

During that time, Algeria has suffered Ottoman influence in its manners, its art and its way of life. Algerians were totally excluded from high office governance. The beyler-Beys

were wary of native populations and did not associate them with power; they prefer choosing among their employees the Turks and renegades. Therefore, the non-participation of Algerians in power and decision making added to the weakening the Ottoman Empire that began in early nineteenth century, led to the dissension among the Beys and to the backwardness of the country. Meanwhile, scientific progress and technical development spread throughout the European countries. The situation explains the discontent of the Algerian tribes who cried instability and insecurity and that they did not wanted to bear Turkish rule. Thus, the country was shaken by numerous revolts against the tax system and weak governance to the demands of power Christian. By taking advantage of these circumstances, France intervenes in Algeria. In 1830, begins the "long colonial night." Algeria will be under 132 years of French occupation, poverty and repression.

Faced with French colonialism, Algerian intellectuals have spared no effort to be the voices of their country and population. The country was then the first victim in the Western Mediterranean European colonization which halted any development. The intervention allowed seizing the treasury. French troops took advantage of the disorder to drive in the city, and chasing all its leaders. A long and bloody conquest of Algeria began in 1830. A violent and bloody conflict marked by horror. It was a period during which repression and torture were increasing and the French suzerainty which much closer to fiction than reality, manifested various aspects. The French have subjected the country village by village by using brutal methods. The French were responsible for killings, torture, and summary executions. It was dehumanized the enemy. Thus, the prisoners were cowardly murdered in obscure conditions; they were executed without reason under conditions of captivity, which were particularly harsh. Violence was common in detention centers. This was where the regrettable events occur: interviews with abuse, prisoners killed during attempts leak. These people staying at the camp were coupled with incredible savagery. Their fate was dramatic: they murdered mercilessly.

The Role of the Algerian Intellectual in the Liberation War

In their works, Algerian writers carried a specific witness about the painful reality while denouncing the abuses of colonialism. They have expressed their discomfort, their disappointment and revolt to part in the political events that took the center stage and polarize minds. The writers faithfully followed the tragic event cracks in Algeria. They wanted to be the chroniclers, the historians, and the sociologists of their society. They made assessments and findings of an economic, social and deplorable policy of a people that longed to recover their erased identity and ancestral heritage. Their novels included ethnographic in their detailed descriptions of everyday life especially in terms of manners and customs of their people. Folk and regionalist themes abound. This is a response to the needs of readers and curiosities especially their disorientation. Chukri Khodja in his *El Euldj, a Barbary Captive*, has no interest in attaching importance to the Turkish period at that crucial time in history when French colonization put the country in turmoil. Already in his first novel, he shows his awareness about colonial injustice. Khodja wanted, in his way, to be a specific witness of his country under French colonization where the theme of the barbarism of colonizer was dominating. His work has not failed to show, to insists that, like the main character of the narrative that Algeria's accession enclosed by the colonial system, means its allegiance was only a pretext for this character oppressed for survival. At this stage, it can be justified by the author's appeal to the mask and his desire to divert attention from censorship. Indeed, the movement of nationalism did not yet exist. It grew more and more during the thirties. But to answer the question: Why exactly the Turkish period? We can justify this choice: on the one hand, the period immediately preceding the French domination. On the other hand, there is a certain relationship between barbarism practiced by Turks and the one practiced by the French even though they were more ferocious than their predecessors. All these considerations were useful in the last section of memory which investigates the relation between the novel and its history.

Identity Construction in the Novel

Chukri Khodja published his novel in 1929. It was a crucial time in Algerian history; it corresponded to the eve of the centenary when settlement is preparing to celebrate with a bang in Algiers and in the rest of the country. One hundred years of French presence and domination. There was a decade from 1920 to 1930 as defined by two famous events, the first is the end of the First World War, the other is the centenary of French colonization. The oppressor no longer feels threatened. After a century, it has established its domination over the whole of our territory and succeeded in deconstructing our society: «*L'apparition du colon a signifié synchrétiquement mort de la société autochtone, léthargie culturelle, pétrification des individus*». ⁸ So after a land of residence newcomers, Algeria has been socially skewed. In addition to the mutations of culture in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, Algerian society has been reduced and weakened by the destruction of sociability frameworks. The people were deprived of independence and freedom. He was stripped of these powers. In same time, the French officials in charge of law enforcement abused often their powers:

Depuis près d'un siècle le peuple algérien est soumis à un régime d'exception insupportable que les Français ont qualifié de "régime de violence, d'iniquité et de terreur". On lui impose l'impôt du sang. Et au lieu de le relever de l'oppression qu'il subit, on lui promet des réformes secondaires qui ne répondent à aucune de ces justes revendications. ⁹

In addition, this oppressed people were regularly subjected to serious famines followed by different epidemics. In another connection the first quarter of the twentieth century, had a kind of mutation in the awareness of the Algerians. It was the period of the establishment of a new intelligentsia whose members went to the French school system: «*Il appartient aux musulmans d'étudier eux aussi les sciences modernes, de se familiariser avec les découvertes qui ont assuré la grandeur des autres peuples, d'adopter les méthodes d'enseignement les plus pratiques*». ¹⁰

Algerian intellectuals wanted to talk on behalf of the Algerian people who fought for in the first place for their religion and cultural identity. Although "as a whole, what can be considered as the Algerian elite was not more than 1% Algerian people" the elite was the link between the Algerian people and the colonial power: « *Ces forces naissantes mettent en oeuvre de nouvelles formes de lutte: grèves, pétitions, délégations, de nouveaux moyens d'expression : presse, mémoires, pamphlets et de nouveaux cadres d'organisation: associations, syndicats, partis.*¹¹ There were so many forms of revolt against "colonialism that not cease to use all means to acculturate whole people, it obscures language, history. In short, the strategy of the colonizer is summed up in this passage, which appeared in a Native Voice in 1933: « *Les dix commandements du Colonisé:1- Ton histoire tu renieras, la notre tu apprendras mais dans notre famille, jamais tu n'entreras. 2- Nos beaux principes : liberté, égalité, fraternité à l'école par coeur, tu réciteras, mais à la vie pratique jamais tu ne t'en réclamera. 3- Dans les assemblées électives, inférieur tu resteras, du bonnet tu opineras, tes intérêts tu ne défendras. (...) Certifié conforme, LE BICOT FRANÇAIS.* »¹² In the years between the wars, there has been some form of dialogue with the colonized colonizer. It is a fruitful dialogue insofar as it has become assertive. It questioned the foreign domination and it was realized that this must end: The people must be freed from French rule. They shout: « *C'est notre droit et nous le revendiquons hautement!* ». In reality, it is the imperialist war of 1914-1918 which is the catalyst such claims. The native realized that "it is forced to shed his blood for a cause that is not his. And it is not dream ensure the exercise of his rights". Yet 25,000 soldiers Muslims fell on the battlefield. The lessons learned from this war have raised hopes about changing political rights of Algerians: « *La France n'est plus un mythe, mais un pays, un peuple avec sa force et ses faiblesses. L'Algérie n'est plus un cas particulier. D'autres peuples sont aussi dominés et luttent pour leur liberté.* »¹³ So, the situation could not last, the Algerian people claimed their right to self-determination. In the midst of this broken

historical era, exploded and dislocated was born the heterogeneous and pluri-voiced discourse of Choukri Khodja's novel.

If Choukri Khodja develops a whole speech about assimilation, it is because this was part of the daily political news of Algeria during the twenties. French colonial system required of the indigenous people a renunciation of personal status to join the class citizens of the first order. Apart from a few isolated cases, the Algerians pointed at it as a betrayal. They shouted against the colonizer:

Oui nous sommes partisans d'une évolution traditionaliste : nous tenons à notre manière de vivre, nous voulons conserver, tout en les améliorant, nos mœurs et nos coutumes. Et puis, pourquoi demanderions-nous une assimilation complète, chercherions-nous une fusion quelconque ? Aurions-nous honte de notre Race, de cette race de preux et de martyrs qui, en Tripolitaine, fait l'admiration du monde ? de cette race que, quoique vaincus, nous avons fait respecter par le vainqueur? 14

One does not simply throw these cries; the collaborators of El Hack have even an ironical view of their French masters on the question of assimilation or apostasy. While hiding behind Djeha we will get him to sign their articles, these editors allow us to read under the title: "I do not want to be Arab", the following passage: "Do not worry, as I am intelligent and because is rejected by his native society. He declare: « *Je suis déçu, Cuisinier, je pensais trouver auprès de toi un peu de réconfort, je trouve haine et mépris*».15 This renegade is rejected in the image of any person committing that "act forbidden (Haram)."It is therefore never repudiates and it is called "M'tourni" as El Euldj announces it: « *J'ai fait plus que d'assassiner un homme, j'ai assassiné une religion, ma religion, cette religion si belle et si enchanteresse*». He then adds: « *je ne pouvais me défaire de ma foi chrétienne, celle que je crois aujourd'hui la seule lumineuse et pure*».16 El Euldj goes on to say: "I have done more than to murder a man, I murdered a religion, my religion, that so beautiful and enchanting religion"[...] I could not rid myself of my Christian faith, which I think now the only bright and pure faith.

The main character's confessions explain well the tormented life of the renegades who are harassed by remorse for having denied one day their native religion. Indeed, assimilation is always "crowned" by failure. In his religious discourse, the mufti Youssef talk about the true Muslim religion. He reinforces his arguments with the image of an Islam free of any Marabout practices. An Islam that refuses fatalism. The following passage tells more :

L'homme serait une négation s'il n'avait pas de volonté propre, s'il n'avait pas de personnalité et s'il se condamnait à une activité béate, attendant de la volonté divine la direction de ses gestes et de ses mouvements.¹⁷

Furthermore, the mufti discusses the development of a dynamic Islam taking every possible upgrade when stating:

Le monde arrivera à un stade d'apogée qui constituera pour l'humanité le sommet de la perfection scientifique et artistique [...]. La pensée humaine sera publiée en un clin d'oeil dans les quatre points du monde. Et tout cela, mes chers élèves se conjuguera à merveille avec la volonté divine.¹⁸

In reality, this speech is addressed to the settler who wants to Islam a religion of intolerance and intransigence. Chukri Khodja, through its People wanted to overturn prejudices on the fatalism of Islam and Muslims. Chukri Khodja allows the reader to discover that "the people receive the instruction to which he is entitled. Such a description reflects the disintegration the education system by the colonizer. The French fought against the Algerian school. They were aware that teaching Algeria is a real danger for them: « *L'instruction des indigènes fait courir en Algérie un véritable péril. Si l'instruction se généralisait, le cri unanime des indigènes serait: l'Algérie aux Arabes* ». ¹⁹ If Chukri Khodja forces Arabic to take place in a speech of the characters, it is because this language has been marginalized in benefit of the French that was broadcast by the privileged channel of school: « *Elle (l'école coloniale) devra assurer la prédominance de notre langue sur les divers idiomes locaux, inculquer aux Musulmans l'idée que nous avons-nous mêmes de la France et de son rôle dans le monde* ». ²⁰ The other points raised by Chukri Khodja in his work, appearing as a direct transposition of the aspects of the situation history of colonial Algeria.

The author speaks of the transformation of Djamâa Ketchaoua into a Cathedral. This act is common during the period of French Algeria. Several mosques were transformed into hospitals, stores or churches. The writer depicts the Muslim man with his Arab costume because:

Jusqu'à la fin de l'entre-deux-guerres, on a pu voir de nombreux instituteurs musulmans, normaliens de valeurs, demeurer attachés à leur costume arabe (pantalon à queue de mouton, gandoura, burnous et guennour) fréquenter assidûment la mosquée et interrompre régulièrement leurs classes de l'après-midi pour accomplir la prière.²¹

One may even say that the attempted landing of Charles V in Algiers in 1541, mentioned in the work of Chukri Khodja, is only a reference to the crimes of the French and their acts of violence against Algerian people. In addition, the names of characters refer to Islamic figures. This ties the reality of Colonized Algerians who fought to keep the Arab-Islamic identity.

From the above, it can be said that El Euldj captive of Barbary is a work based on careful observation of reality of social life. It is a study of the problems of Algeria during the first quarter the twentieth century. The attentive reader cannot fail to see the presence of a committed writer: « (...) être un écrivain engagé, c'est signer des pétitions, prendre la parole à des meetings, s'exprimer sur les grands problèmes de la société, se poser en sentinelles du Bien». ²² Chukri Khodja depicts and presents a Algeria with its history, religion, language and culture. History and society appear in the novel "as so many texts that maintain a dialogue of many voices.

Re-Orienting Orientalist Views and Western Style

Throughout his narrative, Choukri Khodja brings to the fore events where the inscriptions of a stereotypical discourse find their most powerful expression, and through the use of irony as a subversive narrative device, he plays with the racial stereotypes, twist them and creates discursive terrains for identity affirmation and self-expression. His text adopts strategies of decentering western assumptions of authority through diverse acts of liberation,

subversion, and appropriation'. His stories are full of powerful situations and recollections which offer illuminating insights into startling and problematic critiques of the Western empires, paving the way to a dynamically outburst of what can be called "literature of opposition". His novel displays the author's deep desire to be assertive, to exist and to denounce in the language of the colonizer the colonial injustice and oppression. The language used was that imposed on the Algerian elite by circumstances of history. It was a choice conditioned by the audience they were intended: the French reader. The writer who considers the French language as a tool of expression was then used to violate that foreign language and reworked it to become his own. The intrusion of the language in the written text in French was not accidental. It is of no surprise that Choukri Khodja's title is a word in Arabic. It seems to tell the French that even if it is expressed in the language of the colonizer, the first word is taken from his mother tongue, which illustrates the attachment of the author to its Arab and Muslim values. Choukri Khodja's novel offers discursive instances that show how creatively the Oriental Other can answer back to react against the West's disfigured rendition of the Oriental by holding history and language into his own hands. It seems that it is in this way that the novelist announces that he will not speak naturally in the language of the Other. Why? First, he agrees to show his desire to be as close as possible to his people's values and language in order to free up marginality in which it had been located in the colonial context.

The devaluation of African languages by the colonizer is illustrated by Albert Memmi who writes:

Elle (la langue maternelle du colonisé) n'a aucune dignité dans le pays ou dans le concert des peuples. S'il veut obtenir un métier, construire sa place, exister dans la cité et dans le monde, il doit d'abord se plier à la langue des autres, celle des colonisateurs et des maîtres.²³

In addition, this method of introducing Arabic words in a text in French corresponds to a natural need to realize, through literature, the human context features remaining faithful to linguistic realities of the country and provide the reader with a sample of the cultural diversity

in including the words of the local culture. Let us not lose sight that *El Euldj* is a realistic novel where the primary concern is to achieve a description of the most likely and most natural as possible. It can be noted that the author uses his mother tongue when the French language has no meaning corresponding to a given signified. For instance, the insertion of the following terms: Imam mihrab, *Imam, mihrab, taleb, reïs, burnous, caftan, kanoun, chourba, roumi*.²⁴ In addition to Arabic, Chukri Khodja anchors sometimes in his speech, other languages such as Phoenician language as an attempt to a representation of human diversity of French Algeria as the subsequent excerpt expresses it clearly:

- Zineb, dounar el moutchatchou bounbouns, fir an...an...an...machi mlih hadak.
- Youssef adjì chez babak; toi mlih, gentil.Yebki, machi mlih. Fir boussa, babak.
- Khod, Youssef, minauda Zineb, en tendant au fils un morceau de « mekrout ».
- Ouskout ya oulidi.
- Saha, la mama, observa Omar Ledioussè, dans ce langage franque hybride, dérivé de la langue phénicienne et de quelques rudiments de la langue française altérée mêlés à un arabe de basse classe. ²⁵

In addition to this, he emphasizes the use of the sabir language. As an illustration, he writes:
 Alli, Alli, déclara fermement Ismaïl Hadji, dans la langue franque à Bernard Ledieux, marin à peine débarqué de l’Espérance, toi viens avique moi, Lou Pacha mi donni toi trabaja li moro ; à la casa de moi donar El Khoubz et fazir al visalle trabaja bono emchi ya mansis ²⁶.

This polyphonic effect, which is manifested through language, proves that the colonized writers certainly begin to say in the language of the other, but in their own way, using their own words. This language appropriation subverts the homogeneity of the novel. Like other Algerian intellectuals who were able to use the French language as a means to fight the colonizer by turning it against him, Mostefa Lacheraf points out that [...] *c’est leur connaissance de la langue du colonisateur qui leur permettait de mieux s’informer sur les horreurs du système colonial et des intentions des nouveaux fauteurs de guerre et de génocides contre le peuple algérien*. ²⁷ It is a tool to better fight the oppressor as Jean Amrouche states:

Quand vous êtes dans la situation du colonisé vous êtes tenu d’user de cette langue qu’on vous a prêtée d’un seul usage. Vous devez en user à une seule fin qui est de louer éternellement le colonisateur. Et dès que vous voulez utiliser librement

cette langue et au besoin de lui faire violence, pour vous exprimer vous-même [...] alors vous commettez un sacrilège et même malhonnêteté, car on vous laissera toujours entendre que si l'on vous a fait grâce de vous enseigner le français, ce n'était pas pour que vous retourniez cette langue contre le colonisateur.²⁸

At one point, the reader feels that the French language is no longer considered as the expression of depersonalization, but it has become a formidable weapon in the hands of the Algerians.

Dialectic Relationship Between Christianity and Islam in the Novel

It has been noticed, in the previous sections, that there has been a respectively double dialogue: first between the two eras: Turkish and French; and between languages, especially between Arabic and French. Now, it's time that the two religions in question Islam and Christianity, interact in their turn. How? Already we can see already that dialogue among religions gives birth to a religious discourse. The question which can be asked is how can we interpret the presence of a religious discourse within a literary one? How the religious discourse could cross a literary corpus? So any kind of speech can get into the structure of a novel. As already mentioned, Chukri Khodja is an Algerian writer of the period between the wars. That period was marked by a profound cultural crisis. For a century, it has attracted a very important fact: a socio-cultural breakdown of Algeria. The French penetration, in 1830, has certainly triggered a phenomenon of acculturation which introduced new data in the Algerian society. In short, the French led a whole movement to force Algerians away from their cultural roots toward "Western civilization ". One can note also that, with regard to Islam or Arabs, almost all French writers had only hatred; the following passage tells more:

Détruire ce qu'il y a d'arabe et de musulman au Maghreb et le remplacer par un apport latin catholique ». « Répétons-le encore, parce que c'est l'humble vérité, l'oriental et en particulier le musulman est notre ennemi [...] L'oriental est notre ennemi et ne peut être que notre ennemi [...] Regardez les orientaux bien en face, dans les yeux: ce sont nos ennemis.²⁹

The words which shape the above passage were affirmed by French colonialist writer Louis Bertrand, who scored a generation of French writers who aimed to make Algeria a Latin and Christian country. They have even taken some more steps when stating:

La mesure la plus urgente est d'obliger tous les indigènes à ne parler que la langue française, y compris dans le culte musulman, d'interdire la parution de livres, journaux et affiches en arabe, de fermer les écoles religieuses islamiques et en matière d'instruction, de n'envisager qu'un enseignement absolument professionnel, et non l'instruction supérieure, qui ne peut qu'être nuisible pour l'indigène.³⁰

The above passage was included in the resolution passed by the Socialist Congress in 1902. Indeed, the level of the Arab school in the countryside and destroyed cities had decreased significantly. The objective was to disseminate the language and French culture to keep the people off the language of the Koran. Hadroug Mimouni is absolutely right to say that: *«Ceux qui combattent la langue arabe, ne visent pas en réalité cette langue, leur cible est l'Islam. La charpente du Coran est l'arabe. Ils comptent qu'une fois la charpente détruite, ce qu'elle porte s'écroulera »*.³¹

The writer points out that even at school, Algerian pupils should not talk about history and religious education as "it could lead to prison." Algerian people have been seriously uprooted from their cultures and. This was any idea what had become of our country after being hit by the "French civilization." Faced with this colonial challenge, Algerians' attachment to Arab and Muslim culture never wavered and Algerian intellectuals have never ceased to assert their right to be different and to assert their difference. Algerian writers fought tirelessly for the recovery of all the attributes of the Algerian personality. Chukri Khodja has not failed to such a mission to showcase the strong cultural identity of the Algerian people. Identity for him should be based on belonging to Islam and on an attachment to the Arabic culture. Indeed, the author has not failed to insert a typical religious discourse in his literary discourse as the following expressions illustrate:

Le Koran, qui est notre loi spirituelle et organique, nous enseigne l'obéissance à celui qui détient le pouvoir [...] il se prosterna à nouveau, après la prière rituelle, et fit faire aux croyants deux génuflexions en signe de satisfaction et de remerciement envers Dieu

[...] Je ne crains qu'un seul être : Dieu... Si je dois mourir c'est Dieu qui l'aura voulu, et la volonté de Dieu est une force réalisatrice irrésistible.³²

As the reader progresses in his reading of the narrative, he cannot fail to notice that the writer expresses the way the two religions interact: "He knew (Baba Hadji) wanted him (Yusuf Lediousse, son of Omar Lediousse and grandson of Baba Hadji) grants a high importance to Arab and Muslim *culture*. If he wanted, he could be an accomplished « *alem* », a moderate and brilliant intellectual or better a venerated Muslim sheik. This reflects the will of the natives to lead their children to Arabic and through it to Islam. Indeed, the possession of this language allows Muslims to be related more to their religion. This is how the Muslim Baba Hadji presents Islam to the Christian captive, Bernard Ledieux when saying:

Tu sais bien que la religion des musulmans n'est ni complexe ni compliquée, n'importe quand, n'importe où le culte musulman peut être exercé facilement. Marmotter quelques phrases à l'adresse de Dieu, faire quelques génuflexions, quelques prosternations, voilà en quoi consiste notre prière. C'est d'une simplicité sublime.³³

While promoting Islam, Chukri Khodja conveys a good impression and a nice presentation to Christians. Besides expressions and passages evoking religion and are scattered throughout the novel, there is a long religious discourse spanning over five successive pages: « *Le savant, qui est Youssef Lediousse, fils de Omar Lediousse, enseigne, aux étudiants barbus, le droit canonique et la théologie* ». ³⁴ It is directly followed by another sentence expressed by the master Youssef, who speaks of Islam claiming that:

Vous savez tous que la religion sainte que Dieu nous a donnée est entre toutes, une religion simpliste, qui ne s'embarrasse point de formules d'un sophisme inintelligible. Lorsque notre science théologique nous dit que Dieu est tout puissant, qu'il voit tout, qu'il entend tout, elle ne nous apprend que des choses sensées, pour la compréhension desquelles l'intelligence ne fait aucun effort.³⁵

In reality, the writer addresses his speech, first, to French Christians to emphasize that the Algerians do not want to give up their customs. The message addressed to the Governor General tells more:

Les « *bédoui* » ne renonceront pas à leur conduite traditionnelle, aux mœurs de leurs montagnes, si on ne les frappe pas d'une répression sévère et énergique qui les

pénètre de terreur et d'épouvante, qui leur fasse craindre pour leur vie. La force et la violence, pourront seules vaincre leur nature.³⁶

Chukri Khodja reinforces the assertion of an Algerian identity centered on Islam. He goes even further to counterclaim those who want to present Islam with a different face. The following is a good illustration of this attitude:

Je voudrais savoir pourquoi certains esprits bornés s'avisent de nous présenter la religion musulmane sous un jour décevant de fatalisme outré ?, he then answers : [...] mes chers élèves, il viendra un temps où, si le peuple reçoit l'instruction à laquelle il a droit, ces finesses ne résisteront plus. Seule la religion apurée subsistera. Envisageons l'avenir avec optimisme.³⁷

It appears from the excerpt that Chukri Khodja wants to awaken a national consciousness in a more active way and fights those who try to conceal the true face of the pure Islam. He is hopeful that the torch of Islam should be raised and Christians settled on the Algerian territory should be expelled. One can also read the author's attachment to his religion through his use of original names of characters, which are in mostly drawn from the Qur'an, such as: Ismail Omar, Zineb, Youssef Ahmed, Mostefa, Abderrahmane, Ali Moussa, and Ibrahim. He stresses and denounces the fact that, even at school, it was unacceptable to discuss religious issues; the universe was created by itself where everything is possible. No wonder then that the author of *El Euldj*, inserts such speech in a novel published in 1929.

In sum, like the confrontation that opposes eras and languages in the narrative, there has been a confrontation of religions. It is a kind of imaginary dialogue between Islam and Christianity within the Arab and Muslim culture. It can be observed that Algerian writers, including Chukri Khodja, were anxious to safeguard the cultural and religious principles of the Algerian community and defend them against their coreligionist's colonial injustice. Khodja intends to emphasize the originality and the aspirations of his countrymen in an ironic context, singular, enriched by the writer's imagination and his rich cultural matrix. The obvious purpose of writing is to present the Muslim religion, traditions, claims, and their differences with the French; these differences that colonizing forces tried to erase forever.

Indeed, the crossed spirit that animated the French colonialists found itself unable to destroy the essential components of a civilization cemented by Islam and the language of the Qur'an: « *Le Coran forme la base de notre code civil et religieux ; ses lois sont par conséquent immuables...(tel) est le motif de notre intransigeance quant à la naturalization.*³⁸ Quite naturally the paramount concern was to work for Islamic revival and restructuring of the cultural sphere of Algeria, as will be born Muslim associations and all the movement of political parties whose main action was to highlight the attributes of an Algerian personality.

So, despite the images of glory, power, and superiority that are associated with Lediousse, the story paradoxically focuses on him as a renegade. So, this hero who represents the west is called a renegade, which reveals another face of the westerners, who are not always strong creatures. They are not those superior people that the captivity stresses on but rather problematic people that try to fix the "other" and hence gain power at the expense of the "other's" misrepresentation. Another feature that constitutes a fissure in the colonial discourse is the cultural contamination that touches the French hero. At the beginning of the narrative, Bernard imitates the Orientals by disguising himself as an Algerian. He feels at ease in the Algerian clothes and starts learning and uttering some Arabic words. The process of his learning Arabic develops and he becomes more fascinated with this alluring culture and religion. With time, Lediousse becomes uncertain of his attitudes and behavior and he feels more relaxed and at ease in enjoying his life. So, the colonial discourse is broken and instead of boosting the western power and hegemony over the "other" it enhances a counter orientalist discourse that fuses the two cultures and hence gives the Oriental culture its due as an alluring culture and as a core of civilization. Bernard is culturally contaminated. Despite the distance that he draws between him and the "other" and hence between the east and the west we feel that he is alienated with the Algerian culture. First he sympathizes with the European slaves and with the moors that are tortured by the regime. So, he forgets about his superiority and sympathizes with the natives. So, despite the fact the he is not the colonizer but rather a

"captive" Ledieux sympathizes with the natives because of the oppression of their Dey and by doing that he deconstructs the stereotypes about the "other" as inferior and suggests that Algerians are good human beings that should be treated equally to westerners. This shows also that the Arab culture is not what the Western captivity narratives try to convey but rather a rich, diverse and fascinating culture. Given the events that shook the country and the opposition between peoples and religions in contact in Algeria, the muzzled intellectuals attempted to express their dissatisfaction in various ways. They struggled to defend Islam, maintain religious monuments and establish schools to put them within the reach of all Muslims. The intellectuals while fighting in Algeria were convinced that Islam is the tool that will cement the unity of the Algerian nation and build a successful future in equality and justice for all Algerians.

Subversion of the Colonial Discourse in the Novel

If the Western "dominating, coercive systems of knowledge" have virtually obliterated the culturally, racially and religiously different Other, Choukri Khodja's narrative expresses various discourses of opposition to the hegemonic forms of negation and marginalization. His work displays various discursive strategies of subversion which potentially displace the centre, and articulate "a much more mature and sophisticated resisting discourse that consciously seeks to 'write back' to the West". His text under study underlies this subversive and counter-hegemonic attitude of the author whereby the act of writing back takes an extremely important political significance. In this sense, the text can be read and interpreted as a conscious political act of resistance which aims at destabilizing western discourse of power and mastery. Throughout Khodja's account of Ledieux's captivity, the author assumes the role of a subject who has strategically and self-consciously managed to resist and subvert the preconceived images of his community. It is also a clear case which shows how the previously silenced voices have managed to express resistance within the ambiguities of the Orientalist discourse. Algiers, called Barbary, is portrayed as a wild and lawless place where

prisoners were in disarray. They have no hope of regaining freedom as the main character voices it: « *Il me semble que jamais plus je ne reverrai mon doux pays et les chers êtres que j'y ai laissés.* »³⁹ The captives suffered the ordeal in a lawless world as they were subject to a "ruthlessly wild scheme, as the following passage well illustrates:

*[...] je ne puis comprendre qu'un homme soit le maître d'une collectivité nombreuse et la dresse à ses goûts; je ne puis admettre qu'un potentat quelconque ait le pouvoir de régir un monde sous l'inspiration arbitraire de ses caprices.*⁴⁰

We can understand that this is also a subverting way of the hero who crosses social barriers falling in love with the daughter of his master. It is outside any social hierarchy; distances are abolished and opposites are associated. The love that lies between two people of different cultures and religions stands for a meeting point between the "Same" and the "Other". It is central to the notion of ambivalence.

After about twenty pages, there is an event that Omar Ledioussé and Zineb, the daughter of Haji Baba, are "united by now the most canonical ties of Islam ". The new converted Omar and his wife Zineb and through their shared religion, Islam, the religion he will disown at the time of going insane. This family is a sort of "celebration community." There located Omar Ledioussé, a French renegade (Western world) is the outline of a Muslim. He will become a Christian. His wife is the daughter of his master (Oriental world). Youssef, their son becomes a "mufti", who speaks Arabic but also French though the language of his father (French) "will never be his." The relationship of the father of this family "predominantly Muslim" with its stepfather Hadji Baba, remains that of a slave to his master, who continues to dictate his orders as the following scene in public illustrates:

Une échauffourée éclatait soudain à Djamaâ Ketchaoua [...] Un homme, un musulman, un néophyte venait d'abjurer de la manière la plus inattendue et la plus choquante. Il avait attendu que les croyants fussent plongés corps et âme dans le recueillement de la prière de la peur, pour se prosterner en chrétien et en ce lieu essentiellement musulman, dire une prière catholique, qui n'avait rien de commun avec la prière de la peur. Ce fut le scandale, l'exaspération, le délire même.⁴¹

This public space devoted mainly to Muslim Faith becomes ambivalent. It is there that the former captive gives a Catholic prayer expressing his return to the Christian religion. This is made possible by the carnival closer, meets, marries and mix the sacred and the profane, the up and down. To illustrate the subversion of the sense of hierarchy of society, it is useful to mention the scene where the mariner Catchadiablo offers at Pacha, "the Lord, "" the terrible Barbarossa "Kaireddine to replace the head "Government" as the subsequent expression shows it: « *Si tu le désires, sidna El Pacha, nous allons changer de place; prends la mienne et je te remplacerai à la tête du gouvernement. Crois-tu que je ne sois pas de taille à faire un bon Pacha ? [...] du moment que tu es le Maître, tu pourrais, par simple plaisanterie, me proclamer Pacha à tes lieu et place* ».42 It was a free and familiar contact; the characters to overcome domination of hierarchical situations and deal with ease. Note that this figure could approach the Pasha so that in hiding behind the laughter: « *Tout le monde, y compris le Pacha, pouffa de rire* ».43

The subversion is reinforced by the speech of the drunkard: "Catchadiablo multiplied its outputs in the courtyard and drenched delicious wine he drank for quite some time began to wrap his mind the veil of their vapors. He laughed". It's a laugh through which the reader is allowed to understand "many forbidden and serious things". As such behavior is inadmissible to the social environment; the author has created a universe where everything is possible. It must be a life upside down "and no one feels threatened." It is by expressing such subversions, we may adopt another law is the area of transgression.

By inserting the narrative in the period Turkish rule in Algeria, the writer of *El Euldj, the Barbary Captive*, implicitly attacks the French occupation emphasizing enforcement actions experienced by Bernard Ledieux, an experience that directly reflects the fate of any Algerian slave of the French period. This sort of camouflage allows the narrator to speak with a lot of freedom on the differences and the oppositions between Muslim world and the Christian world, the world of the Other. The voice and the tone used by the writer deploys a

much more mature resisting discourse and voices out the subversive postcolonial attitude of the author who emerges as a “dissenting voice” capable of contesting the western hegemonic discourse. His subversive attitude remains intensely self-conscious and it is meant both to destabilize the West in its essence through a systematic reversal of the “order of things” and to allow the reader to mock modernity through a political eye-witness who possesses a distinctive postcolonial critical consciousness in order to serve his cultural expression, and self-representation.

The Conflicted and Split Identity of the Main Character

As a postcolonial writer, Chukri Khodja appeals to the technique of disguise to shape his main character, Bernard Ledieux. And it is through that disguise and indirection that he will write back to the colonizer. The protagonist is shaped as a "false convert" who pretends skeptically to be converted through the way he practices his Muslim prayer. In an ironic fashion, the narrator says:

Si Omar Lediousse était donc, sous son accoutrement l'ébauche d'un musulman[...] S'il avait les dehors d'un adepte de l'Islam, Omar Lediousse avait le coeur foncièrement chrétien[...] Sa conversion à l'Islam ne fut qu'une parade derrière laquelle avait brillé le feu éphémère d'une passion [...] Secrètement, mystérieusement, ce dernier avait conservé sa foi [...] et cette croyance secrète, superposée à une croyance publiquement, mais hypocritement avouée, sera la cause souveraine d'une vie tourmentée et d'une mort pathétiquement dramatique.⁴⁴

We can consider the above excerpt as an illustration of character's identity split. There exists in him two persons: the first one is called Bernard Ledieux; he is the father of a Christian family. He is a Christian with all what goes with the word Christianity, which vehicles habits, behaviors and requirements. The second one becomes Omar Lediousse; he is the father of a family, which is predominantly Muslim; his son, Youssef becomes a Lediousse, meaning "an Apostle of Islam and Muslim faith" with all that the word Islam can embody as differences, oppositions and contrasts in relation to the Christian religion. Omar Lediousse continues to rebel against his masters, "he the deaf crises revolt", in criticizing and when avowing: "I end

up not believing they are men [...]" and even strongly contradict Baba Hadji. When the latter indicates his willingness to make of Youssef a mufti, Omar Ledioussé could not keep quiet:

Je ne veux pas, Je ne veux pas ; ce n'est pas un métier. A mon sens, ces gens, qui forment en quelque sorte le clergé musulman, ne sont ni chair ni poisson. Ils passent leur temps à grignoter de lavaine littérature [...] les Tolbas m'énervent par leurs manières un peu particulières et, surtout, par leur esprit de coterie.⁴⁵

This is not all. The hero goes to make fun of his master when he claims: "Was for him an idiot, a man without a heart with demonic form." ²⁵ When the latter questions his servant, he replies: « *Instinctivement, il répondit, moqueur: Tu me fais l'effet d'un imbécile, mon ami. Je suis dévoué à tous tes ordres, mais reçois cet hommage de ton serviteur, tu m'obligeras* ». ⁴⁶

In relation to his "tormented life", Ledioux/Ledioussé, is alienated and rejected by the society. He is a character who suffers; he is dissatisfied with his situation and his sufferings affect his physical and mental being. When he tries the adventure of apostasy, Bernard Ledioux does not succeed to find more peace of his soul: « *En quittant l'ergastule, Ledioux croyait avoir conquis une demiliberté. Il s'était fourvoyé. C'était au contraire l'ère des brimades qui avait été inaugurée par ce changement dans les habitudes* »⁴⁷. Indeed, the new convert realizes that it is a "happiness acquired at the price of treachery" ⁴⁸ since he cannot have a consciousness: « *Un combat intime se livrait, à vrai dire, dans le cerveau de Ledioussé, engendrant chez lui une tristesse et une mélancolie extrême* »⁴⁹. In fact, he never forgets his French wife and children, who were « *de l'autre côté de la mer* »⁵⁰. All along his stay in the Barbary, he remains haunted by their ghosts; these sentences express clearly his inner conflict:

La hantise de sa famille, abandonnée et trahie, le poursuivra sans relâche et ses rêves et ses cauchemars seront peuplés des ombres les plus horribles ; sa femme et ses enfants lui apparaîtront sous forme de démons épouvantables et cruels.⁵¹

It can be argued that the conflict inside Omar Ledioussé is reinforced by his conversion to another religion as the following passages testify:

Un désarroi insurmontable régnait dans son cerveau. Son moral en ébullition sans cesse ne trouvait de répit que lorsque le sommeil l'abattait comme une masse inanimée sur une pierre ou sur un tas d'ordures au bord de l'eau.⁵²
[...] son esprit, harcelé par le déchirement moral, avait une certaine répercussion

sur son état physique, s'ébranlant sans cesse.⁵³

It is important to add that captive's alienation is also perceptible in his monologues when he wonders "if it was not in his bizarre attitudes, in its unusual gestures or its incoherent words, an index of dementia".⁵⁴; when he adds in a desperate way: "Ah, there, there, I know what to expect in life. The future is black in front of me"⁵⁵. Now, it's deadlocked. Lediousse is "stuck", he understands that "returning to his first religion was a burning necessity." He was face to face with a dilemma, "a new perjury and death, full of peril escape and freedom"⁵⁶. The lack of choice is harmless. Following apostasy, this "lamb leaving the fold" is repudiated by the community. "He could neither be trusted by his community nor by Muslims" ⁵⁷. "No one was near him and ready to help him" Even his friend, Cook, "Evangelical Apostle," says: "you know that after such a transformation, there is mistrust between us. This is the result logical tone defector"⁵⁸. From the voice of the narrator, it can be understood that no devaluation has been spared to describe the "poor" Lediousse, who is nicknamed called "El euldj", meaning a kind of "monster" and "Mansi", a "Despicable being" of "renegade", "traitor". It is of no coincidence that the fictional character such designations. Indeed, the Muslim who abandons the requirements of Islam is only a "traitor" who will be rejected by the Muslim people. The author insists that if a restricted number deny Islam is low, the overwhelming majority of people still struggle and prefer to die standing than live kneeling. In talking with Cook who is his "chain companion" El Euldj regrets bitterly what he had done. His marriage to Zineb and apostasy are the basis for his pathetic death after a state of madness.

Before his death, the captive evokes the fire: "Fire, fire suits me devour"⁵⁹. It is a fire that devours the person. In reality, the death of the Lediousse is inevitable; it cleanses, renews and regenerates. By analogy, we find: El Euldj is an "educated" person; he belongs to the Western intelligentsia. As a prisoner, he subverts the French cultural tradition, its origins and its religious foundations. It is "to be damned described in religious stories"⁶⁰ He is recognized by

his "weakness of character"⁶¹. The idea of apostasy never left him. He remains "possessed by the idea" which "becomes for him a key idea, which determines and distorts despotically his conscience and his life."The narrator tells of such an inner struggle: "And then a secret voice cried in him, in the silence of reverie "traitor you will be punished".⁶² The same voice also claims: "This mysterious voice harass the character".⁶³

It may be noted that the moment of conversion in Bernard Ledieux illustrates a kind of slippage between self-effacement and self- enlargement, it also betray the slippage of agency between the registers of the divine and human. Such a slippage happens across a transcultural axis that is erected once Bernard accepts to convert himself, speaks the language, and wears the garments of his captors. His Christian feeling becomes the vehicle for eliminating national distinctions and becomes the screen for concealing cultural exchanges between European and his African captors. More importantly, however, Ledieux is presented as a negative example of assimilation; his route ends in madness and death. So the attempted reconciliation of the "Self" with the "Other" ends in failure. What characterizes the discourse of assimilation in the work of Chukri Khodja are the two contradictory views that are at stake. One is represented by the captive and by individuals belonging to the dominant people, which paves the way for the character's identity to split; this excerpt proves the point:

Eh bien ! tu vas te faire musulman et tu sais que, musulman, tu redeviendras libre, sans chaîne ni marque distinctive. Tu travailleras, tu feras ce que tu voudras, tu seras enfin mon pair. Regarde autour de toi si les renégats ne sont pas aussi heureux que moi. Ils sont bien considérés, respectés et nul ne peut attenter à leur dignité. Qu'en dis-toi ?⁶⁴.

In contrast to the first group, stand those who experience the oppression of the dominant group; they are headed by Albert Cook, the "evangelical apostle"; they are and remain categorical on this point:

Oh! quelle monstruosité! Cela n'est point possible. C'est bien Ledieux qui parle de la sorte ? Je n'ose l'admettre[...] Tu es un monstre[...] Je t'en prie, Ledieux, ne soit pas si cruel envers toi-même et envers ta famille[...] Suis l'exemple de ces martyrs, qui jusqu'à la dernière minute, jusqu'au dernier souffle n'ont pas jeté le manche après la cognée et ont tenu bon[...] C'est une lâcheté[...] Oui, une

lâcheté impardonnable et incompréhensible, une honte, une ignominie. Tu devrais au moins t'inspirer des bons exemples et non pas.⁶⁵

Aiming to make the voice of the oppressed people heard in that crucial moment in history, Choukri Khodja gives voice to the ones who had no right to speak, "the Algerian people tended to marginalize themselves; he is silent; he observes; it is more"⁵². Choukri Khodja crosses the ban in the fictional universe. The author talks at length about the prisoners; he includes their dialogues by focusing mainly on the monstrosity of their masters. We know about their inhuman conditions in what follows:

La cruauté de ces tyrans et sous- tyrans vaniteux n'a d'égale que leur cynisme ; ils font assassiner, ils font massacrer ; ils vous font donner des coups de bâton pour une bêtise, ils vous coupent le nez, les oreilles pour le motif le plus futile, que sais-je encore ? ⁶⁶

It is important to note that from page thirty, there are more than ten successive pages where the dominant voice speaks. It speaks at the expense of the oppressed. But then, other voices rise to allow whatever is normally repressed to open and to speak 'because all the protagonists of this great dialogue involved both on an equal footing'⁵⁴. To express their differences, they emerge with other ungrammaticalities. As it was mentioned earlier, during the period between the wars, it was strictly forbidden to talk about the religious aspects. To be moved from point of view of this logic, Choukri Khodja develops a whole religious speech to highlight the differences between the two worlds: the Muslim and the Christian universes. In addition to the religious aspect of the narrative, the author wants also to highlight traditional ones aspects: food and clothing of his colonized people in what follows:

Plusieurs fonctionnaires [...] s'étaient groupés, en sefra. Cette table d'hôte circulaire et basse, assis sur des matelas étendus sur le sol [...] Le repas fut animé [...] lors de la consommation de la chourba, qui ravigotait les estomacs de son goût épicé à l'oriental.⁵⁵« [...] un homme, vêtu d'un caftan canari, la tête alourdie d'un turban tabani des Indes [...] est assis. »⁶⁷

To subvert the ideological project of assimilation, the writer uses other means to situate the relations between the oppressor and oppressed outside the logic of what has been usually been put in what can be called « *la loi du plus fort* »⁵⁷. Therefore, what characterizes the scenes are

the "unexpected, incongruous and unacceptable conduct in a" normal" normal life"⁶⁸. The relationship between Zineb and Ledieux before his conversion to Islam proves the point. The relationship between the two characters is a kind of an "unexpected event"⁶⁹. It can also be interpreted as a "supreme insult"⁷⁰.

The writer uses other ways of subverting the colonial discourse. Choukri Khodja shapes Zineb opposite the image provided in the Western discourse of the African treacherous woman; an unmistakably sexualized woman who throws herself 'down to the westener's arms and thus, betrays her vocation. Far from the sexually violent and gendered images, an erotic object of a voyeuristic desire overmastered by the marginal Eye mobilized by the colonialist writings, Zineb is viewed, accordingly, as a symbol of wisdom, representing fidelity and loyalty rather than "the treachery, seduction and prostitution. This accentuates, in the meantime, the reversal of the corruption of Ledieux and renders the captive's engagement with her more complex. The autho uses irony and even vulgarity to debunk such images. The following quote amply shows the vulgarity of one of the narrative scenes: « *Il en avait assez dit pour que la gaîté papillotante de tout à l'heure se transformât en un duel d'injures et de grossièretés, qui s'entrecroisaient avec les étonnements des uns et les regrets des autres* » ⁷¹.

Subversion through Repetition, Negation, and Suspension Dots

The use of irony appears in Choukri Khodja's novel through the "intonation or a particular facial expression"⁷². It is also displayed in a kind of a "typographical posturing"⁷³. It is reinforced by quotation marks, exclamation mark, suspension point and in what follows:

Baba Hadji, c'est pénible de changer de religion, chez nous un apostat est méprisable, chez vous aussi... je verrai, je verrai [...] On n'abandonne pas sa propre religion comme cela, Baba Hadji. On ne rompt pas les liens de tout un passé sans un certain serment de cœur[...] Et je considère comme une lâcheté de faire fi de tout ce faisceau d'éléments... de la famille. Oh... de la famille ! ⁷⁴

Irony is also used in the answer to Lediousse by Hadji Baba who invites him to deny his religion. For the irony of his interlocutor, he clarifies what it means "Apostasy" be interpreted

as that of the colonized, who gives the colonizer a morality lesson. What can be understood is that it is the author who ridicules this character. When he agrees to renounce to his native religion, his devaluation is evident from the title of the novel "El Euldj", which is the name given to the hero in the title. The name is a highly pejorative appellation. In Arabic, "ildj" means "wild donkey" and "boor"⁶⁸. The term is also used by North Africans during the time of privateers to designate the renegades. The author amplifies his use of irony to show the practice of circumcision on this character. The narrator describes the incident as follows:

Cette scène avait été d'ailleurs d'un comique outré, Ledioussse ayant opposé une certaine résistance avant de se laisser faire par le ventouseur, chargé de l'opération chirurgicale. Un incident burlesque, sur lequel il serait vain d'insister se produisit à ce moment-là⁶⁹ Irony also appears in the cry in "ô, ironie du sort"⁷⁵

The reader understands that the writer mocks, ridicules, and accentuates the oppressor through his use of irony; he ridicules the colonizer through his use of El Euldj and sends an ironic message to the address of the oppressor who, in the name of "civilization", exterminates the Algerian people. Ledioussse's conversion to Islam is uncertain and ambiguous. Consequently, Hadji Baba is right to tell him, "Your faith is not genuine. There is something impure in your convictions"⁷⁶. Being himself hidden, the author displaces and subverts the sixteenth century ideas, when the change of religion was in the opposite direction (from Christianity to Islam); such reversal becomes a tool that allows him to combat the French colonizer and his policy of assimilation.

In addition to irony, the writer's discourse lets appear his "uses several forms of subversion including enumeration and repetition of some words"⁷⁹. The absence of freedom, the physical hardships, the separation from children and family added to the secrecy that all mark the captive's conditions are repeated and sometimes exacerbated by Bernard's statements and remarks. As an illustration, he expresses the remarks by the following passage:

Croire... croire... ça c'est une autre affaire... croire... sans croire...c'est difficile de croire... de croire... un homme qui ne croit pas. Mais si, mais si, je crois. Tes

protestations sont intéressées, à mon avis, et rien n'effacera l'impression douloureuse que tu as laissée chez moi, il y a quelques années, quand subitement tu as trouvé cette idée impie et diabolique de devenir ce que tu es...apparemment.⁷⁷

The quote illustrates a strong hybrid situation, which the reader can analyze from a polyphonic angle, with the verb "believe" that vehicles ambiguity. To believe is to hold as true or true but without formal proof. This verb is repeated eight times and one of them was in the negative: "The negation can also be interpreted as polyphony"⁸¹ Indeed, the phrase "does not believe" can read as belief and not and not belief. The negation is explained by the use of the word "apparently" which refers only to appearances: "Fortunately for him (for Lediousse) men have not discovered the scientific way of analyzing the human heart or the human mind"⁸². The word "suddenly" marks an unexpected turn in the happened event. The author also uses the ellipsis nine times. The last one expresses irony: "it is hard to believe ... believe ... a man who does not believe. "Sometimes unfinished remarks:" [...] to become are you ...". That's not all, the passage not only reveals two individuals (Ledieux and Cook), which are far from sharing the same point view; but a single character (Ledieux) that expresses both views: a "secret belief, superimposed on a belief in public, but it is hypocritically declared"⁸³ This can be interpreted as an ambivalent picture, with a nascent heterogeneity of the presence of the same and Other. The author repeats several times: the word "barbarian" to emphasize the cruelty of the colonizers; the term "Ledieux is meant to highlight the tormented life of the renegade and the use of ellipses mark the irony.

Other forms of heterogeneity also emerge in the work of Chukri Khodja by way of the reported speech whereby several characters will speak. Their words are not situated "in the same level as the author's speech which seems to be at a distance" Therefore, it poses the problem of the insertion of an utterance position in another. We can distinguish three types of reported speeches: speech direct, indirect and free indirect. We start with the most visible form of this textual hybridization, that of direct speech. The direct style is "one who creates

the sharpest break in the story"⁸⁵. This form allows, for a syntactic break, but above all, it clears out quoting speeches. It is distinguished by the use of an introductive verb, sometimes it is incised. Most often, it is used to mark the otherness of the remarks. So there is more than only source of enunciation: "*Khod, Youssef, minauda Zineb, en tendant au fils un morceau de "mekrout". Ouskout ya oulidi*"⁷⁸. Direct speech is often called to account for thoughts of the characters or to stage the dialogues. In this latter case, it is indicated typographically with a hyphen before each intervention and the passage to the line. Accordingly, the words are reported faithfully preserving the original form of the statement: «*Il commanda péremptoirement: "Demain cet être maudit sera empalé comme les roumis*»⁷⁹.

The author's appeal to other languages than French is meant to report about falling in a foreign language, it has other ways to use direct speech: «*(...) le chef des janissaires, préposés à la surveillance des captives utilisés comme débardeurs, dit à ceux-ci: Finite, tous li trabajo bono, doumano mangearia touto bono el mondo*»⁸⁰. This can only be possible by the introduction of indirect speech that the main feature "to give more importance to narrator". It is free to add signs that it considers relevant for the communication situation. "Moreover, a large number of elements, emotional syntax, apostrophes, interjections, sentences without verbs are used by the author as in indirect speech". For instance, «*Il m'a répondu aussitôt qu'un peuple qui a recours à un procédé pareil est indigne d'être appelé peuple, car qui dit peuple, à son avis, dit civilisation, dit raffinement*». We see that this style is based on a "translation of the operation about what it reports"⁹¹ in the form of subordinate and dependent verbs. Unlike the previous two forms, free indirect speech is associated clearly to linguistic marks, not typographical signs. Consider the following passage: «*Ce grand diable qui l'interpellait sans le connaître, en un jargon inintelligible, était pour lui un idiot, un homme sans cœur ayant forme démoniaque*»⁸¹. The narrator's voice is combined with that of the character, Ledieux. Reported speech, in its three forms, has helped create a plurality of voices in a fruitful responsible textual heterogeneity.

Before closing this point of reported speech, we would like to point out the use of quotation marks, which serve to isolate the words of others in discourse.

Some quotes are open whenever Chukri Khodja inserts a foreign word in his speech through examples such as: "euldj", "Mekrout", "alem", "Taleb", "Fanid". These foreign words are part of the native language of the author. They do not serve the French and mark specific features in the midst of origin of the writer. This insertion of the Arabic words is undoubtedly an element that accentuates Polyphonic the heterogeneity of our corpus. Our body is able to respond to this trait of polyphony which explains the variety of languages and styles in the romantic statements: *« il se mit à crier comme un dément et traita le héros du jour de guedi, de chupech et de chefuti (cocu, chien, juif, en turc). « il voulait qu'il fût un "alem" accompli, un mouderrés érudit ou encore un cheikh el islam vénéré»⁹⁵ « machi mlih hadak. »⁸². « C'est bien comme cela que tu prépares les kenidlates»⁹⁷. «viens nous allons blaguer un moment. »*

In the first passage, there is a series of words in Turkish, which reflects the reality of Algerian society during the nineteenth century when different races coexist. It evokes Arab terms in the second passage and amply demonstrates that the author wants to do well as the voice heard in Arab-Islamic originally written speech the language of the Other, of the occupant. But this denies the idea of a single foreign language.⁹⁹ The does not only author the voice in "Classical Arabic" in his work, but he also uses colloquial Arabic to show that language is full of such potential dialects they intersect in many ways"¹⁰⁰. In the fourth passage, it is not just a word in Arabic, but it is also subject to a rule of French spelling. Indeed, in Arabic "kenidlate" is a plural noun. The author proceeds it by "the" by adding a second mark of the plural "s", which is a transition showing the word "joke" owned familiar register. This proves the diversity of styles in the novel.

In addition to all that has been presented, what can be called the jargon of the war used by the author such as (*adversaire, ennemi, attaque, lutte tragique, pistolet, armé, butin, maître, tyran, barbarie, captive, esclave, supplice, misère, victim, mort...*). It is supported by

maritime terminology (*marin, équipage, mer, amarrage, navire, galéasse¹⁰¹ galiote, voile, misaine, hune, embarkation, port...*).⁸³ The reader cannot fail to pay attention to the administrative and military slang (*reïss, oukil el hardj, saigi, khaznadar, khodja el khil, muphti, pacha, officier des janissaires...*). The author also uses religious terms as (*Dieu, le Coran, prophète, sounna, croyant, prière, génuflexion, théologie...*). In relation to dressing, Choukri Khodja refers to (*costume musulman, burnous, caftan, costume européen, chapeau...*); he also mentions the language of cooking (*chourba, poulets farcis au riz, les oeufs cuits, caisson, goût épicé...*). We can in this case mention also the letter Lediousse wrote "taking all necessary precautions "⁸⁴, but which has torn even before completion because he understood that he could not "send such correspondence '. This kind of writing, inserted in the novel, has introduced its own language. There is a salutation: "My wife loved." ⁸⁵ We see included on the same page a vocabulary of this kind: "correspondence", "Ticket", "letter". Being a kind of plurivocality, the novel is a hybrid genre. The term dialogism that was mentioned earlier is replaced by Julia Kristeva, in an attempt to clarify, for "Intertextuality" ¹⁰⁸, it defines the crossover and neutralization, in a text made of several statements resonant with other texts. It considers intertextuality as a form of intertextual dialogism. Intertextuality is a fundamental concept to study a text caught in these relationships to all other texts. that is to say for the study of the dialogue. In our corpus, we set the example pages where figure this form of discursive heterogeneity. Describing Djamâa Ketchaoua, the author has not hesitated to use the quote three times. His goal is to "complete the descriptive picture" and give "an idea of fallen splendor of this beautiful Arab monument". Among the information that the author delivers with many caution about this mosque, we read: "It was she who was later turned into a cathedral"⁸⁶.

It is very clear that the author refers to the French and the colonial period. And we understand very well. Through his statement, the author is unable to speak freely. How? Let us start with the phrase: "It was later turned into a cathedral" This is an amputee of passive

sentence of additional agent which is principally the subject of the active sentence, that is to say, the head of the action transformation. This subject cannot be other than "the French." Ambiguity also lies in the phrase: "later" that refers to an imprecise time. But this is of course, after the Turkish period. Finally, the personal pronoun "she" replaces the "mosque" making thus the active sentence unambiguous: "The French turned Djemâa Ketchaoua cathedral during the colonial period. "Not to mention the formula: "That ... that," in which the author focuses on the passive subject "The mosque", this building dedicated to the Muslim faith. Given the clear relationship of the novel with history, the author adds other information in addition to the architectural description of this temple. From the expression, "the fallen splendor of this beautiful monument Arab ", we understand that he deeply regrets the fact that a monument, part of our religious culture is transformed into a place dedicated to the worship of the Christian religion.

The transformation of one of the most beautiful mosques of Algiers in Catholic Church lost every Muslim oriental style. So Ketchaoua is only a witness to history hectic of our country and its radical transformations. Back to Khodja's novel, this attributes to Charles V while a specifying date of «January 19, 1548». Since "the status of a citation is neutral and never revisits the ideological foundations and textual discourse"⁸⁷, we find that this quote is called to authenticate and emphasize the relationship: work/History. The writer certainly refers to the reality, but it also refers to previous literature. Our author refers explicitly to the "masterpiece of humanity"⁸⁸: Arabian Nights. The characters tell the stories but not without the "support Personal wit". To derive morality: "In fact Ledieux had to be told as a story in history. In his narration, Cook inserts, in turn, words attributed to characters of the narrated story. In this way, there is one nested speech in the other, creating a plurality of real voices and the dialogue is established between El Euldj, Barbary captive and Arabian culture. It remains important to note that Chukri Khodja brings his characters to narrate these stories. Indeed, the latter are drawn from an "absolute book" part of Arab culture: The author

therefore wishes that "this novel in Arabic language" or this in a written lying in the thirties where our culture Arab-Islamic was sprayed. On page 108, the narrator evokes the character M. de Lorville, contained in the novel: *The Lorgnon* appeared in 1831, Madame de Girardin¹²³. This proves that Chukri Khodja has been influenced by French writers, specially by colonial novelists such as Lanasri which states that one can without difficulty find the passage Shukri Khodja: «*Soto Manoelo, un Espagnol d'une cinquantaine d'années se cherchait les poux dans les guenilles qui le couvraient ; il se grattait le ventre et le regardait, hagard, à droite et à gauche*»., with the pen of Bertrand ⁸⁹.

The Writer's Rehabilitation of Culture

Chukri Khodja is a writer fed in the arabo-islamic tradition but he is also the product of the colonial school system. His course is reflected by that of character of Youssef who "could not resist the very legitimate curiosity to taste the fruits of the garden of French rhetoric. The author has Arab blood and feeds the French culture, but Youssef says: «*J'ai idée que je puis avoir du sang français dans les veines et alimenter mon cerveau de la nourriture généreuse que contient l'islam*».⁹⁰ We can deduce that Chukri Khodja and his character are open to dialogue and exchange between cultures, religions and languages while respecting differences and interests. Youssef is the son who is able to save the life of his father at the time where he publicly abjures Islam as the excerpt shows it clearly:

Mais Dieu a commandé cela. Dieu a voulu que le fils musulman d'un français redevenu chrétien ait en lui le mélange altier de la fierté arabe conjuguée à l'esprit chevaleresque français, grâce auquel il a su te protéger contre le mauvais parti que tous les croyants avaient décidé de te faire.⁹¹

The above passage shows a reversed situation of the main character. The author claims that the French school system allows him to take his place among the Algerian intellectuals between the two world wars that filled this role of "spokesman" of indigenous intellectual , who claims to the colonizer through Youssef 's behavior; the author wants to achieve synthetic and complementarily between Algerian and Islamic modernity, French social,

cultural identity between Algerian and French education. This reminds of the duplication of social personality of the author, who has been torn between two cultural spheres. The complexity of personality creator is clear in his writing. These inner-turns were strong probably the basis of a depressive crisis a few years before his death, and during which he destroyed everything he had as manuscripts.

Chukri Khodja is one of the writers that will meet the colonial novelists. How? Having firmly established a colonial settlement on our soil, Europeans will produce classes to legitimize their ideology. It can be seen that Choukri Khodja answers back the initiator of the colonial discourse, Louis Bertrand says: « *Il doit y avoir une littérature nord-africaine originale parce qu'un peuple qui possède sa vie propre doit posséder aussi une langue et une littérature à lui* ». ⁹² To refer to this "original North African literature", "Gabriel Audisio dropped his pen the words "School of Algiers". This phrase was taken over by Albert Camus under the name of "School North African letters ". These writers have proclaimed the aesthetic authority, they founded the movement "Algérianiste".. Other important names are: Albert Camus (1913-1960; *Wedding, The Wrong Side and the place, The Stranger, The Plague, Algerian Chronicles*), Gabriel Audisio, Clot, René-JeanMarcel Moussy, Jules Roy, Emmanuel Robles, Jean Pelegri, Ferdinand Duchene, Louis Lecoq: « *Le but de l'algérianisme est de constituer en Algérie une intellectualité commune aux races qui y vivent, de réaliser par là même leur union (...). Le mot Algérien désigne le fils d'une petite patrie et répond en France aux appellations des provinciaux dont les uns sont Flamands, les autres Berrichons, Normands, Alsaciensou Gascons* ». ⁹³ Overall, this Algérianiste movement does not challenge the colonial system nor French colonization, however, this group of Algérianistes, which was inspired by Bertrand continues to sing "credo of colonial ideology COLONISATION = CIVILIZATION" They proposed a term "Aboriginal" autonomous from that of the Metropolis: "This so-called colonial literature is positioned as a product radical break with Orientalism. "Influenced by Bertrand, colonialist novel developed the image of pioneer

settler, a new country: "The real Africa is us, the Latins, we civilized". He adds: "I removed the decor and pseudo-Islamic Arabic that fascinated superficial glances". Under this pressure the Algérianiste novel, born Algerian novel French language.

Some Algerian novelists of the period between the wars, in their own way, give a picture of our people that is less superficial and less negative than that given by the colonial novelists. It is this to the Other. It clarifies what is Arab or Berber man, Arab and the Muslim religion. Abdelkader Djeghloul says: «*Il (El Euldj, captif des barbaresques) est la première oeuvre qui se démarque nettement des pré-supposés et des formes d'écriture du roman colonial. A ce titre, il appartient, plus sans doute que d'autres oeuvres pourtant écrites ultérieurement à notre patrimoine*».⁹⁴ Witnessed a painful daily life, these writers struggle to reach the goals they have set themselves: raise awareness of sockets and defend their freedom and heritage. Djeghloul puts it in what follows: «*El Euldj, captif des Barbaresques est à la fois un appel à la conscience humaniste française et une mise en garde aux intellectuels algériens attirés par le miroir aux alouettes de l'assimilation*». These writers trained in French schools, publish their works in the movement of colonial publishers. They cannot in any case question explicitly the French domination. This explains their attitude determined by the uncertainty and fear of rejection. Khodja in a letter to a friend says: «*Si les Français connaissent la moitié de ce que j'ai écrit comme rapports, livres et correspondances, que j'ai eus avec les autres nations dans le but de sauvegarder l'Algérie, ils me dévoreraient et me prendraient dans leurs griffes*».⁹⁵ The publications were often censored by the French administration. Any speaking of indigenous element really was a risk. Indeed, "one speech is taken into account officially, that of the dominant ideology. The colonial repression could tolerate dissenting voice". It is this concern of the ban by censorship that explains the ambiguity conditioning these writings.

Conclusion

It seems clear from our analysis of Choukri Khodja's third novel that during the period between the wars, the social conditions were the basis for the creation of many literary works; his third novel cannot be deaf to its time. More significantly, the novel may be viewed as a loud call for radical revisions of the old body of assumptions and misrepresentations that have fostered the Western Orientalist discourse. Choukri Khodja's subversive strategies markedly acquire greater levels of importance as they have undertaken the task to strike back for self-empowerment and self-assertion, through a metaphorically massive penetration of the Western colonial mindset that is yet continuous. As a response to the western conventional paradigms of subordination and exclusion, Choukri Khodja gives voice to the traditionally silenced voices, which have been driven by a strong desire to question the basic assumptions upon which the legacies of western discourse. This audacity of the writer formed in the colonial school system prompted him to speak at a time of risk and obliges him to use deviation and camouflage as ways to cope with censorship. His veiled writing allows the author to be ironic while he invites the colonizer to review the issue of assimilation and asserts the permanence of an authentically Arab-Islamic identity.

Every author bases his style, his own sensibility and attitudes upon political and ideological positions. Like the other Algerian intellectuals, the writer of *El Euldj, the Barbary Captive*, wanted to write back the colonial novelists whose will was to destroy the Algerian people. Choukri Khodja did not fail in his mission. This is to report to the Other and to give a self-image less superficial than that given by the colonizer. He highlights the differences "between two peoples who do not speak the same language, nor profess the same religion, nor wear the same costumes, nor practice the same uses. The author has thus contributed to awaken the consciousness of his people while playing the role of a spokesman for his people oppressed with the tyrant, other. So, while using subterfuge in his writing, we can say that he struggles to defend the constituents of the Algerian personality a time in the Algerian history

when the oppressor wanted the spray at a when religion was fought, language has been marginalized and people were exterminated. It can also be added that censorship is not an inescapable determinism. Aesthetic genius that is exercised in through his literary expression is able to tell the truth bluntly. The author, is sensitive to his cause, acquires the strength to say. We conclude by saying that the works of the early Algerian writers were doomed a certain disinterest. A veil was drawn over these first novels. For our part, we want to see more studies and research helping to discover this slice of our literature who could keep his universality.

More significantly, the death of Ledieux is due to his refusal of compromise; he dies because he lacks his Christian wife and children. His inability to accommodate himself to Muslim sensibilities led to his moral disintegration. From what precedes appears the discourse of Choukri Khodja; that of a postcolonial writer “at the crossroads” of what is known and permissible and that which though known must be kept concealed; a discourse uttered between the lines, to paraphrase Homi Bhabha, which is against the rules and within them ⁹⁷. It is at such a site that we can place El Euldj’s agency as well as the discourse of the author. The agency operates not just from the interstitial time lag where Bhabha would place it but from the interstitial space that both is and is not within the domain of colonialism. During the period between the wars, was born on in front of the literary scene, a French-language literature with a group of writers trained in French schools. Choukri Khodja was one of those intellectuals who were not in any way put in question explicitly, the French cause. By using the mask, the author of *El Euldj, the Barbary Captive*, proposes to his readers a work reflecting its ironic vision colonizer that invites assimilation. Subversion that is manifested in El Euldj represents the image of the dislocated society during the time of colonization.

Similar to other Algerian intellectuals, the writer of *El Euldj, the Barbary Captive*, tells a story from inside to subvert the colonial literature and other oppressing discourses

aiming to humiliate and destroy Algerian people by erasing their culture and identity. It derives from our analysis of Choukri Khodja that colonialism was characterized as a disciplinary institution with its total structure where resistance to it was ineffective if not impossible. As a “closed system” that prevented rebellion because the colonized had no access to standard judgment or modes of behavior outside the institution that contained them. Choukri Khoudja resisted the monolithic construction by insisting that this closed system in fact contained openings where subversion could occur. His insistence on the existence of a distinct culture within the colonized community offers residual or emergent alternatives to the dominant culture. In his struggle against colonialism, we might deduce that Choukri Khodja practices a kind of camouflage, since he hides by miming the confinement and suffering that characterize those very conditions against which he battles. His strategy of protest generates revisions of the dominant ideologies; those revisions sometimes also deploy nationalist, imperialist, and racist representations of culture.

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- 92 C. Khodja, (1929), p. 27.
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- 97- Bhabha (1993), p, 89.

General Conclusion

Overall, all along our study we have tried to show how the captivity narrative can be an especially powerful and emotive cultural construct during the periods in which America, as a national entity, positions itself as a colonizer of new frontiers and territories. Both the Indian and Barbary captivity narratives, we have been argued, emerged to describe the anxieties and fears of those imagined as existing in perilous frontier environments, but also as allegories and metaphors for reflection on American domestic issues. In the alien abduction scenario, which addresses itself to significant contemporary concerns about the diminution of the self, this call is misinterpreted and indeed goes unacknowledged, and the symbolic captive is left entirely adrift in the alien realm, without hope of redemption. The captivity narrative, therefore, has also been culturally constructed as a siren voice for a community in danger and yet satisfactory when the call is heard and the captive returns to safety.

In the first part of the thesis, devoted to what may be called the “Captivity of Sin”, to borrow Gary. L. Ebersole’s parlance, we have examined the ways Cotton Mather’s selected sermons constructed and reinforced an archetypal Indian and North African as sexually deviant, inherently cruel, and despotic. All along the two discourses inherent in the selected sermons, the preacher built and reinforced an archetypal African who was distinct from, yet in some ways also similar to, the Indian. The Arab, the Moor, like the Turk, was a barbarian savage whose backwardness was strikingly obvious. In some ways, he even outdid the African master as an animalistic, mercilessly cruel, thieving, greedy, and hardy creature. In addition, Islam and the prophet Mahomet were the enemy of souls in Cotton Mather’s construction, and much to his dismay, and potentially to some of his readers, those enemies reigned triumphantly in the Barbary Coast. His statements, in fact, were more in line with the typical Christian-versus-Muslim rhetoric that had existed for centuries, whereby both sides treated each other of being an idolatrous heathen religion. The preacher drew direct

connection to despotism, tyranny, subjugation of women in his claims that Islam inspired violence or savagery in its followers. The Arabs and Moors were both simply constructed as great enemies to Christianity for Cotton Mather's audience. His account fell very much in line with other preachers' addresses in which Islam was set against Christianity, and the Muslims were considered as the potential enemies of the Christians.

The Indian and the Turk underwent their lot of stereotypes; the characteristics that made up the essence of the archetypal Indian and Turk were stereotypes that were not necessarily limited to the inhabitants of the Barbary Coast. The accounts of primitive, wild, and savage Arabs could have just as easily been passages about the Indians. The despotic nature and elaborate torture schemes of the Turks could have been substituted with the oriental despotism, innate cruelty, and death by a thousand Indians. The proliferation of these stereotypes links back to the idea that early Americans saw themselves and the West as the world's most modern race. Their society was the most advanced and their form of government was the most effective and rational, but also humane, in their view. They looked out at the world's 'barbarous' races and saw regions of oriental and Turkish despotism which rotted under the weight of tyrannical governments. On the blank spaces of the map they projected an image of lands inhabited by savages who had not changed since the time of Christ. The Barbary Coast was the region of despotism and savagery that captivated American public consciousnesses in the 1780s after the *Maria* and *Dauphin* were seized. It was the Arab and the Turk who were the primary characters juxtaposed to American or European protagonists in the Barbary captivity narratives. And it was the Arab and the Turk who were continually stereotyped in one of the more popular forms of literature and entertainment in early American society. **Captivity narratives played an important role in how American women and men perceived the Ottoman Empire in the early nineteenth century.**

Closely related to the historical context in which the narratives were set, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Americans used the Ottoman Empire as the

antithesis of the United States. Americans initially came to know the East through their knowledge of the ancient world. Understood to be despotic and tyrannical, Americans contrasted their society with the Ottoman Empire, further **promoting a sense of cultural and political superiority**. Americans were conditioned from a young age to think of the Ottoman Empire as a mysterious place full of wealth and wonders beyond their wildest dreams as well as a place governed by tyrants. The theoretical and literary understanding Americans had of the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim world played an important role in how Americans viewed the United States' involvement in the Barbary Wars and especially the captivity of American citizens during the conflict. Perceived as powerful yet despotic, wealthy yet uncivilized, the United States would wage an internal struggle over how **to balance their preexisting perceptions of the Ottoman Empire with the shortcomings of freedom within their own society**.

The two chapters of the first part examined, for instance, the way the protagonist of the story of Royall Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* is Doctor Updike Underhill, who was described as a well educated man from New England. In the first portion of the story, Underhill traveled from New England to the south where he encountered southern aristocrats and their institution of slavery, with which Underhill fiercely disagreed. Growing disgusted, Underhill set sail for Africa. He was eventually taken captive by an Algerian ship and was held as a slave for six years. The book was dedicated to David Humphreys, the man who negotiated with the Barbary States. These negotiations eventually led to the freedom for the American captives including John Foss. Just as John Foss had concluded in his captivity narrative, Tyler's fictional character concluded his adventures by **declaring that no nation in the world was as free as the United States** while contrasting it with his experiences in Algiers. As a captive, Underhill worked under excruciating conditions and eventually had to be sent away for medical attention. While in the hospital, Underhill conversed with a Muslim man who tried to convert him to Islam. Instead, Underhill proudly proclaimed he had held on

to “The religion of my country...” After his release, Underhill returned to “the freest county in the universe” eager to “contribute cheerfully to the support of our excellent government, which I have learnt to adore in schools of despotism...”

In a similar vein, we have seen that Maria Martin’s narrative provides an important gendered distinction for captivity narratives and helps in defining the differences Americans perceived between life in the United States and life in the Ottoman Empire. Martin was presented as the **embodiment of feminine virtue, a quality that was desired in republican mothers of the new American republic**. American revolutionary rhetoric provided a place for American mothers in society where their role as nurturing wives and mothers was imperative to the **sustainment of a healthy republic**. Early American readers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries would have viewed women in this scope. The popularity of Mrs. Martin’s tale provides evidence of this sentiment. While an early American reader would have been horrified at such injustices inflicted onto an American white male, a member of the weaker and more virtuous sex bearing such inhumane conditions was unthinkable. The tale also suggested to American readers that the **Turks did not value women in the same way as Americans in post-revolutionary society did**. Yet another source sometimes attributed to Maria Martin said that the status of women in the Ottoman Empire was no different from slavery. The author blamed the “Seraglio” for “the domestic servitude of woman, authorized by the manners and established laws” of the region and argued that “the excess of oppression” was derived from “the excess of love.”

Although she did not primarily intend to generate interest in Muslim society and culture her work attained that objective. By comparing the status of women in the West with that of the despotic East, the author implied that western women should never be allowed to sink to such degraded depths. The Maria Martin narrative conveyed the idea that the Turks were unfeeling and bloodthirsty toward women. Martin was faced with years of unspeakable torture. As a captive, she attempted to escape after several years of servitude, but was

discovered and carried back into slavery for another two years. Martin viewed her captors as fierce, barbaric, and in many regards, lacking any distinguishable human characteristics. Mrs. Martin was chained in a small cell by the neck, waist, and ankles. The Turkish prison guards provide her only with moldy bread and slimy water. The Bashaw was also rendered barbaric and bloodthirsty. A member of the crew on the ship she was first a passenger then a prisoner assisted Mrs. Martin in her failed escape. When sentenced, Mrs. Martin's benefactor declared to the Bashaw, "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". The Bashaw was unmoved by such a declaration and sent Mrs. Martin into close confinement. In the context of its oriental captive story, however, the Bashaw served as a lesson on how the Muslim world's brand of tyranny oppressed women and employed despotism to effectively rule. The assumed perils of the harem and the oppressive status of women under the Ottoman Empire played on the emotions of both male and female readers. Such tales with female protagonists tend to be categorized as part of a larger genre called "literature of sensibility" or sentimental literature. This genre endeavored to establish "a code of ethics based on sensibility to compensate for the erosion of traditional notions of social responsibility." American readers throughout the early nineteenth centuries found female captives in Barbary prisons to be captivating and pitiable characters.

The parallel between Cotton Mather's, Tyler's, Martin's Barbary narratives and Shaler's essays adds further strength to the belief that by the early nineteenth century, as many of the works analyzed here were published, religion was less of a topic of importance and concern for many Americans, **the question of freedom being in fashion**. Shaler's *Sketches of Algiers*, as the author maintained gave a correct view of the real power and political importance of the piratical state of Algiers. That is the belief that few other persons had had equal opportunities for becoming acquainted, in an authentic shape, with the facts of which they treated, and of tracing to their causes several remarkable events which had

occurred since his residence in Algiers. The influence that the toleration of these freebooters must necessarily have upon the prosperity of the American commerce in the Mediterranean, all these causes operating together, induced him to engage in the undertaking of his writing project. The result of his labor shows that the intrinsic power of this re-doubted government is quite insignificant; at least, that it is unequal to the pretensions which had been founded upon it.

Within less than half a century, the United States solved several political problems, of the deepest interest to mankind. They also stripped the phantom of Barbary importance of its imaginary terrors, and exposed to derision the frauds, by which it had been so long upheld. It seems improbable that Algiers could ever again rise to her former dignity, without their consent. The Barbary literature's construction of racially distinct Arab and Turkish archetypes relied on the kinds of racial conceptions. If the native American Indians could become civilized citizens simply by living in a republic such as the United States, then why not bring liberty and civilization to them without first massacring them? William Shaler wholeheartedly believed that, through colonization, Africa could be returned to its former glory and its inhabitants could be civilized. In an argument that would be all too familiar to the European colonial discourse known as the "Whiteman's Burden", Shaler proposed that **Great Britain should determine to colonize this portion of Africa for the benefit of the world** because under British colonization, the same part of the globe would become more abundant in the staple productions of corn, wine, silk, wool, and cattle, than any other country. The sources of interior African trade, through which several cities in this part of Mauritania rose under the Roman domination to a degree of opulence and splendor which at this day seems incredible, would be re-opened. Therefore, through these channels, the product of arts and the principles of European civilization would penetrate into the very centre of this benighted continent. One has to wonder why Shaler, an American, whose country had only just recently won its freedom from Great Britain, would argue for another people to be colonized by the British.

Shaler's logic only seems to make sense if he truly believed that the substitution of Turkish despotism with British government would bring prosperity and Western civilization to Africa.

In the light of what has been said above, one may say that there has been evidence in the Barbary literature to suggest that the Arabs, Moors, and Turks were thought of as distinct races of humankind by Barbary captivity authors and those who read their works. The selected captivity narratives, despite their very similar stereotypical constructions of the archetypal African Arab and Turk, built a much more varied spectrum of opinions and perceptions of Islam for their American readers.

On one end of the spectrum was Shaler, whose essays largely ignored the topic of Islam. He made passing references to it stopping at certain times so that the Arabs could pray, but he stated it very matter-of-factly and said little else. Whenever there was an opportunity for Shaler to make a comment on the religious practices he observed, he passed on it. When one considers that Shaler often took every opportunity to remind his readers of the savage nature of the Turks and his own vision of their despotic rule calling to British colonization, his lack of comments on Islam appears even more surprising. In our view, Shaler's neglect concerning religion was replaced by what might be called in Todorov's terms, the fear of Turk, who was considered at that time as "the Barbarian" as he threatens American interests. The fixation the Algerian colonists had on North Africa's Roman past and their near obsession with the soil shares a number of interesting parallels with the writings of the American Barbary-shore authors. Shaler puts a great deal of emphasis on the ancient wonder and former glory of Roman Algeria which was, in his construction, destroyed by Algerine barbarism and Turkish despotism. He remarked on what he believed to be the advantageous position of numerous cities which had rotted under the weight of Turkish tyranny. Shaler made 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 utilize the soil properly. The French military officers who were part of the expedition that conquered Algiers

consulted and brought with them Shaler's *Sketches*. We do not mean to assert that the colonial narrative of French Algeria was directly influenced or developed because of Shaler's work, but there certainly seems to be an interesting connection between the writings of this American Barbary-shore commentator and the colonial narrative that was developed in the same century. This is a connection that is definitely worth investigating.

We have also introduced a short discussion on the twenty-first century manifestations of what has been termed "Islamophobia". A few sparing remarks have been made in which the Barbary authors' views were compared with the Islamophobic rhetoric of present-day commentators. The link between Islamic governance and barbarism shares the greatest overlap with twenty-first century rhetoric of what Todorov names "the Fear of the Barbarian". It is a way to say that the Barbary literary field continued well into the late nineteenth and twentieth century, albeit in differing forms. Paul Baepler notes that the captivity narrative shifted into the juvenile pulp fiction market in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The literary field and the stereotypical constructions that were developed within it were not forgotten and the Barbary theme continued to appear in varying forms of literature and entertainment throughout the twentieth century. Stereotyping and racial or ethnic group perceptions, however, are not static processes. They evolve over time as successive generations have their own life experiences which will surely alter how they perceive and stereotype racial or ethnic "Others"

Recently, however, such 'Fear of the Barbarian' remains one of the characteristics shaping the U.S foreign policy. Following the events of September 11, 2001, the United States has, in reality, a much longer history of stereotyping Islam and Muslim peoples. There are certainly Muslims, mainly those members of al-Qaeda and ISIL, the more radical segments of the Islamic world that, if they could have their way, would drastically remake the world as they saw fit. They embrace the use of violence into movements that are in a state of war against the West and the United States. Meanwhile, in 2006, as the Republican Party's

numbers were dropping, the Bush administration redefined the “war on terror” as the fight against Islamic-Fascism. While the term makes little sense, it was used, however, to depict a global enemy, slowly encircling the United States, who posed a real and legitimate threat to America’s existence. Such a policy makes the **American people realize that they are surrounded by violent extremists**. The arguments used to justify the belief that Islam is a virus seeking to destroy the American way of life and the conflation of numerous Islamic groups into one can be linked to the way the Ottoman corsairs were seen by the USA in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. America is experiencing an Islamist cultural and political offensive designed to undermine and destroy the extremist movements. The USA is believed to be the land of freedom, equality, and democracy’, but **Islam is feared to be standing as an eminent threat to Americans because it is a religion that abstracts those values**.

Shaler, on the other hand, implies that when Islam is connected to the government, it fosters an uncivilized and barbarous nature within the citizens. No matter if those citizens were converted white Americans, if the government were Islamic, its subjects would eventually resemble the barbarous inhabitants of Algiers. We can understand then the fact that it does not require Islamic governance to turn Muslims into violent extremists: their religion will, under any circumstance, inspire them to become terrorists. In Shaler’s view, Muslims under Western governance could be prosperous and civilized individuals, but in the twenty-first century conception, Muslims will always represent a threat to democracy, freedom, and equality. What is certain, though, is that an analysis of how the Barbary theme and its associated stereotypes continued to evolve in American society in the second half of the nineteenth through the twentieth centuries would make for an interesting follow-up study to our research work.

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