

# ***Political, Military and Cultural Impact of the North African Muslims on the United States during the first years of the Early Republic, 1783–1807<sup>1</sup>***

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The North African Barbary States (Morocco, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli) and the United States of America maintained various relations in the Early Modern Times. After the War of Independence the relations became rather problematic between the two cultures. In the American mind, relations with the Barbary States have been generally associated with issues of commerce, piracy, captivity, tribute and war. The American merchants and sailors were captured several times by muslim corsairs after the Revolutionary War. The confederation, however, was powerless in foreign matters and there was a need to centralize the government. At the same time, in the early 1800s several sea narratives and captivity narratives were published about the Americans. This had an important impact on American literature. Furthermore, the first foreign war of the United States was against Tripoli between 1801–1805. Historians connect this war with the birth of the US Navy and Marine Corps. After the Tripolitan War, the Americans citizens met an illustrious muslim diplomata as well. Sidi Soliman Mellimelli, the Tunisian envoy was the first Muslim ambassador in the USA between 1805 and 1806.

**Keywords:** Barbary Wars, US–Maghreb relations, Muslim piracy, captivity narrative, nationalism

## **Introduction**

„*In an indirect sense, the brutal Dey of Algiers was a Founding Father of the Constitution.*”<sup>2</sup> Thomas A. Bailey, most well-known American diplomatic historian’s statement is an excellent example for the political impact of the North African Muslims on the United States of America.

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<sup>1</sup> This paper has been presented at the 10<sup>th</sup> Biannual Conference of the Hungarian Association for American Studies (HAAS) in Budapest, on May 31, 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Bailey, Thomas A.: *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1980. 65.

In the American mind, relations with the Barbary States, namely, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, have been generally associated with issues of commerce, piracy, captivity, tribute and war. The United States encountered with the North African States primarily because of piracy at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the first years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

This essay aims to present the colourful relations between the United States of America and the Maghreb in Early Modern Times. It is well-known that the American Republic fought two wars against the Muslim pirates: the Tripolitan War between 1801 and 1805, and the Algerian War between 1815 and 1816. However, this study's objective is not an in-depth analysis of these wars. In this paper we would like to illustrate not only with a military, but also with a political and a cultural example that the North African Muslims had an important influence on the Early Republic.

Furthermore, our intention is to examine the North African Muslims' impacts on the young Republic in a short period, between 1783 (the signing of the Treaty of Paris) and 1807 (the settlement of disputes between the US and Tunis). This analysis focuses on two peak events: the American captivity in Algiers (1785–1796/7) and the Tripolitan War (1801–1805). However, the relations between the US and the Barbary States covered a wider period, between 1784 (the capture of the *Betsy* brig by the Moroccan pirates) and 1836 (the signing of the American–Moroccan treaty), and even further, 1904 (the Perdicaris incident in Morocco). Therefore, we did not insist our specified period, where it is appropriate.

This essay intentionally relies on American documents, monographs and articles, because our main goal is to present the connection between the US and the Maghreb from the point of view of the American government, diplomats, soldiers, scholars and last but not least from the point of view of the ordinary American people.

## Historiography

The American sources are numerous and they are quite complex furthermore they discuss several aspects of the American relations with the Maghreb. For example, the *Secret Journals of Congress* (1820–1821) and the *Journals of the Continental Congress* (1904–1937) include official documents from 1776 to 1789.<sup>3</sup> The *American State Papers* series is also a valuable source. This series contains all government documents from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The collection includes several sections, for example, *American State Papers, Class I: Foreign Relations, 1789–1828* (1833–1859) and *American State Papers,*

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<sup>3</sup> Wait, Thomas B. (ed.): *Secret Journals of the Acts and Proceedings of Congress, from the First Meeting thereof to the Dissolution of the Confederation, by the Adoption of the Constitution of the United States*. 4 vols., Thomas B. Wait, Boston, MA, 1820–1821. (Hereafter cited as *Secret Journals*); Ford, Worthington C. (1–15 vols.) – Hunt, Gaillard (16–27 vols.) – Fitzpatrick, John C. (28–31 vols.) – Hill, Roscoe R. (31–34 vols.) (eds.): *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789*. 34 vols. United States Government Printing Office, Washington DC, 1904–1937. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwjcLink.html>, Accessed on November 2014. (Hereafter cited as *Journals of the Continental Congress*)

*Class VI: Naval Affairs, 1794–1836* (1834–1861). These serials report on the events between the US and the Barbary States in several pages.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, the text of the peace treaties which were concluded between the North African states and the United States in the 18–19<sup>th</sup> centuries, are also available in manuscript and printed form. On the one hand, the *Archives Nationales de Tunisie* holds the French and Arabic version of the treaties of 1797/1799 and 1824.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, *The Public Statutes at Large 1789–1845* (1845, 1846, 1848) series includes all the nine treaties, signed with the Barbary States.<sup>6</sup>

In addition, the *Naval Documents Related to the United States War with the Barbary Powers* (1938–1944), a collection of sources, is especially helpful for anyone trying to understand the early American relations with the Maghreb states. In these collections there are several letters and reports of American officers and captains which were mostly written during the Tripolitan War.<sup>7</sup>

Our unofficial printed sources are the American newspapers, personal accounts, writings and diaries of the American politicians, such as Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826). Thomas Jefferson's writings were published in several editions.<sup>8</sup> In the present essay we

<sup>4</sup> Lowrie, Walter – Clarke, Mathew St Clair (1–3 vols.), Lowrie, Walter – Franklin, Walter S. (4 vol.), Dickins, Asbury – Allen, James C. (5–6 vols.) (eds.): *American State Papers, Class I: Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States: Foreign Relations, 1789–1828*. 6 vols. Gales and Seaton, Washington DC, 1833–1859.

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwsplink.html#anchor1>, Accessed on November 2014. (Hereafter cited as *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*); Lowrie, Walter – Franklin, Walter S. (1 vol.), Dickins, Asbury – Forney, John W. (2–4 vols.) (eds.): *American State Papers, Class VI: Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States: Naval Affairs, 1794–1836*. 4 vols. Gales and Seaton, Washington DC, 1834–1861.

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwsplink.html#anchor1>, Accessed on November 2014. (Hereafter cited as *American State Papers, Naval Affairs*)

<sup>5</sup> *Archives Nationales de Tunisie, Série Historique, Cart. 252. Dos. 685 (Traité avec l'Amérique en 1797)*, and *Série Historique, Cart. 252. Dos. 687 (Traité avec l'Amérique en 1824)*. (Hereafter cited as *ANT, Historique*) In addition, the Tunisian National Archives also published a collection of sources which includes several treaties between the Regency of Tunis and other powers (Spain, Holland, France etc.). We can also find the treaty of 1797 in this edition. Jerad, Mehdi (ed.): *Cahiers des Archives: Traités et accords conclus entre la Tunisie et les puissances occidentales (1626–1955)*. Archives Nationales de Tunisie, Tunis, 2011. 87–110.

<sup>6</sup> Peters, Richard (ed.): *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from the Organization of Government in 1789 to March 3, 1845*. 8 vols. Charles C. Little and James Brown, Boston, MA, 1845, 1846, 1848. (Hereafter cited as *Public Statutes at Large*)

<sup>7</sup> Knox, Dudley W. (ed.): *Naval Documents Related to the United States Wars with the Barbary Powers*. 6 vols. Government Printing Office, Washington DC, 1939–1944. (Hereafter cited as *Naval Documents, Barbary Wars*)

<sup>8</sup> Jefferson, Thomas: *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson Containing his Autobiography, Notes on Virginia, Parliamentary Manual, Official Papers, Messages and Addresses, and other Writings, Official and Private*. 20 vols. Lipscomb, Andrew A., editor in chief, The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, Washington DC, 1903; Jefferson, Thomas: *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson: Being his Autobiography, Correspondence, Reports, Messages, Addresses, and other Writings, Official and Private*. 9 vols. Washington, H. A., ed., H. W. Derby, New York, NY, 1853, 1854, 1859; Jefferson, Thomas: *Writings: Autobiography; A Summary view of the Rights of British America; Notes on the*

used Paul Leicester Ford's edited work, entitled *The Works of Thomas Jefferson* (1904).<sup>9</sup> In addition, John Quincy Adams' memoirs, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* were also published by Charles Francis Adams in 1874.<sup>10</sup>

Other important sources are the American captivity accounts. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century American publishers issued over a hundred American Barbary captivity editions. Several US captives wrote an account about their imprisonment in Barbary. For example, James Leander Cathcart's (1767–1843) account was published by her daughter, Jane Bancker (Cathcart) Newkirk as *The Captives: Eleven Years a Prisoner in Algiers* (1899).<sup>11</sup> Finally, we also have several fictional writings from American novelists. For instance, there are two interesting works in connection with the American national sentiments and nation making. The first one is the *Algerine Spy in Pennsylvania*, written by Peter Markoe (1752?–1792) in 1787. This work, among other things, reflects the Constitutional debates between 1783 and 1787.<sup>12</sup> The other masterpiece was written by Washington Irving (1783–1859), entitled *Salmagundi* (1807–1808), which is a satire or pamphlet about the US government, and its policy in the context of the Tripolitan War.<sup>13</sup>

In connection with the secondary sources we can state that the relations between the United States and the North African Barbary States is a thoroughly researched topic in US historiography. Several monographs and general works have been published about the Barbary Wars.<sup>14</sup>

First, there are a number of bibliographies which help the work of researchers. For those who wish to learn more about Mediterranean history in the Early Modern Times, the

*State of Virginia; Public papers; Addresses, Messages, and Replies; Miscellany; Letters.* The Library of America, New York, NY, 1984.

<sup>9</sup> Ford, Paul Leicester (ed.): *The Works of Thomas Jefferson*. 12 vols. G.P. Putnam's Sons, London – New York, NY, 1904. (Hereafter cited as *Works of Thomas Jefferson*)

<sup>10</sup> Adams, Charles Francis (ed.): *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848*. 12 vols. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, PA, 1874. (Hereafter cited as *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*)

<sup>11</sup> Cathcart, James Leander: *The Captives: Eleven Years a Prisoner in Algiers*. Newkirk, Jane Bancker Cathcart, ed., Herald Print, La Porte, IN, 1899. Cathcart was a sailor and diplomat. He was captured in 1785 by the Algerians. After his redemption, in 1802 Jefferson appointed him consul to Tunis and Tripoli. Allen, Debra J.: *Historical Dictionary of U.S. Diplomacy from the Revolution to Secession*. Scarecrow Press, Inc., Lanham, MD, 2012. 55.

<sup>12</sup> Markoe, Peter: *The Algerine Spy in Pennsylvania: or Letters Written by a Native of Algiers on the Affairs of the United States of America, from the Close of the Year 1783 to the Meeting of the Convention*. Prichard & Hall, Philadelphia, PA, 1787.

<sup>13</sup> Irving, Washington: *Salmagundi*. R. F. Fenno & Company, New York, NY, 1900.

<sup>14</sup> For the Barbary Wars see, Chidsey, Donald Barr: *The Wars in Barbary: Arab Piracy and the Birth of the United States Navy*. Crown Publishers, New York, NY, 1971.; Kitzen, Michael L. S.: *Tripoli and the United States at War: A History of American Relations with the Barbary States, 1785–1805*. McFarland & Company, Inc., London – Jefferson, NC, 1993.; Lambert, Frank: *The Barbary Wars: American Independence in the Atlantic World*. Hill and Wang, New York, NY, 2005.; London, Joshua E.: *Victory in Tripoli: How America's War with the Barbary Pirates established the U.S. Navy and built a Nation*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., Hoboken, NJ, 2005.; Leiner, Frederick C.: *The End of Barbary Terror: America's 1815 War against the Pirates of North Africa*. Oxford University Press, New York, NY, 2006.

*Bibliographie du monde méditerranéen*, written by Alain Blondy in 2003 is very useful.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, Thomas A. Bryson's and James A. Carr's works, *American Diplomatic Relations* (1979) and *American Foreign Policy* (1994) are also important sources about the American relations with the Middle East and the Maghreb.<sup>16</sup>

There are two classic works about the political and military relations between the Maghreb and the US. First, Gardner Weld Allen's monograph, *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs* was published in 1905.<sup>17</sup> Allen's work offers a patriotic description of the struggle against the muslims and therefore it primarily concentrates on the naval operations of the Barbary Wars.

For those who wish to learn more about the diplomatic relations between the USA and the Maghreb during the 18–19<sup>th</sup> century in general, *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with the Barbary Powers*, written by Ray Watkins Irwin in 1931, remains a standard.<sup>18</sup> The work is based on primarily American archival diplomatic sources and it is still the best detailed monograph about the topic.

Finally, a number of works discuss the American captivity in Algiers. On the one hand, H. G. Barnby's monograph, *The Prisoners of Algiers* (1966) is one of the best account of the captivity and the redemption of American prisoners in Algiers.<sup>19</sup> In addition, Barnby shows that American merchants and public opinion had an important influence on policy formulation in the US. Furthermore, Gary E. Wilson's essay, *American Hostages in Moslem Nations* (1982) also discusses the American captivity in Algiers and its impact on US foreign and domestic policy.<sup>20</sup> In addition, Paul Baepler's edited work, *White Slaves, African Masters* (1999) contains parts of several captivity accounts and it has an excellent introduction about the American captivity in Barbary in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Blondy, Alain: *Bibliographie du monde méditerranéen: relations et échanges (1453–1835)*. Press de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, Paris, 2003.

<sup>16</sup> Bryson, Thomas A.: *American Diplomatic Relations with the Middle East, 1784–1978: An Annotated Bibliography*. Scarecrow Press, Inc, London – Metuchen, NJ, 1979; Carr, James A.: *American Foreign Policy during the French Revolution, Napoleonic period, 1789–1815: A Bibliography*. Garland Publishing, Inc., London – New York, NY, 1994.

<sup>17</sup> Allen, Gardner Weld: *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs*. Houghton Mifflin and Company, Boston, MA – New York, NY – Chicago, IL, 1905.

<sup>18</sup> Irwin, Ray W.: *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with the Barbary Powers, 1776–1816*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC, 1931.

<sup>19</sup> Barnby, H. G.: *The Prisoners of Algiers: An Account of the Forgotten American–Algerian War 1785–1797*. Oxford University Press, London – New York, NY, 1966.

<sup>20</sup> Wilson, Gary E.: „American Hostages in Moslem Nations, 1784–1796: The Public Response”, *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 2, No. 2. (Summer 1982), 123–141.

<sup>21</sup> Baepler, Paul: *White Slaves, African Masters: An Anthology of American Barbary Captivity Narratives*. University of Chicago Press, London – Chicago, IL, 1999.

## Political impact

### *Privateering and Corsairing*

There were a significant number of Muslims in the New World during the colonial period. Roanoke colony's history in Virginia marked the first known chapter of Muslim presence in British America. Sir Francis Drake (c. 1540–1596), the English privateer liberated at least two hundred Muslims from Spanish colonial forces in the Caribbean and took them to Roanoke Island. These Muslims were galley slaves and they presumably came from North Africa. It is a fact that thanks to the piratical activity of Drake, the Muslims got in contact with the New World for the first time in the late 1500s.<sup>22</sup>

Later, the relations were also based primarily on piracy. Muslim piracy or *corsairing* flourished in the Mediterranean in the 16–17<sup>th</sup> century. This was the Golden Age of Muslim as well as Christian piracy in Europe.<sup>23</sup> The centers of Muslim piracy were the Barbary States.

Interestingly, piracy also characterized the United States during her early history. The *Constitution of the United States*, for example, clearly stipulated, according to Article 1, Section 8 that

“The Congress shall have Power to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States; [...] To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water.”<sup>24</sup>

It is well known that colonial ships fell into the hands of the Muslims already in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The first such case occurred in 1625 when a colonial merchant vessel was captured by Muslim pirates.<sup>25</sup> It is important to note that the American merchants were protected by the British monarch in the colonial period.<sup>26</sup> One of the consequences of American

<sup>22</sup> Abd-Allah, Umar Faruq: *Turks, Moors & Moriscos in Early America: Sir Francis Drake's Liberated Galley Slaves & the Lost Colony of Roanoke*. 1–2.

<http://www.scribd.com/doc/159440889/Turks-Moors-Moriscos-in-Early-America-Umar-Faruq-Abd-Allah>, Accessed on April 2014.

<sup>23</sup> The literature on the Mediterranean piracy is extensive. Blondy's above mentioned bibliography is very useful on this subject. In addition, the leading Italian specialist, Salvatore Bono's work discusses not only Muslim, but also Christian piracy. Bono, Salvatore: *Les corsaires en méditerranée*. Éditions La Porte, Paris, 2000. Two other works we can see that Christian piracy, especially Maltese piracy was also important. See, Earle, Peter: *Corsairs of Malta and Barbary*. Sidgwick and Jackson, London, 1970; and Cassar, Paul: „The Maltese Corsairs and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem”, *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 46, No. 2. (July, 1960) 137–156.

<sup>24</sup> *The Constitution of the United States*, Article 1, Section 8, September 17, 1787. *Public Statutes at Large*, 1:12–13.

<sup>25</sup> Wilson: *American Hostages*, 123.

<sup>26</sup> The English government protected all her subjects against the Muslims' attacks. First, the Royal Navy forced the Barbary States to sign peace treaties. Second, thanks to these treaties a special protection letter, the so-called *Mediterranean Pass* or *Passport* was issued for the English merchants. For the Mediterranean Pass, which was stipulated in the Algerian treaty in 1682, see, Chalmers,

independence was that the American merchant vessels became defenseless against the attacks of the pirates not only in the Mediterranean but also in the Caribbean region.

The *Betsey* was the first American ship which was captured by Moroccan pirates in 1784.<sup>27</sup> The Kingdom of Morocco, which maintained good relationships with the USA quickly set the Americans free.<sup>28</sup> A more serious problem was that differences evolved with Algiers. The merchant ships of *Maria* and *Dauphin* (or *Dolphin*) were captured in 1785.<sup>29</sup> Hundreds of Americans lived in captivity in Algiers between 1785 and 1796/7, this was the period of the so-called „undeclared” or even „forgotten” war with Algiers.<sup>30</sup>

#### *Slavery in Barbary and in North America*

According to a lot of sources, the lives of the American slaves were miserable in captivity. The suffering of the Christian slaves in Barbary was a popular cliché in Europe.<sup>31</sup> The best example for this statement is the French Redemption Father, Pierre Dan's (?–1649) work, *Histoire de la Barbarie* (1646).

Corsaires de Barbarie, qu'on peut appeler les fléaux de la nature, les pestes du genre humain, les tyrans de la liberté commune, & les bourreaux universels de l'innocence, qu'ils violentent sans cesse par des cruautés inconnues au reste des hommes, & qui surpassent de beacoup celle des tigres des lions qui naissent en leur pays.<sup>32</sup>

However, a number of sources mentioned the humanity of the Africans. For example, Muhammad III, Emperor of Morocco (ruled 1757–1790), “*did not consider them* [the

George: *A Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and Other Powers*. 2 vols. Printed for J. Stockdale, Piccadilly, London 1790. 2:373–374. For the English policy with the Maghreb in the 18<sup>th</sup> century see, Anderson, M. S.: „Great Britain and the Barbary States in the Eighteenth Century”, *Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research*, Vol. 29 (1956), Issue 79. 87–123, and Harding, Nicholas B.: „North African Piracy, the Hanoverian Carrying Trade, and the British State, 1728–1828”, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 43 (2000), No. 1. 25–47.

<sup>27</sup> Allen: *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs*, 13.

<sup>28</sup> Irwin: *Diplomatic Relations*, 28. Luella J. Hall's monograph is an excellent source on the American–Moroccan relations in the 19–20<sup>th</sup> century. Hall, Luella, J.: *The United States and Morocco, 1776–1956*. Scarecrow Press, Inc., Metuchen, NJ, 1971.

<sup>29</sup> Allen: *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs*, 13–14.

<sup>30</sup> Wilson: *American Hostages*; Barnby: *Prisoners of Algiers*.

<sup>31</sup> Parker, Kenneth: „Reading Barbary' in Early Modern England, 1550–1685”, In: Birchwood, Matthew – Dimmock, Matthew (eds.): *Cultural Encounters between East and West: 1453–1699*. Cambridge Scholars Press, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2005. 87–115.

<sup>32</sup> Dan, Pierre: *Histoire de la Barbarie et de ses corsaires, des royaumes, et des villes d'Alger, de Tunis, de Salé, & de Tripoly: divisée en six livres où il est traité de leur gouvernement, de leurs mœurs, de leur cruautés, de leurs brigandages, de leurs sortilèges, & de plusieurs autres particularités remarquables: Ensemble des grandes misères et des cruels tourments qu'endurent les chrétiens captifs parmi ces infidèles*. Chez Pierre Rocolet, Paris, 1646. 4. The English translation of Dan's sentences is the following: “*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 unknown to the rest of men and which further surpasses that of tigers and lions born in their country.*”

American captives] as Slaves, and that they were at Liberty to go about the Country without Molestation, but that they must not attempt an Escape from his Dominions, until some Person appeared to release them.”<sup>33</sup>

In addition, a number of contemporaries drew a parallel between the life of the American captives in Africa and the life of the black slaves in North America. For example, William Eaton (1764–1811), American consul in Tunis between 1799 and 1803,<sup>34</sup> bitterly remarked to his wife in 1799 that the white Christian slaves were treated better in Tunis by the Muslim „barbarians” than the African slaves in the United States. Eaton could not live to see that thousands of Christian slaves were liberated in 1816 in the Regency of Tunis.<sup>35</sup>

“Indeed truth and justice demand from me the confession that Christian slaves among the barbarians of Africa are treated with more humanity than the African slaves among the professing Christian of civilized America; and yet here sensibility bleeds at every pore for the wretches whom fate has doomed to slavery.”<sup>36</sup>

#### *Nation making and nationalism in American domestic and foreign policy*

It is important to note that the central government of the United States was powerless in the first years of the Algerian crisis (1785–1796) because of the *Articles of Confederation*.<sup>37</sup> There was a need to centralize the government.<sup>38</sup> On the one hand, the

<sup>33</sup> *Virginia Journal*, October 13, 1785.

<sup>34</sup> Allen: *Historical Dictionary*, 87.

<sup>35</sup> Interestingly, in 1846 Ahmed I, Tunisian bey (ruled 1837–1855), officially abolished the institution of slavery in his regency. Brown, L. Carl: *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey 1837–1855*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1974. 321–325. For the Tunisian abolition of slavery see, Montana, Ismael M.: *The Abolition of Slavery in Ottoman Tunisia*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville, FL, 2013; and Haven, Elisabeth C. Van Der: „The Abolition of Slavery in Tunisia (1846)”, *Revue d'histoire maghrébine*, 27 (Mai, 2000), 99-100. 449-464. Contrary to this, General Othman Hachem/Hussein, Tunisian minister who, according to Amos Perry, US consul in Tunis, was “one of the most respected and worthy men in this regency”, arrived in the United States in 1865 when the slavery was not abolished yet in the Republic. For the diplomatic activity of the Tunisian delagation and for the diplomatic correspondence see, *ANT, Historique, Carton 252, Dossier 688 (Mission du Général Othman Hachem aux Etats Unis 1865)*; and *Executive Documents Printed by Order of the House of Representatives, during the First Session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, 1865–66*. Part 3, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1866. 339–343.

<http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/FRUS/FRUS-idx?id=FRUS.FRUS186566p3>, Accessed on December 2014.

<sup>36</sup> Prentiss, Charles: *The Life of the Late Gen. William Eaton; Several Years an Officer in the United States' Army, Consul at the Regency of Tunis on the Coast of Barbary, and Commander of the Christian and other Forces that Marched from Egypt through the Desert of Barca, in 1805, and Conquered the City of Derne, which led to the Treaty of Peace between the United States and the Regency of Tripoli*. E. Merriam & Co., Brookfield, MA, 1813. 154.

<sup>37</sup> The *Articles of Confederation* was the first written constitution of the United States. It was in force from March 1, 1781 when all thirteen states ratified it, until March 4, 1789 when the present day Constitution went into effect. For the text of the document see, Commager, Henry Steele (ed.): *Documents of American History*. Vol. 1 to 1899. Prentice Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1973. 111–116.

captives petitioned Congress to alleviate their situation but with little effect.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, James Leander Cathcart reproachfully asked his fellow countrymen in his writing, *The Captives*, which was written in captivity “*why are we left the victims of arbitrary power and barbarous despotism, in a strange land far distant from all our connections, miserable exiles from the country for which we have fought, forgotten by our co[n]temporaries who formerly used to animate us all our expedition with tales of liberty?*”<sup>40</sup>

On the other hand, the American public, especially in the large northern seaport towns, for example, New York and Boston, was interested in the alleviation of the life of the captives in Barbary. The local activities caused Congress to devote attention to the Barbary question. Later, this also helped to begin the American negotiations with the North African States.<sup>41</sup>

“At a meeting of the republican society of Baltimore, held at Mr Grant’s assembly room, on Friday the 18th inst. [July 18, 1794] a letter from Capt. Richard O’Brien<sup>42</sup> to citizen John Steel, of this town, covering a petition from sundry of our unfortunate fellow-citizens at Algiers, praying for relief from captivity; was read to the society: Whereupon it was unanimously resolved, That this society will interest itself and do everything its power for the relief of the unfortunate American sufferers at Algiers, and that citizens William Van Wyck, John Steel, Thomas McElderry, Henry Bayson and Thomas Dixon, be appointed a committee to solicit subscriptions for the purpose.”<sup>43</sup>

According to Lotfi Ben Rejeb who is the associate professor in the University of Ottawa, the United States foreign relations and the Barbary Wars offered the Americans usable context to engage in nation making.<sup>44</sup> It is a fact that the enemy, in this case the Muslim

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<sup>38</sup> The Algerian crisis was one component during the Constitutional debates. Frederick Marks III suggested in his essay that foreign relations were an important factor in the ratification of the Constitution. Marks III, Frederick W.: „Foreign Affairs: A Winning Issue in the Campaign for Ratification of the United States Constitution”, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 86, No. 3. (September 1971) 444–469. On the one hand, *The Federalist Papers* was a chief source of reference in the Virginia and New York ratifying conventions. For the papers see, *The Library of Congress, Thomas – “The Federalist Papers”* <http://thomas.loc.gov/home/histdox/fedpapers.html>, Accessed on October 2014. On the other hand, Paul Leicester Ford’s source collection is also a useful work about the Constitutional debates. Ford, Paul Leicester (ed.): *Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States, published during its discussion by the people 1787–1788*. Burt Franklin Publisher, Brooklyn, NY, 1888.

<sup>39</sup> *Naval Documents, Barbary Wars*, 1:35–36.

<sup>40</sup> Cathcart: *Captives*, 144.

<sup>41</sup> Wilson: *American Hostages*, 128, 133–134.

<sup>42</sup> Richard O’Brien (1758–1824) was a naval leader and diplomat. He was the captain of the ship *Dauphin* which was captured by the Algerians in 1785. When he was released he became consul general at Algier in 1797. Allen: *Historical Dictionary*, 197.

<sup>43</sup> *Philadelphia Gazette of the United States*, July 24, 1794.

<sup>44</sup> Rejeb, Lotfi Ben: „Observing the Birth of a Nation: The Oriental Spy/Observer Genre and Nation Making in Early American Literature”, *Council on Middle East Studies*, Vol. 5 (2007), 255–256. <http://opus.macmillan.yale.edu/workpaper/pdfs/MESV5-9.pdf>, Accessed on April 2014. Rejeb wrote his PhD dissertation in this topic, see, Rejeb, Lotfi Ben: “*To the Shores of Tripoli*”: *The Impact of*

corsairs, played a crucial role in the development, functioning, and preservation of nationalism.

What was the foreign policy of the United States in the era of the Napoleonic Wars? On the one hand, James Sofka stated in his essay of 2000 that “*Washington’s Farewell Address of 1796 and Jefferson’s warnings about ‘entangling alliances’ in 1801 have often been misread as illustrative of an isolationist sentiment in the new Republic*”.<sup>45</sup> In Washington’s point of view:

“In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded, and that in place of them just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave.”<sup>46</sup>

Jefferson added to this in 1801 that “*equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none*”.<sup>47</sup> However, American neutrality did not mean peace with all states, particularly the non-European and non-Christian states.

In addition, commerce, especially Mediterranean commerce and its protection was important for the Republic. There was a strategy of commercial retaliation in dealing with England and France and the use of force against powerless states, such as the Barbary States.<sup>48</sup> The Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson,<sup>49</sup> for example, drew attention to the economic importance of American commerce in his report relative to the Mediterranean trade.

“It may be concluded, that about one-sixth of the wheat and flour exported from the United States, and about one-fourth in value of their dried and pickled fish, and some rice, found their best markets in the Mediterranean ports; [...] that commerce loaded outwards, from eighty to one hundred ships, annually, of twenty thousand tons, navigated by about twelve hundred seamen.”<sup>50</sup>

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*Barbary on Early American Nationalism*. PhD Dissertation, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, IN, 1981.

<sup>45</sup> Sofka, James R.: „American Neutral Rights Reappraised: Identity or Interest in the Foreign Policy of the early Republic?” *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 4. (October, 2000) 606.

<sup>46</sup> *George Washington Farewell Address*, September 17, 1796. *Documents of American History*, 173.

<sup>47</sup> *Thomas Jefferson’s First Inaugural Address*, March 4, 1801. *Ibid.* 188.

<sup>48</sup> Sofka, James R.: „The Jeffersonian Idea of National Security: Commerce, the Atlantic Balance of Power, and the Barbary War, 1786–1805”, *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 21, No. 4. (Fall, 1997) 526.

<sup>49</sup> Jefferson served as the first Secretary of State of the United States of America from March 22, 1790, to December 31, 1793.

<sup>50</sup> *Reports of the Secretary of State relative to the Mediterranean Trade*, *House of Representatives*, December 30, 1790; *Senate*, January 3, 1791. *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, 1:104. Nevertheless, trade with the nations of the Mediterranean did not grow rapidly. On the one hand, Rosario Battaglia pointed out in his essay that the American trade with the Mediterranean states was insignificant in the 1800s. It was only 2% of total export value between 1798 and 1850. Battaglia, Rosario: „Consular and commercial relations between the United States and the Italian states in 1800–

According to Jefferson, this commerce was vulnerable therefore it had to be protected against the piratical attacks. First “*The position and circumstances of the United States leave them nothing to fear on their land-board, and leave them nothing to desire beyond their present rights*”, on the other hand the Secretary of State pointed out “*but on their seaboard, they are open to injury, and they have there, too, a commerce which must be protected.*”<sup>51</sup>

#### *American Diplomacy with the Barbary States*

The American political leadership was initially seeking the protection of the European states (for example, Great Britain, France and the Netherlands) for their vessels. The best example for this statement is the so-called *Plan of a Treaty* with France on September 17, 1776. Article 7 of this plan stated that the French would protect the Americans against the attacks of the North African states.

“The most christian king shall protect, defend and secure, as far as in his power, the subjects, people and inhabitants of the said United States, and every of them, and their vessels and effects of every kind, against all attacks, assaults, violences, injuries, depredations or plunderings, by or from the king or emperor of Morocco, or Fez, and the states of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, and any of them, and every other prince, state and power on the coast of Barbary in Africa.”<sup>52</sup>

Nevertheless, the Americans did not get protection anywhere. First, Louis XVI, king of France (ruled 1774–1791), did not agree to protect the US from the Barbary States in the *Treaty of Amity and Commerce*, concluded on 6 February, 1778.<sup>53</sup> The English monarchy was not interested in protecting the American merchants in the Mediterranean either. The English nobleman, Lord Sheffield<sup>54</sup> clearly remarked this attitude in his pamphlet, entitled *Observations on the Commerce of the American States* (1784).<sup>55</sup> According to Sheffield:

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1861”, In: Vassallo, C. – D’Angelo, M. (eds.): *Anglo-Saxons in the Mediterranean: commerce, politics and ideas (XVII–XX centuries)*. Malta University Press, Malta. 2007. 151–166, particularly page 151. Moreover, other scholars, for example James Field emphasized that the missionaries and educators assumed greater importance in the formulation of American Mediterranean policy than commerce. Field, James A.: *America and the Mediterranean World, 1776–1882*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1969. 68–103.

<sup>51</sup> *Works of Thomas Jefferson*, 8:113.

<sup>52</sup> *Plan of a Treaty with France*, Article 7, September 17, 1776. *Secret Journals*, 2:10.

<sup>53</sup> However, Article 8 of the treaty promised to use the French king and his government’s influence with the Maghreb states for the benefit of the United States. For the text of the treaty see, *Public Statutes at Large*, 8:12–31.

<sup>54</sup> John Baker Holroyd, first Earl of Sheffield (1735–1821), was an English politician. He was the President of the Board of Agriculture, a Lord of Trade and one of the Privy Council members. In addition, Sheffield was an incessant pamphleteer, he published his opinions on many controversies of his day. *The National Archives* – “*Correspondence from the archive of John Baker Holroyd, Earl of Sheffield*”,

<http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/da81aa96-d462-4475-a885-9bd3b8ced6a5>, Accessed on December 2014.

<sup>55</sup> Sheffield, John: *Observations on the Commerce of the American States*. P. Byrne, Dublin, 1784.

“It is not probable the American State will have a very free trade in the Mediterranean; it will not be the interest of any of the great maritime powers to protect them from the Barbary States. [...] That the Barbary States a. [are] advantageous to the maritime powers in [is] certain. [...] The French never showed themselves worse politicians than in encouraging the late armed neutrality.<sup>56</sup> [...] The armed neutrality would be as hurtful to the great maritime powers as the Barbary States are useful. The Americans cannot protect themselves from the latter; they cannot pretend to a navy.”<sup>57</sup>

Finally, other international events did not help the American cause either. In 1793 Portugal and Algiers, thanks to Charles Logie’s activity, who was the British consul in Algiers between 1785 and 1793,<sup>58</sup> signed a truce for one year. As a consequence, eleven American vessels were captured and taken into Algiers after the agreement.<sup>59</sup>

Because of such difficulties the Americans decided to negotiate directly with the Barbary States. Muhammad III and his state, the Kingdom of Morocco was the first non-European ruler and state which concluded a treaty with the United States on June 28, 1786.<sup>60</sup> After this agreement the conclusion of several treaties followed with the other Muslim States. The United States signed a treaty with Algiers in 1795, with Tripoli in 1796 and with Tunis in 1797 and 1799.<sup>61</sup> As a result of the treaties, the US appointed several consuls, *chargé d’affaires*, and representatives to the Maghreb, who gained diplomatic experience there.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> The League of Armed Neutrality was an alliance of minor naval powers organized in 1780 by Catherine II, Russian Empress (ruled 1762–1796), to protect neutral shipping in the War of American Independence. Initially, Denmark-Norway (July 9, 1780) and Sweden (August 1, 1780) were the members of this league. Later, Prussia (May 19, 1782), the Holy Roman Empire (October 9, 1781), Portugal (July 24, 1782), and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (February 21, 1783) also became members. Bailey: *Diplomatic History*, 39–40; Bemis, Samuel Flagg: *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, IN, 1957. 149–163, 164–171.

<sup>57</sup> Sheffield: *Observations on the Commerce*, 204–205.

<sup>58</sup> Before his office in Algiers, the Scottish Charles Logie was the British consul in Morocco. Barnby: *Prisoners of Algiers*, 34, 71; Wilson, David: *List of British Consular Officials in the Ottoman Empire and its former territories, from the sixteenth century to about 1860*. July 2011. 53, 48. [http://levantineheritage.com/pdf/List\\_of\\_British\\_Consular\\_Officials\\_Turkey\(1581-1860\)-D\\_Wilson.pdf](http://levantineheritage.com/pdf/List_of_British_Consular_Officials_Turkey(1581-1860)-D_Wilson.pdf), Accessed on December 2014.

<sup>59</sup> Allen: *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs*, 15; Maalouf-Limam, Haifa: “The Mission of the American Squadron in the Mediterranean: 1790–1805”, *Revue d’histoire maghrébine*, Vol. 6 (1979), Issue 15-16. 34–35.

<sup>60</sup> Irwin: *Diplomatic Relations*, 32–33; Hall: *United States and Morocco*, 45–55; Roberts, Priscilla H. – Tull, James N.: “Moroccan Sultan Sidi Muhammad Ibn Abdallah’s Diplomatic Initiatives toward the United States, 1777–1786”, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 143, No. 2. (June, 1999) 233–265. The treaty was formally ratified by Congress on July 18, 1787. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, 32:355. For the full treaty see, *Public Statutes at Large*, 8:100–105, and *Journals of the Continental Congress*, 32:357–364.

<sup>61</sup> Irwin: *Diplomatic Relations*, 69–91; *Public Statutes at Large*, 8:133–137, 154–156, 157–161. After these treaties the United States concluded five other treaties with the Barbary States until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Treaties were signed with Tripoli, Algiers, Tunis, and Morocco in 1805, 1815 and 1816, 1824, and 1836.

<sup>62</sup> For the early US Consular Service see, Barnes, William – Morgan, John Heath: *The Foreign Service of the United States: Origins, Development, and Functions*. Historical Office, Bureau of

Not only did the American government send diplomats into the Maghreb but the Muslim states also sent their diplomats to the United States. Shortly after the Tripolitan War, the Regency of Tunis sent an emissary to the United States. Sidi Soliman Mellimelli, representative of Hammuda, Tunisian bey (ruled 1782–1814), was the first Muslim diplomat who negotiated in the USA between 1805 and 1806.<sup>63</sup> Margaret Bayard Smith (1778–1844), who was one of the most famous novelists in the 1800s in Washington, reported on the appearance of Mellimelli and his suite in detail in her writings. For example, she noticed that “*It must be confessed that in their [Mellimelli’s and his suite’s] turbaned heads, their bearded faces, their Turkish costume, rich as silk, velvet, cashmere, gold and pearls could make it, attracted more general and marked attention than the more familiar appearance of the European Ministers.*”<sup>64</sup>

Notwithstanding the treaties there were several incidents between the Republic and the Maghreb. The most famous event occurred in 1800 when the *George Washington* frigate was forced by the Algerian dey to bring presents and the annual tribute to Istanbul. Eventually, Tripoli was the Maghreb Regency which declared war on the United States of America on May 10, 1801.<sup>65</sup>

## Military impact

### *The Birth of the US Navy (1794)*

It is well-known that several traditions of the US Navy and Marine Corps are connected to the Barbary Wars. First of all, the US Navy was officially established in 1794 when, after a long debate, Congress approved the construction of six frigates (*Chesapeake*,

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Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington DC, 1961. 3–65; and Carr, Wilbur J.: “The American Consular Service”, *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 1, No. 4. (October, 1907) 891–913.

<sup>63</sup> For Mellimelli’s activity see, Irwin: *Diplomatic Relations*, 164–167; Irwin, Ray Watkins: “The Mission of Soliman Mellimelli, Tunisian Ambassador to the United States, 1805–7”, *Americana Illustrated*, 26 (October, 1932), 465–471; Wright, Louis B. – Macleod, Julia H.: “Mellimelli: A Problem for President Jefferson in North African Diplomacy,” *The Virginia Quarterly*, 20 (Autumn 1944), 556–565. <http://www.vqronline.org/essay/mellimelli-problem-president-jefferson-north-african-diplomacy>, Accessed on October 2013; Wilson, Gaye: “Dealing with Mellimelli, Colorful Envoy from Tunis”, *Monticello Newsletter*, 14 (Winter 2003), 1–3; and Palotas, Zsolt: “Encounter of Different Cultures and Interests: Supplementary Observations on the Activity of the Tunisian Envoy in the USA, 1805–1806”, *Arab Historical Review for Ottoman Studies*, 25<sup>ème</sup> année, No. 50 (Octobre 2014) 55–80.

<sup>64</sup> Smith, Margaret Bayard: *The First Forty Years of Washington Society*. Hunt, Gaillard, ed., Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York, NY, 1906. 400.

<sup>65</sup> Allen: *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs*, 91. An other source mentioned that the declaration was on May 14. Irwin: *Diplomatic Relations*, 106. The Tripolitan War was the earliest example for the president’s military authority without the declaration of war by Congress, in time of hostilities. Lévai, Csaba: “Egy elfeledett konfliktus? Az Amerikai Egyesült Államok és Tripoli háborúja 1801 és 1805 között”, In: Lévai, Csaba: *Amerikai történelem és történetírás*. Könyvpont Kiadó – L’Harmattan, Budapest, 2013. 383. For the evolution of the presidential warmaking rights see, Adler, David Gray: “The Constitution and Presidential Warmaking: The Enduring Debate”, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 103, No. 1. (Spring, 1988) 1–36.

*Constitution, President, United States, Congress and Constellation*).<sup>66</sup> One of the most important reasons for the establishment of the “New” Navy was the Algerian crisis.<sup>67</sup> At the beginning of 1794 there was already a plan against the Algerian corsairs. The House appointed a committee to investigate the size of the necessary force for the protection of commerce. On January 20, the committee reported its opinion about the naval force:

“That, by the best information the committee could obtain, it appears that the naval force of the Algerines [Algerians] consists of light vessels, of different size and force, (exclusive of galleys) carrying in the whole two hundred and eighty-two guns. [...] From consideration of these circumstances, the committee are of opinion that four ships, capable of carrying forty-four guns, each, and two ships, carrying twenty-four guns, each, will be sufficient to protect the commerce of the United States against the Algerine [Algerian] corsairs.”<sup>68</sup>

Furthermore, the above mentioned *Naval Act of 1794* clearly stipulated that the Navy had to be established because of the Muslim pirates, and the president had to be granted special rights on this matter.

“Whereas the depredations committed by the Algerine [Algerian] corsairs on the commerce of the United States render it necessary that a naval force should be provided for its protection:

Section 1. *Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the President of the United States be authorized to provide, by purchase or otherwise, equip and employ four ships to carry forty-four guns each, and two ships to carry thirty-six guns each.”<sup>69</sup>

But when the crisis was over, the construction of ships also stopped. However, the Navy with the completed frigates was successful in the undeclared or so-called Quasi War against the French between 1798 and 1800.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, the American frigates also took a leading role in the Tripolitan War which was decisively a maritime conflict.

<sup>66</sup> Macleod, Julia H.: “Jefferson and the Navy: A Defense”, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 2. (February, 1945) 154–157. Furthermore in this subject see, Toll, Ian W.: *Six Frigates: the Epic Story of the Founding of the US Navy*. W. W. Norton & Company, New York, NY, 2006; Smelser, Marshall: *The Congress Founds the Navy, 1787–1798*. University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, IN, 1959; and Symonds, Craig: *Navalists and Antinavalists: The Naval Policy Debate in the United States, 1785–1827*. University of Delaware Press, Associated University Press, Newark, CA – London – Toronto, 1980.

<sup>67</sup> During the Revolutionary War there was a *Continental Navy* but when the war was ended this Navy was disbanded and the ships were sold. Palmer, Michael A.: “The Navy: The Continental Period, 1775–1890”, *Naval History & Heritage*, <http://www.history.navy.mil/history/history2.htm>, Accessed on October 2014.

<sup>68</sup> *Naval Force Against Algiers*, January 20, 1794. *American State Papers, Naval Affairs*, 1:5.

<sup>69</sup> *An Act to provide a Naval Armament*, March 27, 1794. *Public Statutes at Large*, 1:350.

<sup>70</sup> For the Quasi War see, DeConde, Alexander: *The Quasi War: The Politics and Diplomacy of the Undeclared War with France 1797–1801*. Charles Scribner’s, New York, NY, 1966; Palmer, Michael A.: *Stoddert’s War: Naval Operations during the Quasi-War with France, 1798–1801*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, SC, 1987, and Nash, Howard P.: *The Forgotten Wars: The Role of*

*War between the United States and the Regency of Tripoli (1801–1805)*

The Jefferson administration sent four fleets to the Mediterranean during the five years of the war (1801–1802, 1802–1803, 1803–1804, 1804–1805). One of the most important military actions of the Tripolitan War was in 1803. On October 31, the *Philadelphia* frigate ran aground during the American blockade against Tripoli and shortly after it, she was captured by the Tripolitans. William Bainbridge (1774–1833), the captain of the frigate, and the crew of the ship, 307 sailors and soldiers, became prisoners of war.<sup>71</sup>

Another turning point in the war was the expedition and raid against the city of Derna or Derne in March and April, 1805. William Eaton, former consul in Tunis, had guaranteed Hamet Karamanli the military assistance of the United States and help to take the throne of Tripoli. Accordingly, the Greek–Arab–American forces captured the strategically important city in the spring of 1805.<sup>72</sup>

As a consequence, Tripoli was threatened on sea and on land, so Yusuf Karamanli, the dey of Tripoli (ruled 1795–1832), was inclined to agree to end the hostilities. The peace treaty was signed on June 4, 1805. Under the agreement the crew of the *Philadelphia* was redeemed (\$60,000) and the contracting parties restored their relations.<sup>73</sup>

Several symbols of the US Marine Corps are connected to the expedition of Derna. First of all, Hamet Karamanli, acknowledging the bravery of the American soldiers at Derna, shortly after the battle gave a Mameluke sword to Presley O'Bannon (1776–1850) who was commander of the expedition. Nowadays, this sword can be carried by Marine Corps officers only. Furthermore, the Marine Hymn's second line, "*the shores of Tripoli*" also a reminder about the operation of Derna.<sup>74</sup>

*the U. S. Navy in the Quasi War with France and the Barbary Wars 1798–1805.* Thomas Yoseloff, Ltd., A. S. Barnes and Co., Inc., London – South Brunswick, NJ – New York, NY, 1968. 21–174.

<sup>71</sup> *Naval Documents, Barbary Wars*, 3:175–176, From William Bainbridge to Edward Preble, November 25, 1803, Tripoli; Allen: *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs*, 138–157; Irwin: *Diplomatic Relations*, 134–135. For the loss of the *Philadelphia* see, Chidsey: *The Wars in Barbary*, 86–91, 101–108; Kitzen: *Tripoli and the United States at War*, 93–113; Lambert: *The Barbary Wars*, 140–144; London: *Victory in Tripoli*, 145–163.

<sup>72</sup> Allen: *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs*, 227–145; Irwin: *Diplomatic Relations*, 144–148. For the expedition against Derna see, Chidsey: *The Wars in Barbary*, 134–139; Kitzen: *Tripoli and the United States at War*, 135–160; Lambert: *The Barbary Wars*, 151–155; London: *Victory in Tripoli*, 209–220.

<sup>73</sup> Allen: *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs*, 246–266; Irwin: *Diplomatic Relations*, 149–160. For the text of the treaty see, *Public Statutes at Large*, 8:214–218.

<sup>74</sup> "From the Halls of Montezuma

To the shores of Tripoli;

We fight our country's battles

In the air, on land, and sea;

First to fight for right and freedom

And to keep our honor clean;

We are proud to claim the title

Of United States Marines"

*Heritage Press International – "History of The Marines' Hymn",*

[http://www.usmcp.com/heritage/marine\\_hymn.htm](http://www.usmcp.com/heritage/marine_hymn.htm), Accessed on April 2014.

However, the victory was not only the merit of the American soldiers. “*Hundreds of Muslim from Egypt*,” as Rasheeda Precious Muhammad rightly stated, “*played a role in helping America to attain victory in the US first battle on foreign soil.*”<sup>75</sup>

## Cultural impact

### *Christianity and Islamicism*

Religion was a vital question in the relations between the Muslims and Christians in the Mediterranean in the 16–18<sup>th</sup> century. The struggle between cultures was mainly based on religion. However, Christianity and Islam were no pretext for religion-based disharmony between the USA and the Muslim States. One of the best examples for this statement is the peace treaty with Tripoli in 1796, which clearly stipulated that misunderstandings won’t evolve between the parties because of religion.

“As the government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion – as it has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion or tranquillity of Musselmen [Muslims] – and as the said states never have entered into any war or act of hostility against any Mohemetan nation, it is declared by the parties, that no pretext of harmony existing between the two countries.”<sup>76</sup>

In addition, the Tunisian legation between 1805 and 1806 in the United States is also a good example for religious tolerance. On December 9, 1805 Mellimelli was invited for dinner in the White House. Because of the Ramadan the Ambassador asked Jefferson that this dinner should be postponed after sunset. Jefferson accepted his guest’s request and the dinner was arranged “*precisely at sunset*”. John Quincy Adams who was the member of the Senate at this time (March 4, 1803 – June 8, 1808),<sup>77</sup> was also present at this dinner where he met the Tunisian diplomat. “*I [John Quincy Adams] dined at the President’s, in company with the Tunisian Ambassador and his two secretaries. By invitation, dinner was to have been on the table precisely at sunset – it being in the midst of Ramadan, during which the Turks fast while the sun is above the horizon.*”<sup>78</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Muhammad, Precious Rasheeda: *Muslims and the Making America*. 57.

<http://www.mpac.org/assets/docs/publications/MPAC--Muslims-and-the-Making-of-America.pdf>, Accessed on April 2014.

<sup>76</sup> *Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the USA and Tripoli*, Article 11, November 4, 1796. *Public Statutes at Large*, 8:155.

<sup>77</sup> John Quincy Adams (1767–1848) was the son of John Adams, second president of the United States. Quincy Adams was a Senator and a Representative from Massachusetts and the sixth President of the United States (March 4, 1825 – March 4, 1829). *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress – “Adams, John Quincy”*, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=a000041>, Accessed on October 2014.

<sup>78</sup> *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, 1:378.

*The North African Muslims in American Literature*

The North African Muslims also had an important impact on the early American literature. First, the *Barbary Captivity and Sea Narrative* genre flourished in the early 1800s in America.<sup>79</sup> Among other things, these narratives reveal some of the earliest impressions Americans had of Africa. There were three different periods, namely the Algerian captivity, the Tripolitan War and the period between 1810 and 1820, when American sailors were captured by Muslims in the early 1800s.<sup>80</sup>

Paul Baepler stated in his monograph that American publishers issued over a hundred American Barbary captivity editions between 1798 and 1817. For example, the account by Captain James Riley (1817) sold nearly a million copies, and according to historians it could “*help to change Abraham Lincoln’s stance on slavery*”.<sup>81</sup>

According to Baepler, “*in general, the Barbary captivity descriptions of the African masters are often predictable stereotypes of violent monsters who inflict countless cruelties on the captives*”.<sup>82</sup> The first American captivity account in Barbary may have been that of William Harris (1610–1681), a founder of Rhode Island. His ship, the *Unity* was captured on January 24, 1680 by an Algerian corsair.<sup>83</sup>

In 1784 Morocco, and in 1785 Algiers, as we noted before, captured American ships. Later the Algerians also attacked American vessels, for example, the *Polly* brig in 1793, and took several Americans into slavery. We know that at least two of the prisoners, John Foss and James Leander Cathcart wrote captivity accounts. Among other things, John Foss who was one of the seamen on the *Polly* brig, mentioned that he met several Americans in Algiers after he arrived at the city.

“When we arrived there [prison Bilic, Algiers], we found several other Americans, who landed a little before us, and they informed us that the Corsairs had captured ten sail of American vessels, and that their Captains and crews were chiefly in the same prison. [...] on Friday, all the slaves work in the mountains but on other days only a

<sup>79</sup> For the American Captivity accounts see, Baepler: *White Slaves*. The American scholar published another paper about this subject. Baepler, Paul: “The Barbary Captivity Narrative in American Culture”, *Early American Literature*, Vol. 39 (2004), No. 2. 217–246.

<sup>80</sup> Blum, Hester: “Pirated Tars, Piratical Texts: Barbary Captivity and American Sea Narratives”, *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 2. (Fall 2003) 139.

<sup>81</sup> Baepler: *White Slaves*, 4; Baepler: *Barbary Captivity Narrative*, 217.

<sup>82</sup> Baepler: *White Slaves*, 23. As it was mentioned before, the Muslim cruelties was a popular cliché in Europe. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547–1616) also reported on the Christian slaves’ life in captivity. The Spanish soldier and writer noted in his masterpiece, *Don Quixote* that “*Every day he [the Muslim master] hanged a man, impaled one, cut off the ears of another; and all with so little provocation, or so entirely without any, that the Turks acknowledged he did it merely for the sake of doing it, and because he was by nature murderously disposed towards the whole human race*”. Cervantes, Saavedra Miguel de: *Don Quixote*. An Electronic Classics Series Publication, 2000–2012. 344. <http://www2.hn.psu.edu/faculty/jmanis/cervante/quixote.pdf>, Accessed on April, 2014.

<sup>83</sup> Bartlett, Harley Harris: “American Captives in Barbary”, *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, 61 (Spring 1959), 239. William Harris and the other passengers on the ship were sold as slaves. Eventually the state of Connecticut paid the full amount for his redemption. He died three days after reaching London.

part of them work there. They have commonly a part of the captives work in the marine.<sup>84</sup>

Later, during the Tripolitan War, a number of narratives were written which were related to the loss of the *Philadelphia* and the American captivity. Several of the US hostages, for example Doctor Jonathan Cowdery, William Ray, and Elijah Shaw wrote narratives of their imprisonment.

Jonathan Cowdery served as one of the *Philadelphia*'s doctors and, as an officer, was accorded preferential treatment.<sup>85</sup>

“November 1. [...] Our dwelling was furnished in a plain style and we were supplied with fresh provisions that were tolerably good. We were allowed to go to the front door, and to walk on the terrace or top of the house, which commanded a handsome prospect of the harbour, the sea, the town, the palace, and the adjoining country. [...] Feb. 6. – The Bashaw sent for me to come to his room in the castle. He shook hands with me, received me with much politeness, and requested me to pay every attention to his family as a physician.”<sup>86</sup>

William Ray and the majority of the prisoners, in contrast, lived together in miserable conditions in the prison. Furthermore, Ray's work was used to question the practice of slave holding in the American Republic.<sup>87</sup>

“We had nothing to keep us from the cold, damp earth, but a thin, tattered sail-cloth; the floor of the prison was very uneven, planted with hard pebbles, and as we had nothing but a shirt to soften our beds, and nothing but the ground for a pillow, and very much crowded in the bargain, the clouds of night shed no salutary repose. [...] The Doctor [Jonathan Cowdery] does not think it worth mentioning, that almost the whole crew were suffering intolerably, by hunger and nakedness; and it is very evident, that he thought more of uniform coast, than his naked countryman, who had no coast to put on.”<sup>88</sup>

After the Barbary Wars, the next and last American national crisis in connection with the Barbary captivity emerged in 1904. In 1904, Ion Perdicaris (1840–1925), an American–Greek citizen was kidnapped from his home, Tangier, Morocco by Mauli Ahmed er-

<sup>84</sup> *A Journal of the Captivity and Suffering of John Foss. Baepler: White Slaves*, 78, 84.

<sup>85</sup> Knox, Dudley W. (ed.): *Register of Officer Personnel United States Navy and Marine Corps and Ships' Data 1801–1807*. United States Government Printing Office, Washington DC, 1945. 12–13.

<sup>86</sup> *American Captives in Tripoli*. Baepler: *White Slaves*, 163, 167.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.* 18–19.

<sup>88</sup> *Horrors of Slavery. Ibid.* 192–193; Ray, William: *Horrors of Slavery: or, the American Tars in Tripoli: Containing an Account of the Loss and Capture of the United States Frigate Philadelphia; Treatment and Sufferings of the Prisoners; Description of the Place; Manners, Customs, & of the Tripolitans; Public Transactions of the United States with That Regency, Including Gen. Eaton's Expeditions; Interspersed With Interesting Remarks, Anecdotes, and Poetry, On Various Subjects*. Oliver Lyon, Troy, NY, 1808. 86.

Raisuli, who was titled the “*last of the Barbary pirates*”. On June 22, 1904 US Secretary of State, John Hay (1838–1905) dispatched an ultimatum to the Moroccan sultan demanding “*Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead*”. Finally, Perdicaris was redeemed and he sailed back to the US where he wrote at least three accounts of his captivity.<sup>89</sup>

“Perdicaris Alive or Raisuli Dead, says Hay.

Curt Ultimatum Sent by Secretary of State to the Sultan of Morocco Indicates That American Official Doubts Good Faith of African Potentate – Negotiations for Release of Bandit’s Prisoners Dragging in Spite of All the Efforts Made by Consular and Naval Authorities.”<sup>90</sup>

The Barbary captivity genre, referring to the story of Perdicaris, also appeared in Hollywood in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For example, the film of John Milius, *The Wind and the Lion* in 1975 dramatized the historical events surrounding the Perdicaris kidnapping.<sup>91</sup>

In summary, the *Barbary Captivity and Sea Narrative* was a significant genre in early American literature. The genre had millions of readers in the United States. According to Baepler “*the figure of the white slave in Africa not only produced a mirror image of the black slave in America, but it also rationalized and critiqued slavery in the United States and produced some of the first and longest-lasting images of Africans for an American audience*”.<sup>92</sup>

The second literary genre is the *Oriental Spy or Observer* genre. As it was mentioned above, we have chosen two novels which were written in the period of the “*undeclared*” Algerian War and the Tripolitan War.

The *Algerine Spy in Pennsylvania*, written by Peter Markoe in 1787, consists of twenty-four fictional letters written by sixty-year-old Mehemet, the spy of the Algerian Dey, from Europe and the United States to his friend Solyman.<sup>93</sup> Mehemet’s mission in Philadelphia took place between the date of the acknowledgement of American independence and the Constitutional Convention (1783–1787). No doubt that Markoe’s book was influential among the delegates to the Constitutional Convention.

According to Lotfi Ben Rejeb “*Markoe’s narratives illustrated public interest in defining American identity during the early national period and are interesting examples of the deliberate use of imaginative literature as an integral part of the nation-making process*”.<sup>94</sup>

On the one hand, “*Mehemet’s presence in the republic is ultimately an allegory of the weaknesses of the government under the Articles of the Confederation*”.<sup>95</sup> On the other hand, Markoe via Mehemet makes a case for a community of purpose to protect America’s

<sup>89</sup> Baepler: *White Slaves*, 285–287.

<sup>90</sup> *The St. Louis Republic*, June 23, 1904.

<sup>91</sup> Baepler: *White Slaves*, 50.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* 51.

<sup>93</sup> Marr, Timothy: *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, NY, 2006. 38.

<sup>94</sup> Rejeb: *Observing the Birth of a Nation*, 256.

<sup>95</sup> Marr: *Cultural Roots*, 38.

national interests. Despite the Constitutional debates, the American states had a strong sense of solidarity.<sup>96</sup>

“But in Rhode-Island the opposition to foederal measures is conducted by the government, the members of which are guided by their private interest which they perfectly understand. [...] I have revolved in my mind 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. [...] The American states rich in the productions of nature, are poor with respect to the improvements of art. They are too strong to be conquered, and too weak to attempt conquest.”<sup>97</sup>

Finally, Mehemet became part of the nation-making process, because he converted to Christianity and became an American citizen, plus he stayed in the United States. Mehemet said that “*I am free and delight in the freedom of others, and I am no longer either a slave or a tyrant. At once a christian and a Pennsylvanian, I am doubly an advocate for the right of mankind.*”<sup>98</sup>

*Salmagundi* was written by Washington Irving, his brother William, and James Kirke Paulding between 1807 and 1808. In February 1805 there were several Tripolitan prisoners in New York, specifically one “*Mustafa, Captain of the Ketch,*” which event provided, according to Timothy Marr, “*the model for the most well-known epistolary commentary by a fictional islamicist observer in the Early Republic.*”<sup>99</sup>

Irving’s masterpiece is quite different from the *Algerine Spy*, however, the context of the Barbary Wars and the use of the Muslim observer are the similarities. While Markoe promoted the idea of a nation, Irving embarked on a satirical vendetta targeting national ideology and national institutions.

First, the authors via Mustapha called the United States a “*logocracy*” because the Muslim saw its citizens constantly engaged in “*somniferous debates about the most trivial affairs.*”<sup>100</sup>

“The nation moves most majestically slow and clumsy in the most trivial affairs, like the unwieldy elephant which makes a formidable difficulty of picking up a straw. [...] Thus, my friend, is the whole collective wisdom of this mighty logocracy employed in somniferous debates about the most trivial affairs; like I have sometimes seen a heculean mountebank exerting all his energies in balancing a straw upon his nose.”<sup>101</sup>

When Mellimelli attended the Senate in 1806 he reached a quite similar conclusion. According to the *United States’ Gazette* and the *Troy Gazette*:

<sup>96</sup> Rejeb: *Observing the Birth of a Nation*, 266.

<sup>97</sup> Markoe: *Algerine Spy*, 103–104, 114.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.* 126.

<sup>99</sup> Marr: *Cultural Roots*, 67.

<sup>100</sup> Irving: *Salmagundi*, 115.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* 112, 115.

“The senators kept their seats, and judge Thruston,<sup>102</sup> from Kentucky, had some conversation with him [Mellimelli] in Italian. The Turk amongst other things asked, whether all the men whom he saw in the hall (meaning the representatives) had a right to speak upon every law made? – The senator replied in the affirmative. In astonishment the Turk observed, that he wondered how we could make more than a law a year!”<sup>103</sup>

The presidency, the symbol of national sovereignty also received its share of satire. Furthermore, Jefferson’s gunboat program, namely the construction of small ships rather than heavy frigates, was also criticized.

“All was anxiety, fidgeting, and consultation; when, after a deal of groaning and struggling, instead of formidable first rates and gallant frigates, out crept a litter of sorry little gunboats! These are most pitiful little vessels, partaking vastly of the character of the grand bashaw [Thomas Jefferson], who has the credit of begetting them; being flat, shallow keep in with the land; – are continually foundering or running ashore; and in short, are only fit for smooth water.”<sup>104</sup>

In summary of the *Oriental Spy* or *Observer* genre, we can note that Markoe and Irving primarily used the Muslim spies and observers from Barbary, North Africa to help define Americanness.<sup>105</sup>

## Conclusion

In conclusion, we can state that the North African Muslims had an important impact on the Early Republic at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Barbary States and the US primarily got into contact with each other because of piracy, commerce and war.

First, the piracy of the Maghreb states was an important factor on the US domestic and foreign policy. On the one hand, the Algerian crisis was a key element, but not the only one (sic!), in the hand of the *Federalist* politicians during the Constitutional debates. On the other hand, because of the unfriendly attitudes of the European states (France and Great Britain) when the US was seeking protection for her merchant vessels against the pirates, the US had to negotiate directly with the Maghreb states. Thanks to the negotiations the American politicians gained diplomatic experience and the Republic’s consular service was formed.

Second, Muslim piracy was the main cause of the ratification of the *Naval Act of 1794*. When the war between Tripoli and the United States became inevitable, the US Navy with

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<sup>102</sup> Thruston Buckner (1763–1845) was the senator of Kentucky from March 4, 1805 to December 18, 1809. In 1810, he was appointed judge of the United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia. *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress* – “Thruston, Buckner”, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=T000249>, Accessed on October 2013.

<sup>103</sup> *United States’ Gazette*, January 7, 1806; *Troy Gazette*, January 28, 1806

<sup>104</sup> Irving: *Salmagundi*, 115–116.

<sup>105</sup> Rejeb: *Observing the Birth of a Nation*, 258.

the completed frigates was ready for the challenge. In addition, the US Marine Corps also significantly took part in this conflict, the *Marine Hymn* reminds us.

Third, in connection with the cultural impact we can note that religious tolerance characterized the Americans during the negotiations with the Muslim states. Furthermore, Muslims had an important influence on the Early American Literature. The American captivity in Barbary was the central theme of several genres. On the one hand, the *Barbary Captivity and Sea Narrative* flourished in the United States in the 18–19<sup>th</sup> century. The genre presented not only the American life in captivity but it also revealed the criticism about the institution of slavery in North America. On the other hand, the *Oriental Spy* or *Observer* genre was an interesting example about the creation and the development of American nationalism in the context of the Barbary Wars.

All in all, Muslim piracy and in parallel with this, the Americans' captivity affected not only the political and military life of the United States, but the Barbary Wars were also a defining moment in the emergence of American identity.