

Early American Perceptions of Muslims

M. el-Moctar EL-SHINQITI*

Abstract: This paper briefly surveys the early American perceptions of Muslims as reflected in the Barbary-related literature, and follows some of the traces of that past in Today's American culture. The four themes of traditional European Orientalism can be easily found in the early American literature on Barbary: Islam is portrayed in this literature as the religion of political tyranny, anti-Christian darkness, sensual pleasures, and oppression of women. What is new in this study is the American context in which these themes function. Timothy Marr believes that Islam was used by the early Americans as a "cultural enemy", an "oppositional icon" that helped the new nation build its own identity. This rhetorical use of Islam against internal and external enemies seems to have responded to an American need for creating a new nation's self-consciousness. Marr called this internalization of Islam "domestic Orientalism" and its external projection "imperialism of virtue".

Key words: America, Muslims, Turks, Christianity, Orientalism, identity, perception, stereotype.

Introduction

The famous American theologian, Cotton Mather (1663-1728), once remarked, "we are afar off, in a land, which never had (that I ever heard of) one Mahometan breathing in it"¹. During the early years of the Republic, Americans interacted with many "real and imagined

* Dr., Associate Professor of History of religion, Center for Islamic Legislation and Ethics, Qatar Faculty of Islamic Studies, Qatar. m.shinqiti@gmail.com

1 Cotton Mather, American Tears upon the Ruines of the Greek Churches (Boston, Massachusetts: B. Green and J. Allen, 1701), p.38. As quoted by Thomas S. Kidd, *Is It*

Muslims”² in different ways. This paper briefly surveys the early American perceptions of Muslims as reflected in the Barbary-related literature.

During the fifty years between 1786 and 1836, the United States Government signed nine treaties with the North African states. During the decade of 1785-1795, about 130 Americans were taken as captives and enslaved in these states, mainly in Algiers. Concluding treaties were issued in order to secure American trade in the Mediterranean and liberate the American slaves in North Africa. This seems to have been a hot topic in the public life of the nascent Republic.

The original draft of the American constitution, referred to the King of England: “This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain...”³ This paragraph in the draft of the Constitution, reflects deeply the crisis with North-African states embedded within the American public life, since the ‘infidel powers’ intended in the text are clearly the North-African Muslim states⁴.

The captivity of Americans in North-Africa left a bitter taste and a great disappointment in the hearts of many Americans of that time. Injustices involved in enslaving free Americans and exhausting the American treasury were the order of the day. But, as Richard Parker noticed, many Americans expressed their disappointment with a great deal of “fabrication, exaggeration, and ignorance, not to mention ingrained stereotyping.”⁵ Even William Shaler, with his matter-of-fact narration and cold-blooded analysis, called the captivity of 130 Americans and few ships “the terror of Christendom and the scourge of the civilized world.”⁶

Worse to Follow Mahomet than the Devil?": Early American Uses of Islam, Church History. 72, no. 4, (2003) p.767

2 Kidd, “*Is It Worse to Follow Mahomet than the Devil?*”, p.767

3 Jefferson, *Autobiography*, <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/jeffauto.htm>. retrieved April 15, 2007.

4 This is how Timothy Marr interpreted the text, see Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamism*, p. 20

5 Parker, *Uncle Sam in Barbary*, p.3

6 Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, p.15

From 1780 to the French occupation of Algiers in 1830, there existed serious interactions between the U.S. and Muslim societies of North Africa. These interactions were embedded with successive crises, treaties, wars and skirmishes. They manifest in the literature on Islam and the Muslims, studied here.

Look at the sources

The sources of this paper are diverse. It primarily includes factual and fictional accounts of the American captives in Algiers, Tripoli and Morocco. Texts of legal and political documents, diplomatic correspondences and writings are also contained therein.

Two fictional works, *Slaves in Algiers*⁷, and *the Algerian Spy in Pennsylvania*⁸, lend a sense of the cultural ethos of the relations between the Americans and the North-African states. Here the use of fictional works as a historical source is justified by the fact that these works reflect people's opinions and perceptions that shaped the major view points in regards to the Muslim peoples. I am deeply indebted to Paul Baepler's sourcebook, *White Slaves, African Masters* for the captive narratives here, in particular, Cotton Mather's speech, *the Glory of Goodness*.

As for the secondary sources, the groundbreaking works of Edward Said on *Orientalism*⁹ and *Covering Islam*¹⁰ opened the door for other scholars to take a closer look at the American perception of Islam and Muslims. Timothy Marr borrowed some of his main conceptual tools from Said¹¹; Thomas Kidd followed in seeing "early American uses of Islam

7 Rowson, Susanna H. *Slaves in Algiers; or, a struggle for freedom: a play, interspersed with songs, in three acts* (Philadelphia: Wrigley and Berriman, prtrs., 1794)

8 Peter Markoe, *the Algerian Spy in Pennsylvania or Letters written by a Native of Algiers on the Affairs of the United States in America from the Close of the Year 1783 to the Meeting of the Convention* (Philadelphia: Richard and Hall, 1787)

9 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vantage, 1979)

10 Edward Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (New York: Vantage, 1997)

11 Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism*, pp. 2,4,8,13 and 77

as essentially discursive.¹² Melani McAlister expanded the application of Said's theory from the textual arena to the broader popular culture, in her study of "the cultural work that happens at the messy intercessions"¹³ of the US-Middle East relations. Richard Parker, an American historian and practicing diplomat, who served as the U.S. ambassador to Algeria, Morocco and Lebanon in both the Ford and Carter administrations, lends an excellent historical background of the diplomatic relations between the U.S and North-African states in his book, *Uncle Sam in Barbary*. Common prejudices involving the American interpretations of events, is exposed by Robert Allison, in *The Crescent Obscured*.¹⁴

Rhetorical use

The four themes of traditional European Orientalism can be easily traced in the early American literature on Barbary: Islam is portrayed in this literature as the religion of political tyranny, anti-Christian darkness, sensual pleasures and oppression of women. What is new here is the American context in which these themes functioned.

Timothy Marr believes that Islam was used by the early Americans as a "cultural enemy", an "oppositional icon"¹⁵ that helped the new nation build its own identity. This rhetorical use of Islam against internal and external enemies seems to have responded to an American need for creating a new nation's self-consciousness. Marr called this internalization of Islam "domestic Orientalism"¹⁶ and its external projection "imperialism of virtue"¹⁷.

12 Kidd, "Is It Worse to Follow Mahomet than the Devil?", p.767

13 Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) p.8

14 Robert Allison, *The Crescent Obscured: The United States and the Muslim World, 1776-1815* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press) 1995

15 Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism*, p.21

16 Timothy Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) p.11

17 Ibid, p.35

Thomas Kidd mentioned many examples of this use of Islam by early American leaders: John Adams in *Discourses on Davila*, expresses his concern that the chaos resulted from the French revolution will “follow the standard of the first mad despot, who, with the enthusiasm of another Mahomet, will endeavor to obtain them.”; John Quincy Adams compares Jefferson to “the Arabian prophet”; while Benjamin Franklin defends slavery in a speech given by Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim,¹⁸ an imaginary Muslim pirate from North Africa.

In the religious arena, Islam was used by the Protestant elite as an argumentative tool against Deists, Catholics, Quakers, Mormons and other ‘heretics’. The Baptist theologian, Roger Williams, (1603–1684) attacked the Quaker leader George Fox (1624–1691) by calling him “this new Mahomet.”¹⁹ The opponents of the Prophet of Mormonism, Joseph Smith Jr. often referred to him as “the Ontario Mahomet,” “the Yankee Mahomet,” and “the American Mahomet.”²⁰ It seems that discrediting Mormonism by this Islamic labeling continued as recently as the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1912, for example, Bruce Kinney published his book, *Mormonism: the Islam of America*²¹. This rhetorical use of Islam and Muslims in the early American culture is in line with Edward Said’s conclusions, when he wrote that “Orientalism responded more to the culture that produced it than to its putative object.”²²

The production and the use of a grim Islamic image helped early Americans to distance themselves not only from the despised Muslims, but also from their rivals, the Europeans. After the capture of two American vessels by the Algerians, Thomas Jefferson expressed his

18 Kidd, “*Is It Worse to Follow Mahomet than the Devil?*”, p.766 and 787-788

19 Ibid, p.778

20 Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism*, p.193-194

21 Published the first time by Fleming H. Revell, New York: 1912. A contemporary edition is published by Kessinger Publishing, LLC in 2004

22 Said, *Orientalism*, p.22

unwillingness to follow “the European humiliation of paying a tribute to those lawless pirates.”²³

The power of familiarity

However, the early American perceptions of Muslims, was not always grim. There were a few cases of positive portrayal of Muslims in the Barbary-related literature. Three main factors determined the kind of perception every writer produced: Firstly, the familiarity factor that allowed some Americans, like the consul William Shaler and the captive James Cathcart, to obtain further accurate information and to make neutral observations after living in Algiers for more than a decade. In *Sketches of Algiers*, Shaler is shackled with cultural prejudices and stereotyping. Yet, it is still the most accurate account, on the life of the Algerians and the US-North-African relations in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. It was precisely described by Richard Parker as “one of the most useful books on the period.”²⁴ Shaler rightly criticized those who preceded him in the field, and wrote that “Algiers has been viewed through the critical eyes of ancient impressions.”²⁵ Shaler’s book and Cathcart’s narrative have less prejudice and more objectivity than any other primary source used here.

Secondly, the change in diplomatic relations and the shift of balance in power paved the way for enslavements of Americans in North Africa. American trade in the Mediterranean became impossible for North-Africans. During the captives’ crisis, Americans seem to have held an exaggerated picture of the capabilities of the North African states, even after their powers began to decline. Hence, the Constitution draft attributes them

23 Jefferson, *Autobiography*, <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/jeffauto.htm>. retrieved April 15, 2007.

24 Richard Parker, *Uncle Sam in Barbary: A Diplomatic History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004) p.129

25 William Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers, Political, Historical, and Civil; Containing an Account of the Geography, Population, Government, Revenues, Commerce, Agriculture, Arts, Civil Institutions, Tribes, Manners, Languages, and Recent Political History of that Country* (Boston: Cummings, Hilliard and Company, 1826) p.113

as the “infidel powers”²⁶, while Jefferson describes them as “the Barbary powers.”²⁷ There was clearly an element of unintended self-deception in this view. Shaler explained in the preface of his book that the main objective in writing the book was to “show that the intrinsic power of this [Algerian] redoubted government is quite insignificant; at least that is unequal to the pretensions which have been founded on it.”²⁸ Later in the book, and after he described the military weaknesses of Algiers, he exclaimed: “such is the far-famed Regency of Algiers, the theme of poets, the terror of nurseries, and the cause of unending national degradation. And it cannot fail to excite the astonishment of the reader, that so insignificant and worthless a power should have been so long permitted to vex the commercial world and exhort ransom at its discretion.”²⁹

The third factor embodies the diverse personal experience of every one of those early Americans who lived in North Africa. The experience of the American captive James Cathcart, who served as a secretary of the Dey and left Algiers, a rich man, was different from the experience of the less fortunate captives like John Foss. The happy experience of the consul William Shaler was unlike the disappointing experience of the envoy Joel Barlow. Each of these experiences was uniquely reflected in the cultural views and perceptions. But these nuances hold true only for the real literature, and not the works of those writers who never experienced North-African life on the ground and whose works were purely fictional in nature.

From the Maghreb to Barbary

The image of Muslims as barbarians and savages is redundant in the American Barbary-related literature. The primary feature worthy

26 Thomas Jefferson, *Autobiography* (the Avalon Project at Yale Law School), retrieved April 15, 2007 from: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/jeffauto.htm>.

27 Jefferson, *Eighth Annual Message to Congress, November 8, 1808* (The Avalon Project) Retrieved April 11, 2007 from: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/presiden/sou/jeffmes8.htm>

28 Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, p.iii

29 Ibid, p.38

of notice is the name 'Barbary' that brings to attention that the North African region had always been called the Maghreb (the West) in Islamic literature. The term 'Barbary' and its derivatives were rarely used in a neutral term to identify a geographical location. Most of the times these terms were used with a culturally loaded signification for a despised place and an alien people who were seen as inferior in religion, race and culture through the American eyes.

The 'Barbary' land was given some revealing descriptions. Cotton Mather called Morocco "the place of dragons... the belly of Hell."³⁰ Joel Barlow wrote to his wife about Algiers: "this den of pirates, this sewer of vices"³¹, "this cursed country"³², "the most detestable place one can imagine"³³ "this abominable sink of wickedness, pestilence and folly, the city of Algiers."³⁴ Barlow occasionally employed a humorous approach to express his loathing of Algiers. In one of his letters to his wife he wrote: "this world isn't made as I would have made it... there are many things made here that I would not have made in my world. I would not have made an Algiers, for example."³⁵

He softened his tone occasionally. He once wrote to his wife that "here is a very good society, if I have time to enjoy it, and a charming country to promenade".³⁶ One can argue that Barlow was first expressing a legitimate disappointment about the captivity of his countrymen in Algiers, and then he softened his tone after the release of the captives. But Richard Parker reasons that this unusual tone in his letters is owing to the

30 Mather, *the Glory of Goodness*, in Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.63

31 From Joel Barlow to Ruth Barlow, April 2, 1796 in Milton Cantor, "A Connecticut Yankee in a Barbary Court: Joel Barlow's Algerian Letters to His Wife," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., Vol. 19, No. 1 (Jan., 1962) p. 97

32 From Joel Barlow to Ruth Barlow, September 25, 1796 in Cantor, *A Connecticut Yankee in a Barbary Court*, p. 104

33 From Joel Barlow to Ruth Barlow, March 14, 1796 in Cantor, *A Connecticut Yankee in a Barbary Court*, p. 95

34 From Joel Barlow to Ruth Barlow, July 8, 1796 in Cantor, *A Connecticut Yankee in a Barbary Court*, p. 101

35 From Joel Barlow to Ruth Barlow, September 8, 1796 in Cantor, *A Connecticut Yankee in a Barbary Court*, p. 103

36 Quoted in Parker, *Uncle Same in Barbary*, p.113

fact that “his early culture shock had worn off.”³⁷ The two interpretations are not mutually exclusive. Both prove the power of familiarity and the effect of the personal experience in dissipating cultural prejudices.

Unlike Barlow, Shaler who lived for thirteen years in Algiers liked the place very much, and wrote fondly about the “many villas in romantic situations”³⁸ in the suburbs of Algiers. Shaler appreciated the cleanliness of the Algerian homes that lent “... a very brilliant appearance to the city.”³⁹ And while Barlow described himself, leaving Algiers, as “a ghost escaped from hell”⁴⁰, Shaler did not want to leave, what he saw was a fascinating and hospitable place: “If I ever be called away from Algiers, I should not cease to regret being deprived of the kind hospitality and friendly fascination of its interesting society.”⁴¹

Mission civilisatrice?

The land was termed a ‘Barbary’ land; its inhabitants were seen and frequently described as the “savage barbarians.”⁴² In his ambitious vision of building an American navy, Jefferson wanted to deter the North-Africans from capturing the Americans and disturbing the American trade. This bears similarity to what the French later described as the *mission civilisatrice* for the Algerians. Jefferson hoped that “by an exclusion of them from the sea, might change their habits and characters from a predatory to an agricultural people.”⁴³

To give this ‘savagery’ an easy picture to grasp, the use of animal analogy was common. Cotton Mather called the Moroccan King “the

37 Parker, *Uncle Same in Barbary*, p.114

38 Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, p.49

39 Ibid, p. 73

40 From Joel Barlow to Ruth Barlow, July 30, 1797 in Cantor, *A Connecticut Yankee in a Barbary Court*, p. 108

41 Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, p.83

42 John Foss, *A Journal of the Captivity and Suffering of John Foss*, in Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.88

43 Jefferson, *Autobiography*, <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/jeffauto.htm>. retrieved April 15, 2007 from:

tygre whom they call the Emperor”⁴⁴ and Morocco was “the lion’s den in that part of Barbary.”⁴⁵ John Foss wrote about “a savage desert, abounding with lions, tigers, leopards, jackals, buffaloes, wild boars and porcupines. It must be acknowledged that these animals are not in the least amiable inhabitants of this country”⁴⁶. Barlow was –as usual- more amusing when he explained to his wife that he was coming home from Algiers with moustaches, following the Barbary proverb: *who makes himself the lamb, the wolf eats*, “and as I am a lamb at heart, it was necessary to hide this character under the exterior of another animal. And my moustaches give me fairly well the air of a beastly tiger, the wolf will not eat. They have been very useful in my affairs.”⁴⁷

Cruelty was also a constant characteristic of Muslims in this literature. John Foss wrote about the “merciless Mahometans”⁴⁸. Here he recollects his own “misfortune to fall into the hands of the Algerines, whose tenderest mercy towards Christian captives, are the most extreme cruelties.”⁴⁹ Mather claimed that “it was the manner” of the King of Morocco “when prisoners were brought before him immediately, to run a lance through the heart of them”⁵⁰.

William Shaler, the most accurate observer, had his own distinction here. He does not ascribe the Algerians the honor to be a ‘civilized people’, nor does he slam them as purely ‘savage barbarians’. Rather he wrote that they were “on the brink of civilization, and might be easily led into it”⁵¹ Shaler deserves to be credited for his constant attempt to avoid over-simplification and quick judgment.

44 Cotton Mather, *the Glory of Goodness*, in Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.63

45 Ibid, p.68

46 Foss, *A Journal of the Captivity and Suffering of John Foss*, in Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.90

47 From Joel Barlow to Ruth Barlow, August 1, 1797 in Cantor, *A Connecticut Yankee in a Barbary Court*, p. 109

48 Foss, *A Journal of the Captivity and Suffering of John Foss*, in Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.95

49 Ibid, p.73

50 Mather, *the Glory of Goodness*, in Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.63

51 Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, p.58

The Racial factor

The sense of racial superiority was a determinant factor in the way Muslims were portrayed in the American literature on Barbary. Arabs, Turks, Moors and Blacks, all got their share of racial prejudices. Cotton Mather talked about the “hellish Moors”⁵² and expressed his disdain that the English/American captives in Morocco were “sometimes driven about by black-a-moors, who are set over them as task-masters”⁵³ and he called the Moroccan King an “African monster.”⁵⁴

In her play, *Slaves in Algiers*, Susanna Rowson portrays the racial issue in her own way. The women of the Palace in Algiers were made to fall in love with the handsome Christian men, enslaved by their ugly husbands. One Algerian woman, Fetnah, tells Salima: “who would not prefer a young, handsome, good humored Christian, to an old, ugly, ill-natured Turk.”⁵⁵ Fetnah rediscovered her British roots. She protests: to the American captive Fredrick, who often endearingly called her his “lovely little Moor”⁵⁶ “Lord, I am not a Moriscan; I hate ‘em all.”⁵⁷ Rowson compels the Spanish slave, Sebastian, to chant a story of his captivity, where he describes the “Turkish villains... a pack of rascallions, vile infidel knaves.”⁵⁸

The American captive, Foss gives an account of the Turks of Algiers: “their dress and long beards make them appear more like monsters, than human beings”⁵⁹. The female fictional captive, Eliza Bradley, said that the stranger sent by her husband to liberate her, “although of tawny complexion, had not otherwise the savage appearance of an Arab.”⁶⁰

52 Mather, *the Glory of Goodness*, in Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p. 66

53 Ibid, p.62

54 Ibid, p.66

55 Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers* p.40

56 Ibid p.37

57 Ibid p.32

58 Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers* p.48

59 Foss, *A Journal of the Captivity and Suffering of John Foss*, in Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, 92

60 Eliza Bradley, *An Authentic Narrative*. In Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.277

The first impression Barlow had of the Algerians was that they were simply not human beings. In his first letter from Algiers to his wife in France, he wrote: “after we have cast about from heaven to hell, it [the tempest] drove us to a port, which certainly belongs to neither, since they are not men who inhabit it. This port is called Algiers”⁶¹. And if Algiers as a place was an unneeded creature from Barlow’s point of view, so were the Algerians as people about whom Barlow had this to write to his wife: “I pardon whoever created the world, I do not know who, for having made so many bad creatures”⁶² and he condemned their “customs which attested to the lowest debasement of the human species.”⁶³

Sometimes the racial characterization is not unjustifiable. North-African society, like the North American one, was then a racially ranked society. Their people were far from equal before the law. (Even today, they have not reached this equality). Barlow noticed this inequality in his very first days in Algiers.⁶⁴ Theoretically, North-Africans of the eighteenth century were ruled by Islamic law, free from the distinctions of race, but the Turkish military elite, ruling in Algiers, Tripoli and Tunis had in practice many privileges that other communities, such the Arabs, the Moors, and the Jews did not enjoy. Shaler mentioned few examples of this institutionalized discrimination⁶⁵, as if “Turks are born to command, and the natives of Algiers to obey.”⁶⁶

Within such a social hierarchy and legalized inequality, one would understandably want to belong to the privileged race, or be treated as such in the least. Thus, when the Americans ransomed their captives and signed a treaty with Algiers on September 5, 1795, they included in

61 From Joel Barlow to Ruth Barlow, March 8, 1796 in Cantor, *A Connecticut Yankee in a Barbary Court*, p. 95

62 From Joel Barlow to Ruth Barlow, September 8, 1796 in Cantor, *A Connecticut Yankee in a Barbary Court*, p. 103

63 From Joel Barlow to Ruth Barlow, May 8, 1796 in Cantor, *A Connecticut Yankee in a Barbary Court*, p. 99

64 From Joel Barlow to Ruth Barlow, March 14, 1796 in Cantor, *A Connecticut Yankee in a Barbary Court*, p. 95-96

65 Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, p.22

66 Ibid, p.29

the Article 16 of the treaty, “should any citizen of the United States of North America kill, wound or strike a subject of this regency, he shall be punished in the same manner as a Turk, and not with more severity.”⁶⁷

Compared with Barlow’s arrogant prejudices, William Shaler had more moderate, views on matters of race. Despite his despise of the Turkish ruling elite in Algiers, Shaler tried to give a more objective image, when he wrote that “the Turks are plain, prudent, sensible people, possessing both the virtues and vices of their semi-barbarous state; in general their word may be relied on, and in the common intercourse of life they were courteous, friendly and humane.”⁶⁸

However, Shaler lacked consistency in his racial characterizations. His statements about different racial groups in Algiers were often contradictory. While he praised “the manly character of the Turks”⁶⁹, he denounced their “barbarous character and manners.”⁷⁰ Similarly, he condemned “the vain, inconstant character of the Moors”⁷¹, while he praised “the native genius and the versatile character of the Moors.”⁷² Despite these striking contradictions, Shaler should be given the credit to have made an attempt in understanding the complexities of a different culture and society, foreign to him.

The only exception from the racial bias expressed in this literature is the case of the Berber tribes of Muzabis, Kabyles and Tuaregs, because they were seen by the early American observers as a ‘white people’. Shaler wrote about the the language and social manners of these tribes, in which he described the Muzabees as “a white people, very intelligent and keen in trade, they are very industrious...interesting people.”⁷³ He

67 *Treaty of Peace and Amity, Signed at Algiers September 5, 1795*, Article 16 (the Avalon Project) retrieved April 12, 2007 from: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/barbary/bar1795t.htm>

68 Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, p. 28

69 Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, p. 32

70 *Ibid*, p.18

71 *Ibid*, p.32

72 *Ibid*, p.85

73 William Shaler, *On the Language, Manners, and Customs of the Berbers, or Berbers, of Africa. Communicated by William Shaler, Consul of the United States at Algiers, in a Series*

also wrote that the Tuaregs and the Kabyles of Morocco were “a white people, very numerous, brave, warlike, and of an independent of manners and deportment that displays a remarkable contrast with the servility in practice at the court of Fezzan.”⁷⁴ In his book, he characterized the Kabyles of Algiers as “a white people... resembling the peasants of the north of Europe.”⁷⁵ And of what he called “the *unaffrican* moral qualities of the Kabyles,”⁷⁶ he supposed that they must have been “remnant of the Vandals”⁷⁷.

The feminine factor

Among the Americans held in North African states between 1785 and 1815, none was female.⁷⁸ The only real female captive mentioned in the literature studied here was the one taken with Cathcart by the Algerians. Cathcart described her as “a Spaniard by birth, a facetious creature”⁷⁹, then he wrote that the woman, “immediately on her arrival had been sent to the Spanish hospital”⁸⁰ in Algiers. On the other hand, the American literature on Barbary gave a good space for imaginary female captives, two of them (Maria Martin and Eliza Bradley) supposedly wrote the narratives of their captivity, and two others (Rebecca and Olivia) were among the main characters of Susannah Rowson’s play, *Slaves in Algiers, or, A Struggle for Freedom*. It seemed that this “public fascination with female captivity”⁸¹ responded to an internal need about

of Letters to Peter S. Du Ponceau, and by the Latter to the Society Transactions of the American Philosophical Society New Ser., Vol. 2 (1825), p. 451. See also Shaler, Sketches of Algiers, p.89, where he repeated that “the Mozabis are a white people”. Shaler used the two different spellings of Mozabis and Muzabees.

74 William Shaler, *On the Language, Manners, and Customs of the Berbers*, p. 438 and *Sketches of Algiers*, p.101

75 Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, p.91

76 Ibid, p.92

77 Ibid

78 Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism*, p.32

79 Cathcart, *the Captives, Eleven years in Algiers*, in Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p. 108

80 Ibid, p.111

81 Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.147

the position of woman in the early American Republic. The author of *Slaves in Algiers* was “best known as the author of the wildly popular seduction novel *Charlotte Temple* to advocate for women’s rights in the new republic and maintain the importance of female virtue.”⁸² She seems to have been active in women’s education, and had her own academy in Bedford, Massachusetts⁸³.

Women played a liberating role in the literature studied here. They were often portrayed as revolutionaries against political and social tyranny, freedom fighters who wanted to prove in practice that they could free themselves from the yolk of social and emotional slavery. *Slaves in Algiers* opens with an imaginary young Algerian woman of British origin named Fetnah, (seduction in Arabic) complaining about her incarceration inside the palace of the Dey of Algiers: “well, it’s all vastly pretty, the gardens, the house and these fine cloths; I like them very well, but I don’t like to be confined”. And when her friend Selima tells her “Yet, surely, you have no reason to complain; chosen favorite of the Dey, what can you wish for more?” Fetnah replies: “I wish for liberty.”⁸⁴

Fetnah goes on to slam the Dey, “you bought my person of my parents, who loved gold better than they did their child; but my affection you could not buy. I can’t love you... send me home... and bestow your favor on some other who may think splendor a compensation for the loss of liberty.”⁸⁵ The writer of the play did not forget to make Fetnah a student of the American female captive Rebecca. Fetnah confessed to her friend Selima: “my father [Ben Hassan] who sends out many corsairs, brought home a female captive, to whom I became greatly attached; it was she, who nourished in my mind the love of liberty, and taught me woman was never formed to be the abject slave of man... she came from that

82 Anne G. Myles, “Slaves in Algiers, Captives in Iraq: The strange career of the Barbary captivity narrative”, [www.common-place.org](http://www.common-place.org/vol-05/no-01/myles/index.shtml) · vol. 5 · no. 1 · October 2004, retrieved May 5, 2007 from: <http://www.common-place.org/vol-05/no-01/myles/index.shtml>

83 Marry Beth Norton, *Liberty’s Daughters: the Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (United States: Harper Collins Publishers, 1980) p.248

84 Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers* p.5

85 Ibid, p.8

land where virtue in either sex is the only mark of superiority—she was an American.”⁸⁶

In this feminist perspective, suffering was portrayed as a virtue. Women wanted to prove they could exceed men in their sacrifice for liberty. The fictional female captive Maria Martin expressed this notion of female sacrifice in her narrative in a more affirmative way: “I gloomed with the desire of convincing the world I was capable of suffering what man has never suffered before.”⁸⁷

To give this feminist struggle a cultural context, the old notion about Islam as the faith of sensual pleasure was reproduced. In the fictional work, *the Algerian Spy in Pennsylvania*, the Ottoman Sultan was supposed to send a hundred thousand of his fighters to help Rhode Island secede from the US and become an Ottoman protectorate, “and as all nations ought to pay for protection, these new subjects may be permitted to pay their tribute to the Sultan in a certain number of virgins.”⁸⁸

Ben Hassan tells his fictional American captive Rebecca: “I will make you my wife”, and when Rebecca asks: “are you not already married”? Ben Hassan adds: “our laws give us liberty in love; you are an American and you must love liberty.”⁸⁹ The Islamic law permitting up to four wives for one husband⁹⁰ was amplified. Thus, the Spanish captive Sebastian said that his Algerian master Alcaide, [the leader in Arabic], “has twelve wives, thirty concubines [sic].”⁹¹ Shaler had, as always, a more empirical and accurate account. He wrote that Algerians “are generally contented with one”⁹² wife.

The old image of Muslims as oppressors of women is redundant in this literature. The fictionalized captive, Eliza Bradley, spoke of

86 Ibid, p.9

87 Martin, *History of the Captivity and Sufferings of Mrs. Maria Martin*, in Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.156

88 Markoe, *the Algerian Spy in Pennsylvania*, p. 105

89 Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers*, p. 13

90 *Qur'an*: 4:3

91 Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers*, p.46

92 Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, p. 62

Arabs' treatments of their wives as "very severe and cruel, exercising as much authority over them as over their slaves, and compelling them to perform the meanest drudgery—their husbands consider them as their inferiors, as beings without souls."⁹³ Another fictionalized woman, the Algerian Fetnah, related how she was brought to the room of the Dey trembling: "'Fetnah', said he, 'I have condescended to request you to love me'. And then he gave me such a fierce look, as if he would say 'and if you don't love me I'll cut your head off.'"⁹⁴ The American captive John Foss, seems to have believed that brides were bought by their husbands and misinterpreted that this transaction was in fact their dowry. Foss wrote in his narrative: "in this country, every man is obliged to buy his wife from her parents."⁹⁵

Even Barlow, with all his intellectual talents, could not avoid adopting a few old and inaccurate generalizations when he wrote that "If a Mohammedan woman is taken in adultery, the law condemned her to be placed in a sack with a large stone and be cast into the sea."⁹⁶ The Islamic law practiced in Algiers at that time punishes adultery with a hundred lashes,⁹⁷ and the law Barlow was describing here was closer to the Code of Hammurabi⁹⁸ than to any law that ever had been used in Algiers. Articles 108, 129, 133 and 143 of the Code of Hammurabi describes women "thrown into the water" or "cast into the water" as a punishment for adultery, and the reproduction of this very ancient image by Barlow proves what Timothy Marr noticed about "the powerful historical templates" that "shape how Islam is perceived and received within the United States."⁹⁹

93 Bradley, *An Authentic Narrative*. In Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.276

94 Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers*, p.7

95 Foss, *A Journal of the Captivity and Suffering of John Foss*, in Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.89

96 From Joel Barlow to Ruth Barlow, March 14, 1796 in Cantor, *A Connecticut Yankee in a Barbary Court*, p. 96

97 Qur'an 24:1

98 *Hammurabi's Code of Laws*, Translated by L. W. King, Retrieved May 5, 2007 from: <http://eawc.evansville.edu/anthology/hammurabi.htm>

99 Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism*, p.7

The religious factor

Religious superiority is a main theme of the Barbary-related literature produced by the early Americans. This superiority was expressed sometimes in the form of simple and blatant judgments, and sometimes through the steadfastness of the Christian captives in an Islamic land. They perpetually resisted any temptation to convert to Islam. Cotton Mather describes the Muslims as “the filthy disciples of Mahomet.”¹⁰⁰ In the romantic context of Susannah Rowson’s play, the words are softer, but Muslims are still infidels. The American captive, Fredric, repeatedly called his beloved Algerian woman: “my sweet little infidel”¹⁰¹ and “dear little infidel.”¹⁰²

In the fictional narrative of her enslavement in the Moroccan desert – ironically titled, *An Authentic Narrative*- Eliza Bradley describes Moroccans: “O, what a pity it is that they are not taught the superior excellence of the Christian religion, and to worship the blessed Jesus, instead of the impure and idolatrous worship of objects prescribed by Mahomet. Weep, O my soul, over the forlorn state of the benighted heathens.”¹⁰³ The same pity was expressed in *Slaves in Algiers*, by Sebastian, the fictional Spanish slave in Algiers, talking about the Dey’s daughter: “and that dear sweet creature, Madam Zoriana too—what a pity it is she’s Mahometan. Your true bred Mahometans never drink any wine...”¹⁰⁴

Cotton Mather was excited to announce that to his congregation that “it’s a remarkable goodness of God, that none of these our friends proved apostates from our holy religion, when they were under so many temptations to apostasy... nor stretch out their hands unto the impostor Mahomet and his accursed Alcoran.”¹⁰⁵ Some dramatic stories of persecution were invented to support this characterization, like the story of the Moroccan Emperor and the protestant Englishman who

100 Mather, *the Glory of Goodness*, in Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.69

101 Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers*, pp.32 and 45

102 Ibid, p.37

103 Bradley, *An Authentic Narrative*. In Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.272

104 Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers*, p.42

105 Mather, *the Glory of Goodness*, in Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.64

preferred to be cut pieces, rather than changing his faith, unlike the French Catholic who yielded under pressure.¹⁰⁶

The dramatization in Mather's speech about the religious persecution of the American captives is, however, in contradiction with Shaler and Cathcart who are, in fact, our most reliable sources here. Shaler wrote about the treatment of the English\American captives in Algiers: "it is no more than justice to say that their condition here was not generally worse than that of prisoners of war in many civilized, Christian country."¹⁰⁷ He even went as far as to say that "there were slaves who left Algiers with regret... they carried away a vast sum of money."¹⁰⁸ Cathcart, who left Algiers for the US "in a ship he purchased with the profits he made while in Algiers,"¹⁰⁹ is the best example of what Shaler tried emphatically to describe.

Cathcart himself narrated a long story on religion, in which the Dey of Algiers refused to allow his officials to press him or other Americans into conversion.¹¹⁰ This view is more consistent with the precedents of religious treatment of Christian captives in North Africa as documented by today's historians. In his study of European captives in North Africa in the sixteenth century, Ellen Friedman concluded that "in one respect, however, the treatment of captives in North Africa was exceptional. This was the area of religion. The captives, who were, after all, slaves, were accorded a wide verity of religious privileges. Indeed, in many instances, Christian spiritual observances were specifically encouraged by the North Africans."¹¹¹

Rather than seeing American captives convert to Islam, by conviction of the virtue of that faith, or under the pressure of servitude, or by the

106 Ibid, p.64-65

107 Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, p.76

108 Ibid, p.77

109 Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.104

110 Cathcart, *the Captives: Eleven Years a Prisoner in Algiers*, in Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.144

111 Ellen Friedman, "The Exercise of Religion by Spanish Captives in North Africa", *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Apr., 1975), p. 21

attraction of potential privileges... Muslims were the ones who were depicted as converts to Christianity, influenced by the goodness and sincerity of their American captives (interestingly, Muslims never influenced their European captives). This goes in line with an old perception of Islam as “a post-Christian provocation,”¹¹² with no theological or spiritual significance.

In the play, *Slaves of Algiers*, the Dey’s daughter, Zoriana, confesses to her American maid Olivia: “I am a Christian in my heart,”¹¹³ “I am fixed to leave this place and embrace Christianity.”¹¹⁴ *The Algerine Spy in Pennsylvania*, of Peter Markoe (1752-1792), exemplifies this conversion process in more dramatic ways. The book is a collection of fictional letters, “written in different languages, but chiefly in Arabic”¹¹⁵ by an Algerian man named Mehemet, (the Turkish pronunciation of Muhammad). He was sent by the Algerian government to spy on the new American Republic. He was assisted by two Jewish merchants who were living in Europe, (Solomon Mendez at Gibraltar and Isaac D’Acosta in Lisbon). Mehemet explained in one of his letters from Pennsylvania, that the object of the voyage to America was “to inform our illustrious regency of the actual strength of these states, and their future probable exertions.”¹¹⁶ He found what he saw as the Achilles’ heel of America in the possibility of a revolt from Rhode Island against the Union. He thought about “the means of rendering this very probable revolt beneficial to Algiers and glorious to the Sublime Porte by establishing an Ottoman Malta on the coasts of America.”¹¹⁷ After staying in Pennsylvania long enough to learn about America, Mehemet ended up as a religious and political convert. He thus concludes his last letter: “and thou Pennsylvania... open thy arms to receive Mehemet the Algerian who, formerly a Mahometan and thy foe, has renounced his enmity, his country and his religion, and hopes,

112 Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism*, p.4

113 Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers*, p.20

114 Ibid, p.24

115 Markoe, *the Algerian Spy in Pennsylvania* p.9

116 Markoe, *the Algerian Spy in Pennsylvania* , p.95

117 Ibid, p.104

protected by thy laws, to enjoy in the evening of his life, the united blessings of freedom and Christianity.”¹¹⁸

Religious superiority was sometimes expressed in the form of a Christian character of chastity, forgiveness and peace. Olivia, an American fictional captive in the Dey’s home, tells Zoriana, the Dey’s daughter, that her father loves her, “but my being a Christian has hitherto preserved me from improper solicitations.”¹¹⁹ Rebecca, another American fictional captive, eventually confesses to her master, Ben Hassan, “you have dealt unjustly by me, but I forgive you,”¹²⁰ and the American captive Henry, who led a heroic plot in the play to escape and rescue his countrymen from captivity, advised his Christian friends: “let us not, on this auspicious night, when we hope to emancipate ourselves from slavery, tinge the bright standard of liberty with blood.”¹²¹

The religious aspect was sometimes expressed in more miraculous terms: “the power of prayer leading to deliverance, and the vengeance of God befalling upon those who persecuted Christians. Cotton Mather announced to his congregation, “our brethren are delivered through the goodness of God from the most horrible captivity in the world,”¹²² adding “‘Tis prayer, ‘Tis prayer, that has done it all. Give me leave to speak it with all due humility,”¹²³ “this is the Lord’s doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes”¹²⁴, “you see with your own happy experience what prayer can do.”¹²⁵

John Foss narrated the story of what he perceived as a divine intervention against one of the Algerian taskmasters who mistreated his American captives during their forced labor, then one of them invoked God’s wrath against the cruel taskmaster. A few moments later the man

118 Ibid, p.129

119 Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers*, p.19

120 Ibid, p.54

121 Ibid, p.44

122 Mather, *the Glory of Goodness*, in Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.61

123 Ibid, p.67

124 Ibid, p.68

125 Ibid, p.69

“fell from the planks, between the walls, and was dashed to pieces.”¹²⁶ Foss comments, “thus ended the days of a godless wretch, apparently in a moment, swept away by the devout breath of a suffering Christian.”¹²⁷

Muslims were depicted, as fanatics, blinded by their religious intolerance. Algerian Muslims, in the view of the American captive John Foss, “are taught by the religion of Mahomet (if that can be called a religion which leads men to the commission of such horrid and bloody deeds) to persecute all its opposer’s.”¹²⁸ But Shaler, for his familiarity with Algiers, had a different impression. He wrote about the Algerians: “I have found them civil, courteous, and humane. Neither have I ever remarked any thing in the character of these people that discover extraordinary bigotry, fanaticism, or hatred of those who profess a different religion.”¹²⁹

Traces of the past

The Barbary-related literature reveals a dual conflict: the arrogant generalizations of Mather and Barlow, and the more accurate observations of Shaler and Cathcart. This conflict seems to survive in American perceptions of Muslims today, in the form of conflicting visions about the interpretation of the past and the agenda for the future.

Several American and British scholars have made a great effort in the recent decades to present a more factual narrative about the early encounters between the US and Muslim societies of North Africa, and to correct some of the stereotypes and misconceptions that resulted from those events. Godfrey Fisher in his *Barbary Legend* rejected the “sweeping generalizations”¹³⁰ adopted by many western writers on the topic, where “no distinction was made between Moor and Turk, pirate

126 Foss, *A Journal of the Captivity and Suffering of John Foss*, in Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters*, p.81

127 Ibid

128 Ibid, p.73

129 Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, p.55

130 Godfrey Fisher, *Barbary Legend: War, Trade and Piracy in North Africa, 1415-1830*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1957), p.2

and corsair, captive and slave.”¹³¹ He argued that North-African regencies “have been the victims of history,”¹³² depicted as “the abode of fanatics and outlaws,”¹³³ without taking into consideration the geographical and historical context in which these states had to struggle for their survival, and the injustices committed against them...

Hundreds of thousands of the citizens of these North-African states’ were mercilessly expelled from Spain under the horror of the Inquisition. Thousands of their citizens were kidnapped in the Mediterranean and sold into slavery in Europe. “The Kings of Morocco had to send several envoys to Europe for their freedom¹³⁴, and tens of thousands of other African Muslims were forcefully taken from their land, transported across the Atlantic, and enslaved in America.”¹³⁵ All of these facts seem to be irrelevant for many narrators and writers of the Barbary wars and captivity. But those who put these events in a broader context found easily, that “while this practice [of North-Africans] had economic benefits and political advantages, vengeance remained a central motive.”¹³⁶

Ambassador Parker drew attention to the important legal issue of “distinction between piracy and privateering.”¹³⁷ While piracy was always illegal, “privateering was recognized as legal until it was abolished by the declaration of Paris in 1856.”¹³⁸ As for the treatment of captives, Parker affirms that “the Barbary corsairs seem to have been no worse than their European colleagues, and in some cases they may have been more

131 Ibid, p.14

132 Ibid, p.3

133 Ibid, p.6

134 The narratives of two of these Moroccan envoys, Qasim and Ghasani, are published within the book of Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arab Travel Writing in the 17th Century* (New York, Routledge: 2002) p.5-44 and 113-196

135 for a documented study of Muslim slaves in America see Allan D. Austin, *African Muslims in Antebellum America: A Source Book* (New York and London: Gerald Publishing, Inc.,1986)

136 Anne G. Myles, “*Slaves in Algiers, Captives in Iraq*” www.common-place.org · vol. 5 · no. 1 · October 2004, retrieved May 5, 2007 from: <http://www.common-place.org/vol-05/no-01/myles/index.shtml>

137 Parker, *Uncle Sam in Barbary*, p.6

138 Ibid

humane”¹³⁹ Robert Allison explained that American captives in North Africa “were treated as political hostages”¹⁴⁰. These revisions, however, should not be taken as a justification of the injustices committed against American citizens and the American nation, but they help understand what had happened without cultural and racial prejudices.

The work and the goodwill of these scholars, is contradicted by another trend in American academics and media that read these early encounters between the U.S and North-African states through the confrontational lenses and terminologies of today’s society at large. Joseph Wheelan titled his book on the Barbary War “America’s First War on Terror,”¹⁴¹ and claims that “the Barbary War resembles today’s war on terror. Tactically and strategically, it resonates most deeply in its assertion of free trade, human rights, and freedom from tyranny and terror.”¹⁴² A similar reading of the Barbary War is presented in Michael Oren’s *Power, Faith, and Fantasy*,¹⁴³ praised by the neo-conservative magazine, *The Weekly Standard*¹⁴⁴.

In the articles, interesting comparisons about the narratives of the Barbary captive the American female soldier, Jessica Lynch, resonate. She was captured in Iraq in 2003. Both Melani McAlister¹⁴⁵ and Anne Myles¹⁴⁶ found striking similarities, especially a sense of self-righteousness and a great deal of projection of gender roles and position. Myles wrote as if she was commenting on Wheelan’s and Oren’s books, that “such polarizing accounts are politically expedient to this day.”¹⁴⁷ Myles calls

139 Ibid

140 Allison, *The Crescent Obscured*, p.110

141 Joseph Wheelan, *Jefferson’s War: America’s First War on Terror* (Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2003)

142 Ibid, p. xxvi

143 Michael Oren, *Power, Faith, and Fantasy* (W. W. Norton 2007)

144 See: Ronald Radosh, *American foreign policy at home in the Middle East*. *The Weekly Standard*, 02/05/2007, Volume 12, Issue 20

145 Melani McAlister, *Saving Private Lynch*, *New York Times*, April 6, 2003, p.13

146 Anne G. Myles, *Slaves in Algiers, Captives in Iraq*, www.common-place.org · vol. 5 · no. 1 · October 2004, retrieved May 5, 2007 from: <http://www.common-place.org/vol-05/no-01/myles/index.shtml>

147 Ibid

for a better understanding of the Barbary literature and experience: “if once the theme of Barbary captivity forced Americans to confront their own investment in slavery, it now seems to demand we examine the very dynamics of domination as they permeate both gender and foreign relations. But as we confront the dilemmas of the present, the past remains illuminating... the experience of captivity or imprisonment is truly terrible for all people.”¹⁴⁸

There would be no better conclusion for this paper other than that of Myles. Both sides of the Atlantic need to realize the positive power of familiarity and mutual understanding, and to rediscover each other anew beyond old prejudices and double standards.

148 Anne G. Myles, *Slaves in Algiers, Captives in Iraq*, www.common-place.org · vol. 5 · no. 1 · October 2004, retrieved May 5, 2007 from: <http://www.common-place.org/vol-05/no-01/myles/index.shtml>

Reference List

- Allison, Robert J. 1995. *The Crescent Obscured: The United States and the Muslim World 1776-1815*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Austin, Allan D. 1986. *African Muslims in Antebellum America: A Source Book*. New York and London: Gerald Publishing, Inc.
- Baepler, Paul. 1999. *White Slaves, African Masters: An Anthology of American Barbary Captivity Narratives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cantor, Milton. "A Connecticut Yankee in a Barbary Court: Joel Barlow's Algerian Letters to His Wife," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., Vol. 19, No. 1 (Jan., 1962), pp. 86-109
- Fisher, Godfrey. 1957. *Barbary Legend: War, Trade and Piracy in North Africa, 1415-1830*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Friedman, Ellen. "The Exercise of Religion by Spanish Captives in North Africa", *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Apr., 1975), p. 21
- Hammurabi's Code of Laws*, Translated by L. W. King, Retrieved May 5, 2007 from: <http://eawc.evansville.edu/anthology/hammurabi.htm>
- Jefferson. Thomas, *Autobiography* (the Avalon Project at Yale Law School), retrieved April 15, 2007 from: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/jeffauto.htm>.
- Jefferson, Thomas. *Eighth Annual Message to Congress. November 8, 1808* <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/presiden/sou/jeffmes8.htm>. (The Avalon Project) Retrieved April 11, 2007
- Kidd, Thomas S. "Is It Worse to Follow Mahomet than the Devil?: Early American Uses of Islam", *Church History*. 72, no. 4, (2003) p.766-790
- Markoe, Peter. 1787. *The Algerian Spy in Pennsylvania or Letters written by a Native of Algiers on the Affairs of the United States in America from the Close of the Year 1783 to the Meeting of the Convention*. Philadelphia: Richard and Hall
- Marr, Timothy. 2006. *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Matar, Nabil. 2002. *In the Lands of the Christians: Arab Travel Writing in the 17th Century*. New York. Routledge
- McAlister, Melani. 2001. *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- McAlister, Melani, "Saving Private Lynch", *New York Times*, April 6, 2003

Myles, Anne G. "Slaves in Algiers, Captives in Iraq: The strange career of the Barbary captivity narrative", from: <http://www.common-place.org/vol-05/no-01/myles/index.shtml>. vol. 5 · no. 1 · October 2004, retrieved May 5, 2007

Norton, Marry B. 1980. *Liberty's Daughters: the Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800*. United States: Harper Collins Publishers.

Parker, Richard B. 2004. *Uncle Sam in Barbary: A Diplomatic History*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Radosh, Ronald. "American foreign policy at home in the Middle East". *The Weekly Standard*, 02/05/2007, Volume 012, Issue 20

Rowson, Susanna H. 1794. *Slaves in Algiers; or, a struggle for freedom: a play, interspersed with songs, in three acts*. Philadelphia: Wrigley and Berriman, prtrs.,

Said, Edward W. 1979. *Orientalism*, New York: Vantage.

Shaler, William. 1826. *Sketches of Algiers, Political, Historical, and Civil; Containing an Account of the Geography, Population, Government, Revenues, Commerce, Agriculture, Arts, Civil Institutions, Tribes, Manners, Languages, and Recent Political History of that Country*. Boston: Cummings, Hilliard and Company.

Shaler, William. *On the Language, Manners, and Customs of the Berbers, or Berbers, of Africa. Communicated by William Shaler, Consul of the United States at Algiers, in a Series of Letters to Peter S. Du Ponceau, and by the Latter to the Society Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* New Ser., Vol. 2 (1825), pp. 438-465

Treaty of Peace and Amity, Signed at Algiers September 5, 1795, Article 16 (the Avalon Project) <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/barbary/bar1795t.htm>. re112rieved April 12, 2007.

Wheelan, Joseph. 2003. *Jefferson's War: America's First War on Terror*. Carroll & Graf Publishers.

Washington, George. *Eighth Annual Message of George Washington United States*, <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/presiden/sou/washs08.htm> December 7, 1796 (The Avalon Project)

Washington, George. *Seventh Annual Message of George Washington United States*, <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/presiden/sou/washs07.htm> (The Avalon Project) December 8, 1795

