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Raiders, Ransoms, and Religion: Captivity and the Road to Freedom for Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean

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Abstract

The Barbary Pirates are a fascinating historical phenomenon, but they were also a part of the larger system of early modern Mediterranean captivity. This system, which thrived from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, saw Christians and Muslims enslaving and ransoming one another on both sides of the Mediterranean. These ransoms made up the base of the North African ransom economy at the heart of the entire system, and this economic motivator was joined by religious conviction in driving the actors within the captivity complex. This thesis argues for an updated historiography of this system, which has often separated the two captivities and overlooked Muslim slaves in Europe, especially in the captivity narratives written by former European captives. This thesis also shows the similarities between the two captivities, and how economics and religion were the driving forces of capture and redemption in the early modern Mediterranean.

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Up until the very instant in which I am writing these acknowledgements, I did not entirely think myself capable of researching and writing an entire honors thesis, yet here we are. To everyone who has helped me get to this moment, whether consciously or not, you will forever have my thanks and gratitude. The little moments count more than you will ever know. While there are some people who deserve special recognition, I cannot thank everyone individually, but I hope they take this thesis as a sign that their belief and support is capable of inspiring truly wonderful things.

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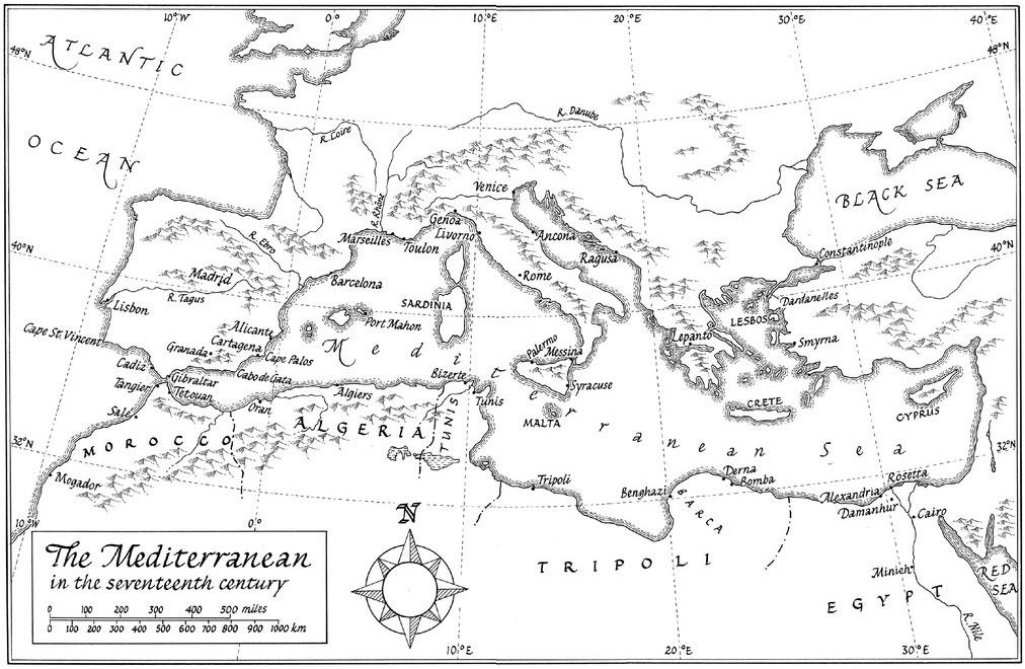

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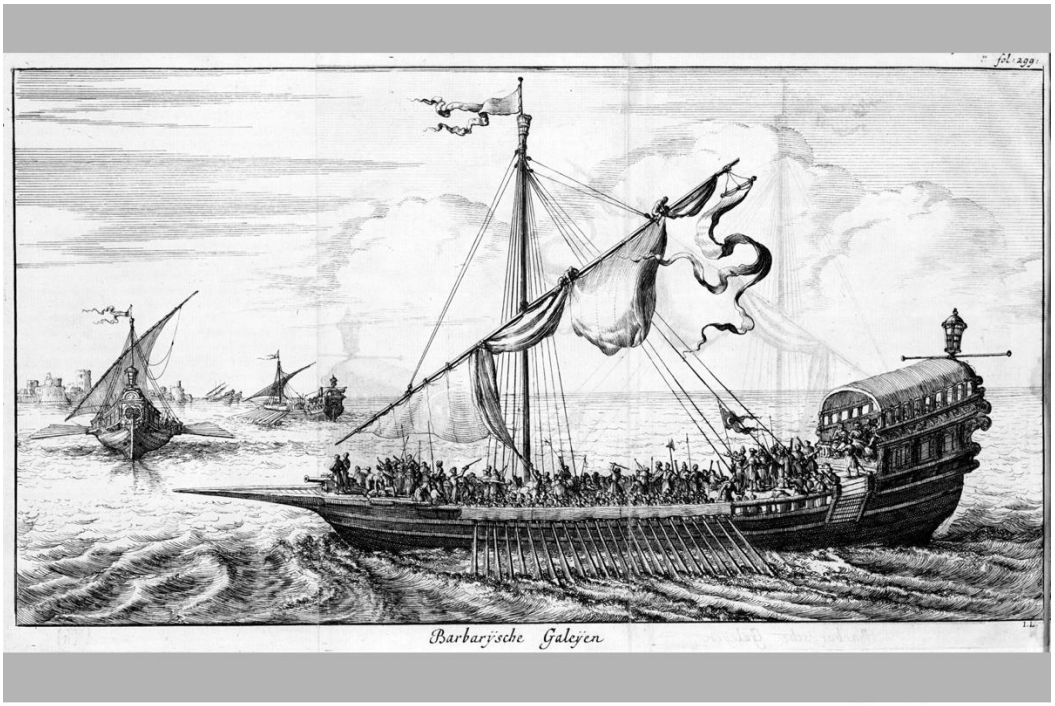

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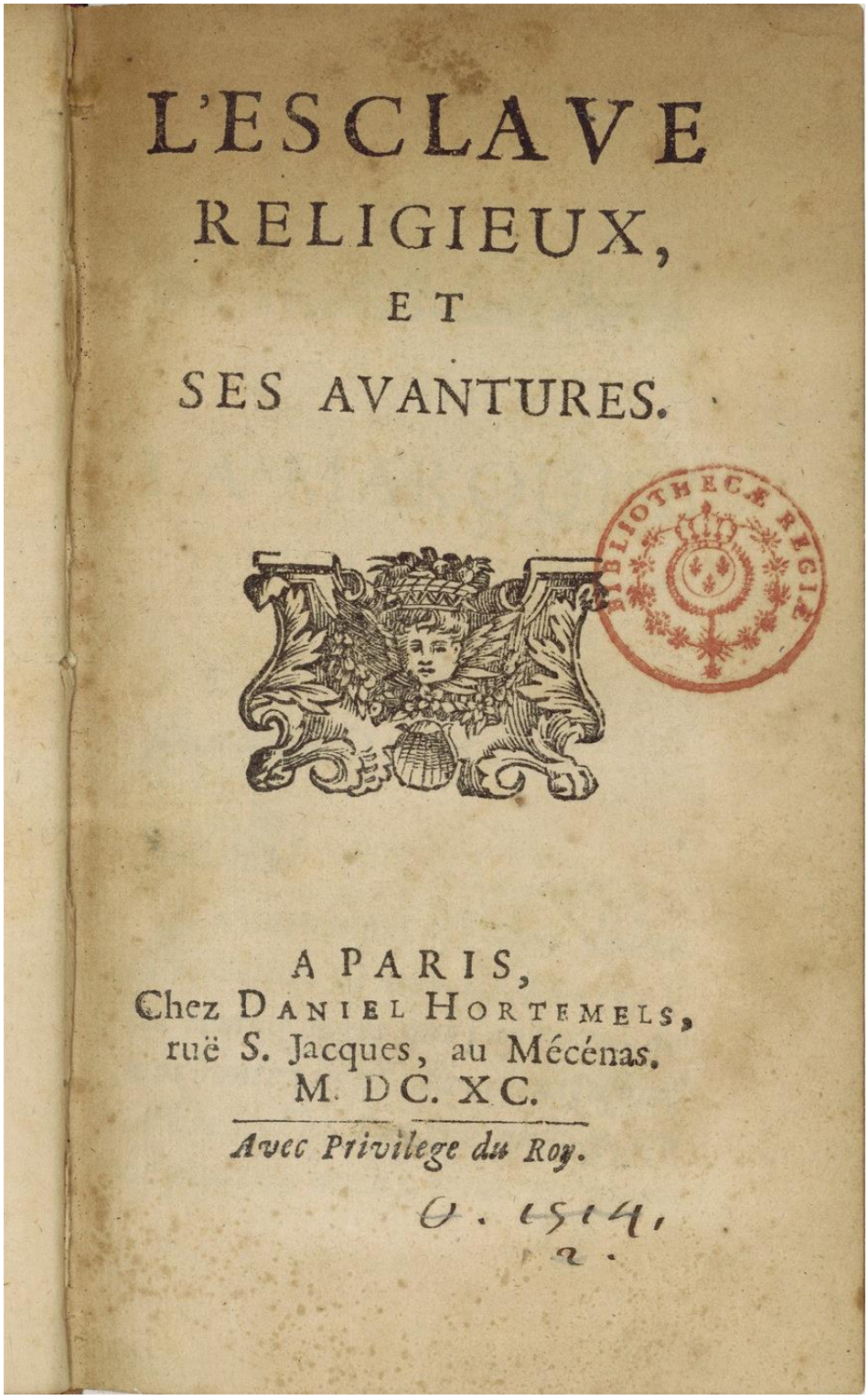

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Introduction

In the summer of 1627, a group of Algerian corsairs and a group of Saletian corsairs from the western coast of Morocco sailed out of the Mediterranean and into the Atlantic Ocean, turned north and set a course for Iceland. There, they put ashore and raided along the coastline for a couple of weeks and captured a combined nearly 300 Icelanders before sailing back to North Africa. While this rogue attack about 2,500 miles from the home ports of these Muslim pirates was sensational in and of itself, what made this episode even more remarkable was the fact that the man at the head of the Saletian fleet, a man going by the name of Murat Reis, was actually a converted Dutchman named Jan Janszoon van Haarlem.[1] This small yet captivating chapter in the history of the corsair fleets known to the world today as the Barbary Pirates encapsulates their uniqueness and effectiveness, and also hints at the much larger world of the Mediterranean slave system in which the Icelandic captives soon found themselves embroiled.

The Barbary Pirates were a loosely unified group of corsairs sailing out of the city states of the North African Ottoman dependencies and the kingdom of Morocco. In the early modern period, the region now known as the Maghreb was home to multicultural and multiethnic privateer fleets who preyed on European merchants, navies, and other ships in the Mediterranean, and then brought their bounties back to local leaders in cities like Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Salé. These bounties consisted of captured ships and goods, but most importantly, captured people, who were brought back to the slave markets and *bagnios*, or

[1] Mario Klarer, ed. *Barbary Captives: An Anthology of Early Modern Slave Memoirs by Europeans in North Africa* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2022), 101-102.

communal slave quarters, that were an important feature of early modern North Africa.[2] Within the larger Mediterranean slavery system, which was centuries old by the time the Barbary Pirates rose to prominence, these corsairs were a very potent cog, but a cog nonetheless, in a wheel that saw the flow of Christian captives into North Africa.

This pattern of enslavement was mirrored across the sea in Europe, where rather than Christians, it was Muslims who were in captivity, predominantly in the southern coastal regions such as Spain, southern France, Malta, and the southern Italian kingdoms, like the Papal States around Rome and the Spanish-ruled kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.[3] These European powers had their own corsairs in the form of privateering Christian knights, like the Knights of Malta, the Knights of Saint Stephen, and other orders, who all brought a steady stream of Muslim captives into southern European ports.[4]

Once captured and taken to port, captives could return home in a number of different ways, including a captive exchange, ransom, and even escape, but the threat of lifelong enslavement loomed large and was a reality that many captives suffered, and even for those who did make it home, it often took time to reintegrate themselves into their normal lives due to suspicions about their time in North Africa,[5] and this suspicion was usually centered around the defining feature of Mediterranean slavery: religion.

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[2] Gillian Lee Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2011), 21. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780804777841.
[3] Robin L. Thomas, "Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 78, no. 2 (2019): 167–86: 168. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26771404.
[4] Ariel Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains: On the Enslavement of Muslims in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe" *Religions* 4, no. 3 (2013): 391-411: 395. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel4030391.
[5] Nabil Matar, "English Accounts of Captivity in North Africa and the Middle East: 1577-1625," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (2001): 553-572: 567-568. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3176787.

It is impossible to understand the ways that the Mediterranean slavery system functioned without first understanding how it was organized, and at the heart of that organization was religion. Just as race was the defining factor of Atlantic chattel slavery, religion determined the fates of the countless individuals who became captives at one time or another during the early modern period. Political and economic ties were also important parts of this slave complex, since it was at its heart an economic system, but captives were made such along religious lines; no Muslims toiled under the ownership of their coreligionists in North Africa just as no Catholic enslaved one another in Europe.[6] The lines did blur at times, especially in the context of the ongoing struggle between Catholics and Protestants, as competing ideologies within Christianity sometimes led Protestants and Muslims to live and work side-by-side under Catholic enslavement.[7] This distinction was still along religious lines, though, and no element of this vast, complex, and nuanced system was without religious influence. Despite previous historiography that has often treated Muslim and Christian captivity during the early modern period as distinct institutions, it is clear that these two captivities were not just connected, but deeply so.[8] Both systems directly impacted each other, and the story of Mediterranean slavery must be written with an eye on both sides of the sea.

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[6] This was, of course, complicated by the conversion of slaves and captives in both Europe and North Africa, but the rule held fast for those born into a given religion.
[7] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains," 404.
[8] Daniel Hershenzon, "'[P]Ara Que Me Saque Cabesea Por Cabesa...': Exchanging Muslim and Christian Slaves across the Western Mediterranean," *African Economic History* 42 (2014): 11–36: 12. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44329665.

Chapter Summary

In this thesis, I will be arguing the story of Mediterranean captivity was written by religious conviction within an economic system, and not even the Barbary Pirates themselves would have existed as they did without its influence. By viewing Muslim and Christian captivity through the same lens rather than two distinct ones, this thesis challenges some of the traditional historiography that has skimmed over the experiences of Muslim slaves in Europe while preaching on the plight of Christians in North African captivity. This thesis will not only demonstrate the connection between Muslim and Christian captivity, but also the relationship between religious conviction and the desire for financial gain, the two main factors that pulled the strings of early modern Mediterranean captivity and redemption. Each chapter will focus on a different part of the experiences of captives caught in the system, and the ways in which the competing factors of religion and economic affected their fates.

Chapter 1 covers the taking of captives as well as those who took them. The chapter begins with more terminology, specifically the definition and distinction of the terms 'captive' and 'slave' and how that distinction comes into play in the arena of the early modern Mediterranean. Next, it outlines the role of the Barbary Pirates in Mediterranean captivity in which they became a major international force, and also places them within the context of their home societies in North Africa. It also presents the Christian players in the slaving system and illustrates the role that European raiders played in captive taking. Chapter 1 constructs a thorough image of early modern Mediterranean captivity and who was involved.

Chapter 2 covers the experiences of captives, and includes some of their own words describing those experiences. The chapter first looks at the captivity narratives, both individually for their subject matter and as a genre, and analyzes what these accounts show about the realities of captivity as well as the motivations of their authors. Captivity narratives not only serve as an important primary source in terms of providing information on early modern North African but they also provide a unique window into the lives of ordinary people who had to adapt quickly to their new circumstances or risk never returning home.

Chapter 3 jumps off from the captivity narratives to look at Christian captivity in North Africa and compares and contrasts it with Muslim slavery in Europe. Treatment, work, living conditions, and religious freedom are all examined to give as accurate of a picture of the two captivities as possible, and attempt to compare some of the narratives to the actualities of Mediterranean captivity. The chapter shows many of the similarities between the two captivities, and juxtaposes them to show that they had more in common than separated them. However, the chapter also look at the some of the freedoms granted to Christian captives that were not extended to Muslim slaves, and shows that the overall similarities do not tell the entire story of the distinctions between European and North African captivity.

Chapter 4 covers redemption and the various ways that captives and slaves found freedom. The chapter looks at each of the paths to freedom in turn, beginning with ransom, and followed by exchange, escape, and conversion. Each type of ransom – religious redemption, state-sponsored, and private – is presented to show the range of options available to captives, how each type of ransom was conducted, and also how feasible each one was

depending on the specific captive. The next form of manumission examined is exchange, which carried its own unique set of rules and guidelines, and was often blended with ransoms when convenient for rulers. Escape is the next form of freedom discussed, although attempts were uncommon and even fewer succeeded, and then conversion is looked at, in this case purely as a means of freedom. All of these different routes to freedom were shaped by religion and economics, which often clashed over keeping versus freeing a captive, and to this end, Chapter 4 examines the protocols for each avenue of freedom and explain some of the nuances and wrinkles that often made gaining one's freedom such a difficult task. Finally, Chapter 4 focuses on the intersection of religion and economics, specifically in terms of conversion. The unique criteria that led to captives converting make it the best example to show the confluence of these two all-encompassing factors and how they contributed to the experiences of captives and their quest for freedom. All of the influences that led to conversion boil down in one way or another to either religion or economics, and sometimes both, and it is crucial to this thesis to give an understanding of how and why this happened.

Finally, the last section is the conclusion and the epilogue, and this thesis will conclude with the end of Mediterranean captivity as well as some of its legacy. The conclusion will look back at the original question and review how each chapter has addressed a different part of that question, and provide a clear summary of the main takeaways from this thesis. The epilogue will wrap up the story of the Barbary corsairs and their domains, and provide some reflection on the legacy of the corsair states and Mediterranean captivity, including how it should be thought about today. In arguing for an updated historiographical understanding of the connective tissues uniting Christian and Muslim captivity and the influence of captivity narratives, as well as when and how captives were able to find

freedom, this thesis will demonstrate how the clash of religion and economics created the environment in which early modern Mediterranean captivity flourished and eventually faded away.

Historiography

The historiography of early modern Mediterranean captivity is based on the primary sources from the era, among which stand out letters that were frequently exchanged between captives in Europe and North Africa and friends and family back home. Some letters were directed to religious ransom orders, and the collection of documents from the Early Modern Documents archive at the University of Leiden is made up of some of these letters from Italian captives in North Africa to the Propaganda Fide, a ransom organization based in Rome, as well as petitions from missionaries in North Africa requesting more assistance in their attempts to ransom captives and save them from apostasy. The tone in many of these letters is one of urgency, and they attempt to underline the desperate fragility of the religious health of many European captives in North Africa in an attempt to get them ransomed.

This appeal for redemption is also consistent with the other main type of primary source on Mediterranean captivity, which is captivity narratives. Written at least in part by former European captives who had returned home from North Africa, these accounts of the captive experience played a major role in both the way that contemporary Europeans viewed Barbary captivity and the way that later historiography treated the experiences of captivity. There are a number of captivity narratives that have survived to the modern day, and many have been collected and translated into anthologies, such as Mario Klarer's *Barbary*

Captives: An Anthology of Early Modern Slave Memoirs by Europeans in North Africa. Klarer's anthology, which also contains some analysis of each narrative, contains works from across Europe that have been translated into English, and are an important example of not only the types of narratives that were being written in the early modern period, but also show how these narratives compared and contrasted across the continent, and how the motivations behind narratives changed from one written by a Dane, for example, to one written by a Spaniard. Different Europeans dealt with Barbary captivity differently in their writing, often as a result of different political relations with North African states. This specification by ethnicity can be seen through an English lens with the captivity narratives in Daniel Vitkus's anthology, *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*, which also contains a foreword written by the eminent early modern British and Mediterranean scholar Nabil Matar. The narratives in this anthology reflect the change in regime from Elizabeth I to James I and how the political change affected those Englishmen unlucky enough to end up in captivity. One of the largest legacies of these narratives was the ongoing assertion that captivity was a one-way street, rather than the interconnected system it actually was, and later historiography has worked to correct that notion.

Nabil Matar has also written on the genre of the English captivity narrative. He examines some of these narratives and the circumstances surrounding their writing in his article "English Accounts of Captivity in North Africa and the Middle East: 1577-1625." Challenging the argument made by the French historian Fernand Braudel that redeemed captives were encouraged by their governments to write narratives that specifically

denounced Islam and the Muslim world,[9] Matar presents an in-depth analysis of the motivations behind some Elizabethan and Jacobean narratives, and revises Braudel's assertion with his idea that personal gain was actually the primary motivator for many narratives. Some of Matar's other works provide important background information on the early modern Mediterranean and relations between Christians and Muslims, including *British Captives from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1563-1760* and *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689*. Matar's analysis of the English captivity narratives hints at a previous trend in the historiography which separates the plight of Muslim captives in Europe from that of Christian captives, and this is one of the main errors in the retelling of early modern Mediterranean captivity that some of the historiography, and this thesis, aim to correct.

While there is a lack of primary sources on Muslim captives in Europe, specifically on their experiences of captivity, recent scholarship has seen a trend in filling this gap through secondary sources. A few books have been written that highlight the captive experience in Europe, and particularly Spain, including *Muslims in Spain, 1492-1814: Living and Negotiating in the Land of the Infidel* by Eloy Martin Corrales and translated into English by Consuelo López-Morillas, and *The Captive Sea: Slavery, Communication, and Commerce in Early Modern Spain and the Mediterranean* by Daniel Hershenzon. In Chapter Two of his book, Corrales focuses on the two main groups of Muslims in early modern Spain, which were Moriscos and slaves. Corrales shows that these groups were much more prominent than traditionally thought, especially the latter, who are often overlooked in the historiography in favor of sub-Saharan African slaves, and their experiences were often

[9] Matar, "English Accounts of Captivity," 553.

similar to those of Christian captives in North Africa.[10] Daniel Hershenzon also looks at Muslim slaves in Spain, but where Corrales focuses more on their experiences, Hershenzon looks to also explain their attempts to find freedom. In doing so, he attempts to highlight the Muslim side of the Mediterranean ransom economy, which has not been extensively written on, in tandem with the Christian side, and how the religious and economic dimensions of ransom and exchange worked together to get captives home.[11]

Other sources on Muslim slavery in Europe largely focus on both highlighting and updating the narrative about Muslim slavery further east, especially in the Italian Peninsula, to demonstrate the roles of these slaves in early modern European society. Robin Thomas's "Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta" looks at Muslim slave labor in the construction of the Neapolitan royal palace in the 1750s and the wider of treatment of Muslim slaves in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in that era, and begin to rewrite what little exists on Muslim slavery in Europe to show how ubiquitous these people were, as well as how their presence furthered the religious goals of the governments who enslaved them.[12] Ariel Salzmann's "Migrants in Chains: On the Enslavement of Muslims in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe" attempts to change the narrative surrounding these slaves from one purely rooted in slavery to one that recognizes them more as forced migrants and individuals, and how Muslim slaves persisted through harsh treatment to find solidarity among themselves in the hopes of one day being freed. Focusing on Italy and Malta, Salzmann

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[10] Eloy Martín Corrales and Consuelo López-Morillas, *Muslims in Spain, 1492-1814: Living and Negotiating in the Land of the Infidel* (Leiden: Brill, 2021) 67. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctv1sr6k4c.
[11] Daniel Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea: Slavery, Communication, and Commerce in Early Modern Spain and the Mediterranean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018) 69. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv16t6kbv.
[12] Thomas, "Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta," 168.

examines the experiences of captives and their attempts to maintain their identities and individuality in a system that attempted to quash that sort of expression.[13] Justine A. Walden's chapter in Matthew Coneys Wainwright and Emily Michelson's *A Companion to Religious Minorities in Early Modern Rome* focuses on Muslim slavery in Rome proper as well as its port, Civitavecchia. The chapter, titled "Muslim Slaves in Early Modern Rome: The Development and Visibility of a Labouring Class", looks at the roles of Muslim slaves in Roman society and their varying levels of visibility and integration in their roles as galley slaves and laborers. Walden also notes the inconsistency in the historiography in terms of not recognizing Mediterranean captivity as an interconnected system, and highlights Muslim slaves not only in relation to their role in Rome, but also their continued ties to North Africa.[14] Finally, Gillian Weiss's "Ransoming "Turks" From France's Royal Galleys" shifts the location to Muslim slavery in France, specifically the role of Muslim galley slaves in powering the navy of Louis XIV and how their existence and treatment underscored their economic importance.[15] Like the sources on Italian and Maltese Muslim slavery, Weiss's examination of enslaved Muslims in France follows the historiographical turn that has begun to correct their overlooking. Despite the historical favoring of the story of Christian captives in North Africa, which began with the captivity narrative genre, all of these sources have shown the reality of Muslim slavery in early modern Europe and its ties to North African captivity, and this thesis aims to continue that trend.

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[13] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains," 392.
[14] Justine A. Walden, "Muslim Slaves in Early Modern Rome: The Development and Visibility of a Labouring Class," in *A Companion to Religious Minorities in Early Modern Rome*, eds. Matthew Coneys Wainwright and Emily Michelson (Leiden: Brill, 2021) 305-307. https://brill.com/abstract/title/54411.
[15] Gillian Weiss, "Ransoming "Turks" from France's Royal Galleys," *African Economic History* 42 (2014): 37-57: 39. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44329666.

North African captivity has a much richer historiography due to its legacy of captivity narratives, and while some of the themes shown in narratives have been continued by modern scholars, others have attempted to present the experiences of European captives with less bias. Robert Davis's book, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800*, provides an interesting examination of the realities of European captivity in North Africa and Muslim slavery in Europe, as well as some comparison between Mediterranean and chattel slavery. Davis draws heavily on the captivity narratives, but his estimates of the numbers of captives seem inflated, and they are on the very high end of what most other scholars have come up with.[16] Gillian Weiss also authored a book specifically on French captives in North Africa and the relationship between France and the North African states. In *Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Weiss looks at how France dealt with the problem of North African captivity, its diplomatic ties to the region, and its attempts to bring captive French back home amidst the ongoing struggle between Christian and Muslim naval forces, and highlight the importance of religion in the economic system of Mediterranean captivity while clearly connecting both sides of the sea in the system.

A trio of articles by Ellen Friedman also provide very good secondary information about the lives of captives in North Africa. "Christian Captives at "Hard Labor" in Algiers, 16th-18th Centuries" focuses on the labor of captives in North Africa, and attempts to separate it from the bias of captivity narratives to show that while harsh, it was comparable to the

[16] Nabil Matar, *British Captives from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1563-1760* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014) 9. https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat08209a&AN=cuc.883570617&site=eds-live.

slavery of the day, and in some ways, better than slavery in Europe.[17] "The Exercise of Religion by Spanish Captives in North Africa" focuses on the role of religion in captivity, and specifically, how Christian captives preserved their religion during their servitude. Friedman shows the surprisingly rich practice of Christianity amongst captives, who built churches in captive prisons and were largely free to worship as they did in Europe, and how the religious freedom enjoyed by these captives also served the ends of Muslim masters keen on maintaining their investments in these captives.[18] The final article, "North African Piracy on the Coasts of Spain in the Seventeenth Century: A New Perspective on the Expulsion of the Moriscos", uses the lens of the Barbary corsairs to examine the religious and political relationship between Spain and North Africa, primarily Algeria and Morocco, and the role that the expelled Moriscos played in not only maintaining but expanding corsair activity against Spain.[19] This article also shares the lens of corsairs with Adrian Tinniswood's book, *Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests, and Captivity in the 17th Century Mediterranean*. Tinniswood follows the chronology of Barbary piracy and the role therein of converted European renegades in the North African fleets, from its rise to its eventual fall in the early nineteenth century, and shows how the role of the corsairs was instrumental in maintaining the North African ransom economy, to which Christian captivity was crucial, but also in creating sophisticated systems of diplomatic contact with various European powers. The development of the historiography has reached a point where a study of either European or

[17] Ellen G. Friedman, "Christian Captives at 'Hard Labor' in Algiers, 16th-18th Centuries." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 13, no. 4 (1980): 616–632: 618. https://www.jstor.org/stable/218198.
[18] Ellen G. Friedman, "The Exercise of Religion by Spanish Captives in North Africa." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 6, no. 1 (1975): 19–34: 27, 34. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2539515.
[19] Ellen G. Friedman, "North African Piracy on the Coasts of Spain in the Seventeenth Century: A New Perspective on the Expulsion of the Moriscos." *The International History Review* 1, no. 1 (1979): 1–16: 4. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40109265.

North African captivity cannot be done without at least an acknowledgement of the connection to the other, and this is one of the largest departures from the early historiography and captivity narratives, which tended to view them as distinct systems. More recent sources like these are also blending the impact of religion with economics, and this trend is also common in sources that focus on ransom.

Ransoms and exchanges within the early modern Mediterranean captive system were very complex and nuanced, and the sources that focus on them often attempt to do so from one specific angle. Daniel Hershenzon's article on Christian and Muslim manumission, "'"[P]ara Que Me Saque Cabesea por Cabesa...": Exchanging Muslim and Christian Slaves across the Western Mediterranean", looks at examples of ransoms and exchanges between Spain and North Africa and uses the examples of various captives to disprove the "underlying scholarly assumptions" that Muslim and Christian captivity were distinct and that Muslims were never able to take advantage of the ransom and exchange network, even showing that Muslim rulers occasionally initiated these transactions.[20] A study on private Dutch ransom efforts by Tessa de Boer and Jirsi Reinders, "'Notoriously and Publicly Known to the Stock Exchange': Private Initiatives in Early Modern Amsterdam to Ransom and Repatriate Barbary Captives",[21] focuses on efforts in the Dutch Republic to redeem captives in North Africa, which were primarily led by private institutions who filled the gaps left by the absence of large-scale ransom efforts by a government or church organization, and shows another dimension of the Mediterranean ransom system. English systems for ransom are

[20] Hershenzon, "'[P]Ara Que Me Saque Cabesea Por Cabesa...'" 12-13.
[21] Included in *Managing Mobility in Early Modern Europe and its Empires: Invited, Banished, Tolerated*, eds. Katja Tikka, Lauri Uusitalo, and Mateusz Wyzga (Palgrave Macmillan, 2023). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-41889-1_4.

examined by Suzanne Schwarz in “Ransoming Practices and “Barbary Coast” Slavery: Negotiations Relating to Liverpool Slave Traders in the Late Eighteenth Century”, which uses the rather ironic examples of the *Anna* and *Solicitor General*, two slave ships that wrecked off the coast of Morocco in the late eighteenth century and whose crews were then taken captive and ransomed.[22] Schwarz sets these ransoms, which seem to have been overcomplicated due to the lack of competent negotiators, against the backdrop of the ongoing abolition debate in England, and in doing so, provides a unique critique of all captivity and slavery while showing some examples of various ransom institutions that were in operation towards the end of the heyday of Mediterranean captivity.

While much of my source material is in English, both originally and translated, Mediterranean captivity is a subject which has a rich historiography in a variety of languages, including Spanish, French, Italian, German and Dutch. Many of the captivity narratives that I used have been translated into English from their original languages, and the letters from the Vatican archives are all originally written in either Italian or Latin (except for one in French). To that end, I have incorporated some sources in French in order to both expand the perspectives I included in my thesis as well as examine some ways that Mediterranean captivity is written about in other languages. Two of these sources are Volumes I and II of the renowned Mediterranean historian Fernand Braudel’s *La Méditerranée et le Monde méditerranéen à l’époque de Philippe II*, two cavernous tomes from the 1940s which provide copious secondary information on all manner of geographical, social, political, religious, and

[22] Suzanne Schwarz,. "Ransoming Practices and “Barbary Coast” Slavery: Negotiations Relating to Liverpool Slave Traders in the Late Eighteenth Century." *African Economic History* 42 (2014): 59-85: 59. muse.jhu.edu/article/593150.

economic aspects of the early modern Mediterranean, including captivity and redemption. Braudel is frequently cited by many of my other sources, but his arguments on captivity have sometimes been critiqued, such as the refuting of his claim about the motivations of captivity narratives by Nabil Matar.[23] Another anthology on captivity, this one in French, that examines the experiences and redemption of captives is François Moureau's *Captifs en Méditerranée (XVI-XVIIIe siècles): histoires, récits et légendes*, which contains essays by various authors on different aspects of the captivity cycle. Yet another anthology on Mediterranean captivity, *Le Commerce des Captifs*, edited by Wolfgang Kaiser, contains two important articles on Barbary captivity and ransom. The first is "Réseaux et techniques de rachat des captives de la course à Tunis au XVIIe siècle" by Sadok Boubaker, which looks at various types of ransoms and examples within a Tunisian context in the seventeenth century and how ransom as a whole developed throughout the century into both a legal and economic framework.[24] The second is Michel Fontenay's "Esclaves et/ou captifs: préciser les concepts." This article is important not due to its examination of captivity or ransom, but rather in its conceptualization of captivity and the way that terminology was used to signal different depths of captivity. The terminology section in Chapter One draws from Fontenay's distinction between captive (*captif)* and slave (*esclave*) in its presentation of the relationship between the two terms and how they compared and contrasted in the system of early modern Mediterranean captivity.

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[23] See footnote 100 – p. 49

[24] Sadok Boubaker, "Réseaux et techniques de rachat des captives de la course à Tunis au XVIIe siècle," in *Le commerce des captifs : les intermédiaires dans l'échange et le rachat des prisonniers en Méditerranée, XVe-XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Wolfgang Kaiser (Rome : École française de Rome, 2008) 26.

Terminology

The world of early modern Mediterranean captivity is one with own specific terminology, and there are certain terms that will be used throughout this thesis that are important to understand. Aside from the distinction between captive and slave, which is very nuanced and central to this thesis, and therefore merits its own section in Chapter One, there are a few terms that do not come from English that are important to know. The first of these is the term used to refer to the slave prisons found commonly on both sides of the Mediterranean. They are referred to as *bagnio* in Italian sources, *baño* in Spanish sources, and *bagne* in French, but they all refer to the same thing, and their use only changes based on which source they are being taken from at a given moment. They can be used interchangeably and often are in early modern sources, when consistency in spelling was not an important part of grammar, and because of the various languages being used in sources, the spelling of this term will change in this thesis as well.

Another important group of terms that are frequently used throughout this thesis are titles used to refer to North African and Ottoman rulers. Three of the most common terms, and the ones that will be used in this thesis, are pasha, dey, and sultan. Various sources spell these differently, and so pasha may also appear as basha or bassa, and dey may also appear as bey; it depends on which spelling is used by each source. The names of these leaders are also not always included in sources, and so these leaders are frequently referred to only by their title and where they rule, such as the Sultan of Morocco or the Dey of Algiers. Some of these

titles also coexisted; at various times, Tunis had both a pasha and a bey,[25] but this was not always the case.

The last important term that will be frequently used in this thesis is galley. Galleys were a type of large ship common in the Mediterranean that required rowers to power the oars which propelled it. These galleys served all kinds of purposes, both as naval vessels and merchant ships, and they were a large part of the demand for captive labor in the early modern period. The term 'galley slave' refers to captives who were forced to row on these large ships, which eventually faded out of use, but remained one of the main features of early modern Mediterranean captivity.

These terms are all important clarifications within the world of early modern Mediterranean captivity, but the biggest distinction in terms of terminology is the terms used to refer to those in servitude in Europe and North Africa. This terminological distinction, which carries important connotations central to the arguments in this thesis, is the one between captive and slave.

[25] Adrian Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests, and Captivity in the 17th-Century Mediterranean* (New York, London: Riverhead Books, 2010) 34.

Chapter 1 - The Capture:

Terminology, Muslim and Christian Captors, and an Overview of Captivity

"The pirates landed so suddenly that the people found it hard to escape. They rushed with violent speed across the island, like hunting hounds, howling like wolves, and the weak women and children could not escape, especially on the farms above the volcanic lava fields, because the pirates had a shorter way there. Only a few of the people who were strongest, or had nothing to carry, or did not pay attention to anybody else, managed to avoid capture. I, with my weak group, was quickly taken."[26]

This is the firsthand description of the capture of Ólafur Egilsson, an Icelandic reverend who was seized in a land raid in Iceland by Algerian raiders in 1627. His capture was replicated across Europe throughout the early modern period, and this encounter with North African corsairs was his first taste of the wider system of Mediterranean captivity. Like many other captives, Egilsson wrote down his experiences of capture and captivity, and the terms used in captivity narratives and later scholarship are central to a complete analysis of this system.

An understanding of the Barbary Pirates and the larger Mediterranean slave network in which they found themselves begins with the ways they were described and discussed. The terminology used in this thesis is an important aspect of this historiography, and it is important to clarify some of these terms to both remain true to the ways in which the people

[26] Ólafur Egilsson, "The Travels of Reverend Ólafur Egilsson: A Book by the Reverend Ólafur Egilsson, Who, with Others, Was Captured on the Westman Islands by Turkish Corsairs in the Year of our Lord 1627 but Returned to Iceland in 1628," in *Barbary Captives*, ed. Klarer, 106.

studied in this thesis would have understood and referred to themselves and to avoid any confusion.[27] First, although known popularly as the Barbary Pirates, this is not a term that these corsairs would have used to refer to themselves, as it was a term used only by Christian Europe to refer to both the region and people from the region that I will refer to as either North Africa or the Maghreb, which contains the modern-day countries of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia.[28] The use of the term 'Turk', which was also a catch-all phrase to describe any North African or Middle Eastern Muslim,[29] sometimes appears in quotations throughout this thesis, but will not be used in the way it was used during the early modern period. While not one of the traditional members of the Maghreb, designated by its status as a former French colony, for the purposes of this thesis, the area that makes up modern-day Libya will be included in my use of North Africa and the Maghreb as it was also a main stronghold of these raiders.

Second, as much of the discussion will be centered around individuals and groups in captivity, we must define who these people were and how they saw themselves in captivity. The two terms that will be used more or less interchangeably throughout this thesis to refer to the captured Christians in the Maghreb and Muslims in Europe are captive and slave. There are a variety of interpretations and definitions as to what differentiates a captive and a slave; according to Michael Fontenay, in the early modern Mediterranean, "the captive is a slave

[27] The fact that the common term "Barbary" used in scholarship to refer to the North African raiders already shows a European Christian bias in the historiography that will naturally favor the European Christian narrative over the North African Muslim one. Important then in this context means recognizing not only where the terms come from that refer to the various protagonists (slave, captive, Barbary Pirates, etc.) and when they are being used by whom.
[28] Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 3. https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=373480&site=eds-live.
[29] Tinniswood, *Pirates of* Barbary, 29.

waiting to be ransomed, while the slave is a captive who no longer hopes to be ransomed."[30] The distinction between captive and slave is a fine one in this context; it was often only once a captive had returned home that they could be considered a captive rather than a slave.[31] While both terms can be and are often used interchangeably, there are some key situations where they do differ. The most important of these has to do with an individual's ability to gain their freedom once captured. Muslims were much more likely to remain in captivity and become slaves than Christians. The distinction between slave and captive was an important distinction nonetheless, and there were a number of treaties between the Spanish crown and various North African rulers that explicitly stated that captives would not be referred to as slaves.[32] Ultimately, anyone could be either a slave or captive at any given moment, but I refer more frequently to Muslims as slaves and Christians as captives because of the reality of each group's ability to gain their freedom.

Christian captives in North Africa were much more likely to be manumitted than Muslim slaves in Europe.[33] For one, Christian religious orders were an established piece of the Mediterranean captive system, and some of these groups, like the Trinitarians and Mercedarians, were mainly focused on ransoming Christian captives held in the Maghreb, to the extent that some Christian religious orders had permanent bases in North Africa from

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[30] Michel Fontenay, "Esclaves et/ou captifs : préciser les concepts," in *Le commerce des captifs : les intermédiaires dans l'échange et le rachat des prisonniers en Méditerranée, XVe-XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Wolfgang Kaiser (Rome : École française de Rome, 2008) 22. «…le captive est un esclave en attente d'être racheté, tandis que l'esclave est un captif qui n'espère plus être racheté. »

[31] Hershenzon, "'[P]Ara Que Me Saque Cabesea Por Cabesa...'" 19.

[32] Corrales and López-Morillas, *Muslims in Spain, 1492-1814*, 82.

[33] The biases are even present in my own use of terms, as I will more frequently refer to 'Christian captives' and 'Muslim slaves' as Christians were more likely to return home, and therefore be merely captives, compared to Muslims, who were more likely to live out their lives as slaves for reasons I will discuss later.

which they could negotiate for the release or exchange of Christians.[34] Christian religious orders were also responsible for some of the capturing of Muslims. Orders like the Knights of St. Stephen were heavily involved in corsair activity that yielded a steady source of Muslim captives to be sold in Christian Europe.[35] Christian captives could also count on their rulers back home for help gaining their freedom, and it was not uncommon for kings, or more accurately a representative of the crown, as well as religious orders to enter into negotiations with North African rulers for the exchange of captives. When Charles III of Spain was still just the king of Naples, he was constantly engaged in attempts to free Neapolitans from their bondage across the Mediterranean, and he often paid large sums to bring his subjects home.[36]

For Muslim slaves in Europe, the outlook was much bleaker. No Muslim counterparts to the Christian charitable orders existed; there were no Muslim Trinitarians with a base in Seville or Rome trying to get their coreligionists freed and returned home. Muslims had to rely on their families or rulers back home if they could get in touch with them at all. Since it was their only path to freedom other than escape, Muslims had to send word of their situation via merchants sailing for their homeland and ask family and friends to raise enough money to ransom them or take their cause to someone with the means to help them, often a ruler who could use his influence to try and secure an exchange.[37] This is not to say that Muslims in Europe never made it home – the communication via middlemen proved to be surprisingly effective and led to informal exchanges of Muslim and Christian captives between Maghrebi and Spanish leaders in 1612, 1629, 1634, and 1689; ransoms were also often a provision in

[34] Thomas, “Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta,” 172.
[35] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains," 395.
[36] Thomas, “Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta,” 175.
[37] Salzmann, “Migrants in Chains," 403.

peace treaty negotiations.[38] Despite these exchanges, however, it was still a lot more challenging for Muslims to return home than it was for Christians – this is why historians have sometimes separated the two processes as distinct from one another[39] – and it was also much harder for Muslims to assimilate into Christian societies than it was for Christians to become a part of Muslim society.[40]

Christians were also more likely than Muslims to use conversion as a path to freedom, again highlighting the distinction between captives and slaves. While there was obviously a larger support system for Christians in North Africa, there was also the path of conversion and assimilation into Muslim society. Many more Christians converted than Muslims, for reasons such as a desire to assimilate into an unfamiliar society as well as the knowledge that conversion would take them out of their captivity. Firstly, there were no Muslims in Europe that weren't either in captivity or in hiding, save for those living in the Ottoman-ruled Balkans.[41] From the beginning of the seventeenth to the mid- to late-nineteenth century, there were no free Muslim communities, including converso communities in Spain, in Western Europe. Christian Europe left no room for other religions, and in the Mediterranean Catholic lands where Muslims slaves were most common, there was no room for Protestantism, let alone Islam. Thus, Muslim captive communities were often very close, and the few Muslims who converted to Christianity, even though they remained enslaved, risked losing the support

[38] Hershenzon, "'[P]Ara Que Me Saque Cabesea Por Cabesa...'" 13.
[39] This distinction helps to underscore the differences between Christians as captives and Muslim as slaves, although in reality these blanket designations are far too oversimplified.
[40] Hershenzon, "'[P]Ara Que Me Saque Cabesea Por Cabesa...'" 12.
[41] Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, tome I (Paris: Librarie Armand Colin, 1949), 186.

of their fellow captives, as well as being interrogated by the Inquisition about the sincerity of their conversion.[42]

By contrast, in North Africa, conversion represented a real path to freedom, and Christian captives knew it. Because Islam largely forbade Muslims to own other Muslims as slaves, Muslim slave owners were not exactly eager to have their slaves convert as they would have to free them if they did so. However, they were much more tolerant than Christian slave owners back in Europe, and the practice of Christian slaves converting to Islam was much more common. Converts to Islam enjoyed privileges, sometimes inheriting property, as seen in Ottoman sources detailing the rewards that would be given to converts upon their conversion.[43]

In summation, Christians held in North Africa had many more routes to manumission open to them than their Muslim counterparts in Europe. Aid from religious orders and assimilation through conversion were uniquely Christian privileges, whereas Muslim slaves had to rely on family and friends taking up their cause or being included in exchanges, which afforded them some comfort but not much else.[44] Even though captives on both sides were connected through ransom and exchange and in many cases, treatment on one side of the Mediterranean would have repercussions on the other.[45] Muslims were much more likely to remain in captivity and become slaves than Christians. The distinction between captive and slave was very fluid, but it was an important distinction nonetheless, and there were a number of treaties between the Spanish crown and various North African rulers that

[42] Salzmann, “Migrants in Chains," 395-403.
[43] Salzmann, “Migrants in Chains," 402.
[44] Corrales and López-Morillas, *Muslims in Spain, 1492-1814,* 84.
[45] Walden, “Muslim Slaves in Early Modern Rome,” 316.

explicitly stated that captives were not to be referred to as slaves.[46] Ultimately, anyone could be either a slave or captive at any given moment, but I refer to Muslims as slaves and Christians as captives more because of the reality of each group's ability to gain their freedom.

North African Piracy and Raiding

The Barbary Pirates, as they have become known to history, were a loosely unified group of Muslim pirates who sailed from ports across North Africa during the early modern period. Often referred to as corsairs or raiders, they were the faces of the Maghrebi 'pirate republics' that were made up of independent Morocco and the Ottoman dependencies of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli.[47] Raiders from the North African coast were nothing new when the Barbary Pirates rose to prominence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but these corsairs were especially effective and maintained their grip on the Mediterranean until the early nineteenth century, even sometimes raiding out into the Atlantic Ocean.[48] After the Ottoman naval defeat at the Battle of Lepanto, the ranks of the Barbary corsairs swelled with men who were no longer obligated to serve in the Ottoman navy and could instead turn their attention to the plundering of southern Europe's coastlines and the capture of its inhabitants whom they brought back to their home ports as captives. The numbers of the Barbary Pirates were also boosted by two other groups: former English and Dutch privateers who were no longer allowed by their crowns to engage in privateering, and Muslims (and a few Jews)

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[46] Corrales and López-Morillas, *Muslims in Spain, 1492-1814,* 82.
[47] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 7.
[48] Friedman, "North African Piracy on the Coasts of Spain in the Seventeenth Century," 5.

expelled from Spain over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Both the privateers and expelled Moriscos saw better economic prospects with the North African corsairs, even if it meant converting to Islam for the former, and so joined the ranks of the raiders. This influx was a big boost for the North Africans, as some of the ex-privateers, who were very experienced in maritime raiding, rose to become captains and fleet leaders, like Jan Janszoon (who changed his name to Murat Reis upon converting),[49] and the expelled Moriscos used their intimate knowledge of Spanish geography to help raid Spain's Mediterranean coast to devastating effect, bringing a steady stream of captives back to their home ports.[50]

The societies to which these pirates belonged were nourished by the captives brought back from Europe, which helped to drive the ransom economy at the heart of the North African republics. Captives brought back to North Africa represented a valuable source of income for the rulers of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and other cities, especially if the captives were important figures back in Europe. Relations between the Ottoman dependencies and European powers were usually formed on the basis of this ransom economy, which was rooted in the ransom of European captives back to their homelands, and these ransoms were often accompanied by treaties which agreed to peace and captive exchanges between North African powers and individual European states. These treaties also stipulated that European states would pay sums each year to protect their shipping, and the sums brought in from these tributary treaties were nothing to sniff at. In the 1780s, the British were paying a thousand pounds a year to Algiers, the Dutch were paying 24,000, and the Spanish an eye-watering

[49] Klarer, ed., *Barbary Captives*, 32.
[50] Friedman, "North African Piracy on the Coasts of Spain in the Seventeenth Century,," 2.

120,000.[51] Algiers was not the only state to profit off of these treaties, and many European states also paid sums to Tunis as well as Tripoli, who received 3,500 ducats from the Venetians and 20,000 dollars from the Swedes a year around this period.[52]

These treaties between Europe and North Africa were often conceived and negotiated by North African rulers. These local leaders were responsible for the protection of their people as well as the maintenance of their economy, and so their negotiation tactics were often shrewd. It was common for these leaders to release fewer captives than promised and drag their feet in order to try and get a better deal from their European counterparts. In 1626, the pasha of Algiers held eight hundred French captives whom he used as leverage to try and negotiate for the return of stolen arms and all the Algerian captives in Toulon and Marseille. Even when a French envoy arrived with orders from both the Ottomans and French to go ahead with the exchange, the pasha refused to release more than eighty captives or sign a treaty unless his demands were met first. In the end, the French envoy was only able to raise enough money to free three hundred captives, and the ensuing treaty was very favorable for the pasha, who won gains including many protections for Algerians in the Mediterranean. Treaties like this were common for these North African societies, but despite their agreements, corsair raids at sea and on land were still a big threat.[53]

Muslim pirates took European captives in a number of ways, but one of the most important methods practiced by the Barbary Pirates were land raids. It was not unprecedented

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[51] Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 279 – While these sums may not seem like much, the annual thousand pound payment from the British equals about 1.2 million pounds in today's money, so in reality, the sums paid by the Dutch and Spanish were colossal.
[52] Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 279.
[53] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 35.

for raiders to take captives on shore, and while at war with Christian Europe, Ottoman admirals routinely raided southern Italy and various Christian islands in the eastern Mediterranean.[54] Raids occurred across the Mediterranean, from Italy to Malta in the east to France and Spain in the west, and it was in Spain where the raids were the most effective.

Proximity was important for these raids, as the Spanish coast was the closest to North Africa, at least for corsairs sailing out of Morocco and Algeria, but another role played in Barbary slaving raids in Spain was played by the Moriscos. Historian Ellen Friedman has examined the role played by these crypto-Muslims in expanding the scope and scale of raids on Spain. In the first decades of the 1600s, thousands of Moriscos who had been born and raised in Spain, spoke Spanish fluently, and in many cases could pass for Spanish, were banished from their homes, with tens of thousands making their way to North Africa and many of them joining corsair fleets.[55] These Moriscos represented a unique and potent combination. Friedman writes, "For the corsairs it provided crew members with a desire for revenge as well as an intimate and invaluable knowledge of the Spanish coasts; it strengthened the ideological base for corsairs…the expulsion of the Moriscos, while eliminating a potential 'fifth column,' contributed to an expansion of North African piracy against Spanish coasts…"[56] Many in Spain had initially supported the expulsion of the Moriscos, under the impression that it would protect Spain and keeping in mind the history of Morisco collaboration with North African raiders. However, the expulsion had the opposite

[54] Thomas, "Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta," 169.
[55] According to Friedman, 80,000 Moriscos made their way to Tunisia, 60,000 settled in Algiers, 40,000 went to Tetuán, and a group of 1,200 Moriscos from the town of Hornachos, refused entry by the locals, established their own settlement and corsair base outside of Salé which eventually became Rabat – 11-14.
[56] Friedman, "North African Piracy on the Coasts of Spain in the Seventeenth Century," 15-16.

effect, and instead of removing a threat from Spain, the expulsion gave them free reign to ally with Muslim raiders and take their revenge. These Moriscos used their knowledge to help organize, lead, and guide raids on Spanish coastal towns such as Calpe in Valencia, where in 1637 an Algerian fleet landed and took 315 captives, or a small village near Altea, also in Valencia, where eight Muslim raiders who arrived on an Algerian vessel were identified by a number of witnesses as Moriscos who had left the area for Algiers a number of years earlier. The influx of Moriscos to North Africa helped enrich an already plentiful source of captives, and their efforts dramatically increased the number of captives taken from coastal regions in the first decades of the seventeenth century; this percentage rose over 20 percent from 1570-1609 to 1610-1619.[57] Importantly, this percentage did not only include Spanish captives taken from the Mediterranean coasts. While southern Europe was the hardest hit by Muslim raids, the seventeenth century also saw the expansion of the Barbary captivity machine, both ashore and at sea, into the Atlantic Ocean.[58]

North Africans had been raiding Christian ships for centuries in the Mediterranean, but the Barbary Pirates expanded on this with new technology and the help of migrants to the region to set their sights on Atlantic coastal raids and shipping. Once again, the Moriscos proved vital, and their introduction into the Barbary ranks led to this foray into Atlantic piracy. In Iberia, this development placed the northwestern coast in danger, and beginning in the second half of the 1610s,[59] raids like the ones along the Catalonian, Valencian, and Andalusian coasts began occurring on the opposite end of the peninsula. This region of

[57] Friedman, "North African Piracy on the Coasts of Spain in the Seventeenth Century," 9.
[58] Friedman, "North African Piracy on the Coasts of Spain in the Seventeenth Century," 1-16.
[59] Per Friedman, the first instance of Muslim corsairs off of northwestern Spain appears in a 1617 letter – 7.

northwestern Spain and northern Portugal was built on the fishing industry, and the corsairs preyed on fishing vessels at will; 80 percent of those seized in this region were taken while fishing in coastal waters, crippling the Spanish fishing industry throughout the seventeenth century.[60] The coasts were not the only Muslim target, however, and the *Carrera de Indias*, the Spanish American treasure fleet system, became a lucrative target for both captives and loot. Prior to 1610, the fleets were simply not a feasible target for Muslim corsairs, but after their Atlantic expansion, the fleet became a frequent victim of North African raiders, and in fifty-one of the seventy years from 1610 to 1680, at least one ship from the fleet was captured, and its crew taken captive.[61] The development of Morocco's Atlantic coast by incoming Moriscos also helped open the Atlantic to Barbary piracy, which included land and sea raids as well as capturing shipwrecked crews like that of the *Anna* in May 1789.[62] The influx of English and Dutch privateers who were accustomed to sailing in the Atlantic was also a benefit to this expansion, and some of the noteworthy Barbary raids to far-flung places such as Ireland and Iceland were captained by the converted Dutchman Murat Reis.[63] The seventeenth century saw a large diversification of sources of captives for the Barbary Pirates, from the increase in coastal raids to the expansion into the Atlantic, and as a result, this era is often referred to as "the golden age of the Barbary corsairs."[64]

The experience of being taken captive by Muslim corsairs was a harrowing experience for many, like Ólafur Egilsson, and there are many descriptions of the moment of

[60] Also per Friedman, the number of captives taken from this region and the threat of corsairs was so great that during the seventeenth century, most of the fish eaten in Spain was actually imported – 8.
[61] Friedman, "North African Piracy on the Coasts of Spain in the Seventeenth Century," 6-11.
[62] Schwarz, "Ransoming Practices and "Barbary Coast" Slavery," 59.
[63] Klarer, ed., *Barbary Captives*. 32.
[64] Friedman, "North African Piracy on the Coasts of Spain in the Seventeenth Century," 4.

capture in captivity narratives. The spectacle of being attacked and boarded by fearsome corsairs was not an insignificant moment for those who experienced it, and in his narrative, the Frenchmen Antoine Quartier goes into great detail about the spectacle of his capture. The ship on which Quartier was sailing was attacked by four corsair vessels, each one of which fired upon Quartier's ship, and as the pirates drew near, Quartier and his shipmates were forced to fight. Despite being wounded in the fight and having to prevent a man onboard from blowing up the ship in a desperate attempt to save himself from captivity, Quartier describes the appearance of the boarding corsairs with the most fear, if not also a bit of literary dramatism. "The opium the Turks eat before fighting makes them furious, and they go heedlessly into battle without fearing any danger, screaming like ferocious beasts to terrify the Christians."[65] Once the ship had been boarded, Quartier and the other passengers on board had little chance of resistance, and it is not difficult to imagine that most would throw down their weapons and beg for mercy in the face of such a threat as the one described in Quartier's narrative.[66]

The capture of others, however, was not nearly as dramatic or harrowing. When the Flemish nobleman Emanuel d'Aranda was captured in 1640, it was under very different circumstances than Antoine Quartier. After two corsair vessels approached the ship he was sailing on and were within striking distance, d'Aranda and his fellow passengers begged the captain to give all the money on board to the corsairs in exchange for their freedom. The captain, however, had other ideas, and took negotiations into his own hands. "But our captain only asked whether they had good accommodation for him, whereupon the Turks

[65] Antoine Quartier, "The Religious Slave and His Adventures," in *Barbary Captives*, ed. Klarer, 169.
[66] Quartier, "The Religious Slave and His Adventures," 168-170.

immediately answered that they did. Without further ado he jumped on a boat with two or three of his shipmates, rowed to the Turkish ships, and gave himself up to his enemies."[67] After the captain gave himself up, the corsairs quickly came aboard and peacefully took everyone on board prisoner. D'Aranda's capture was unique in its relative civility, especially in comparison to Quartier's, but the event of being taken captive was clearly one that left an impression on people.[68]

European Piracy and Raiding

While North African corsairs were busy prowling the Mediterranean and Atlantic for Europeans to take captive, their Christian counterparts in the Mediterranean slavery system were busy capturing Muslims to serve as the slave labor source for southern Europe. These Christian raiders could be secular and served as military backups in wars against the Ottomans, like Balthasar Sturmer, a Prussian merchant who became a gunsmith on various European ships to make ends meet before being taken captive himself.[69] More often, though, the raiders who took Muslim captives came from religious orders. Though not as numerous as the Barbary fleets, Christian Europe boasted a number of orders who operated in the Mediterranean as holy pirates and were responsible for supplying Spain, France, Italy, Malta, and more with a captive labor force. In her article on Muslim slaves in renaissance and

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[67] Emanuel d'Aranda, "Short Story of My Unfortunate Journey, during Which I Was Captured by the Turks, of My Experiences during Slavery, and of How I regained My Freedom (by Me, Jac Emanuel de Aranda)," in *Barbary Captives*, ed. Klarer, 123.
[68] D'Aranda, "Short Story of My Unfortunate Journey," 122-124.
[69] Balthasar Sturmer, "Account of the Travels of Mister Balthasar Sturmer, Native of Marienburg in Prussia, from Dantzigk to Lisbon in Portugal, Sicily, and Many Other Places. How He Was Captured by the Turks and Moors, and Finally Released in a Wondrous Manner. Assiduously Chronicled and Described by Himself," in *Barbary Captives*, ed. Klarer, 59-61.

enlightenment Europe, Ariel Salzmann discusses the role of these Crusader holdovers in the captivity system. As the Ottoman Empire rose to power in the fifteenth century, Christian Europe responded with its go-to response to counter Muslim dominance – crusade. Although not as organized as its medieval counterpart, Europeans started to make some incursions into North Africa, such as the campaign of Afonso V of Portugal in 1452,[70] and engage the Ottomans in the Mediterranean. The conflict with the Ottoman Empire that raged throughout the sixteenth century, highlighted by the Christian naval victory at Lepanto in 1571, became a sort of holy war, and according to Salzmann, "The early modern crusade—although uncommonly known as such—legitimized both large-scale holy war and endemic holy piracy."[71] In addition, the taking of Muslim captives was not only important economically, but it was a tangible example of Christian triumph over Islam. This religious conflict, both large and small, proved very profitable for the European slave markets; Lepanto alone led to the capture of over 7,000 Muslim men. This naval crusade both fed and created the demand for captives, especially since the majority of sailors who worked in and around the armadas of the day who were not soldiers were themselves captives, and Europeans had to draw on a number of sources to satisfy their need for captive labor.[72]

Unlike their Christian counterparts, many of whom were captured on land during raids, the Muslim slaves held in Christian Europe were usually captured in battle or at sea. In his

[70] According to Salzmann, Afonso's North African campaign and others that followed led to some small territorial gains for powers like Portugal, Spain, and France in the Maghreb, the remnants of which can be seen in the modern Spanish holdings of Ceuta and Melilla in Morocco. These were some of the first attempts by Europeans to conquer territory in Africa before the nineteenth-century Scramble for Africa and the advent of European imperialism in Africa, and while the territorial gains were important, what was more important was that the sanctioning of the use of force in Africa and the ideology behind it served as the precursor for the later colonialism.
[71] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains," 394.
[72] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains," 392-395.

chapter about Muslim captivity in early modern Spain, Eloy Martin Corrales discusses some of the sources from which the Spanish took their captives. While a portion did come from raids and conquest, particularly in Morocco and Algeria where the Spanish held some territory, the primary sources were the royal galley squadrons who took captives through military victories, whether in battle or just by taking a ship and imprisoning its crew. Private corsairs also provided a source of captive labor for Spain, and the rest were captured by Spanish defensive forces, whose purpose was to defend the coastline from attack both on land and at sea, and this defense sometimes resulted in the capture of slaves. The seventeenth century saw a surge in coastal captures as more seaside towns began to have their own galleys. Prior to the expulsion of the Moriscos in the early seventeenth century, these crypto-Muslims were also sometimes taken captive and forced into labor in Spain. By the seventeenth century, the raids from Spain's North African holdings had subsided and the main source of captives became royal corsairs, who began to seize more ships off the Spanish coast. This continued into the eighteenth century, when the new Spanish Bourbon government implemented new naval policies that increased the capture of specifically Maghrebi corsairs through an increase in privateering licenses and an expansion of the royal fleet. While many of these captives remained in Spain, many others were sold east to the lucrative slave markets in Italy and Malta, the former of which was considered by many to be the center of the European slave trade.[73]

Muslims slaves were held throughout the Italian Peninsula during the early modern period, and like in Spain, seaborne capture was their main source of captives. Slaving

[73] Corrales and López-Morillas, *Muslims in Spain, 1492-1814,.* 77-83.

operations and markets in places such as Genoa, Sicily, and Livorno helped provide Italy with a steady stream of captives that led to some of the highest concentrations of Muslim slaves in the Mediterranean. In the early seventeenth century, one out of every twelve residents of Livorno was a captive.[74] Further south, Naples had a slave population of close to 20,000 at the end of the sixteenth century.[75] Justine Walden highlights the sizeable Muslim slave population in Rome and its port, Civitavecchia, throughout the early modern period. Muslim slaves were ubiquitous in Rome as early as the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, most of whom were the result of military campaigns; even before Lepanto, which resulted in the incorporation of 1,200 Muslim slaves into the Roman navy, Christian armies had brought thousands of Muslim captives back to cities like Rome. At this time, prisoners of war made up the bulk of slaves in Italy, and prisoners of war became such an important labor source that Christian soldiers were sometimes promised rewards for capturing Muslims in battle. Muslim slaves in Rome had also arrived as gifts from other Italian states and Malta. After Lepanto, however, the focus of Europe's navies turned away from Ottoman Turkey and towards North Africa, which led to another source of captives. Especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, European slave markets were supplied by the 'holy privateers', or Europe's knightly orders, whose operations made up another front in the struggle against the North African pirate republics.[76]

In addition to military victories, the ongoing holy piracy served as another form of Christian resistance against the threat of Islam while providing Europe with a steady stream

[74] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains," 392.
[75] Thomas, "Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta," 172.
[76] Walden, "Muslim Slaves in Early Modern Rome," 298-308.

of Muslim captives. Orders such as the Knights of St. Stephen, the Knights of St. John, and the Knights of Malta, were Christian Europe's slavers in the Mediterranean, and these groups relied on the system just as much as it relied on them. These orders fed the demand in Europe for slaves to work on galleys, to be laborers, and to work domestically, and the demand was always there, especially for galley slaves, who were forbidden from marriage and who died rather frequently due to the deplorable conditions on their ships. New slaves were constantly needed to replace those that had died before them. The knightly orders were only too happy to fill that demand and did so through capturing ships and taking prisoners of war, along with a few raids along the Maghrebi coast.[77] Their role as supplier was often handsomely rewarded, so much so that for many of these orders, the ransom and sale of Muslim slaves constituted their main source of income.

The unique status of these knightly orders outside of the typical governmental jurisdiction of the era gave them a little extra freedom to operate, but it could also make them a little more susceptible to capture as it put a target on their backs. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, as Sultan Ahmed I began to lose his grip on his North African holdings, he gave Henry IV of France permission to engage the Maghreb directly in the hopes of securing the ransom of French captives and a subsequent treaty, which was signed in 1604 with Tunis. While it did secure the freedom of many of the French captives, it did not include French members of the Knights of Malta, who were still being held two years later with ransoms so high that the French consul would not pay them.[78] These knights, then, were involved in every aspect of the captivity process, as both slavers and slaves, and were even

[77] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains," 393.
[78] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 14.

involved with the administration of slavery on land. According to Thomas, during the construction of the royal palace of Caserta outside of Naples in the 1750s, the overseer of the Muslim slaves who built the palace was a knight of the Order of Saint Stephen.[79] Like their North African counterparts, the example of the knightly orders shows some of the fragility of the Mediterranean slavery system, as the distinction between capturer and captive could be changed in an instant. There are many records of corsair captains captured and held in Europe just as there are myriad examples of Christian knights and soldiers ending up in captivity in North Africa. The experiences of these men underscore the tenuous position occupied by the captors on both sides and give a glimpse of the life of a captive in the early modern Mediterranean.

The life of a captive in the early modern Mediterranean was not easy, but fortunately, many of the experiences of these individuals were recorded after their return to their homelands. The stories penned by redeemed captives came to be known as captivity narratives, and the captivity narratives of the Mediterranean mark the beginning of the historiography on early modern Mediterranean slavery. Through these narratives and related sources, the experiences of captives in North Africa and Europe can be compared to show the ways the two captivities were interrelated, and how the experiences of captivity compared between Europe and North Africa.

[79] Thomas refers to the order by its original Italian name, the Order of Santo Stefano.

Chapter 2 – Captivity Narratives:

The Experience of Mediterranean Captivity in the Words of the Captives

In the spring of 1678, Joseph Pitts set sail on the *Speedwell* out of Topsham on England's southwestern coast on a voyage bound for Newfoundland, Bilbao, and the Canary Islands. Pitts and his crewmates made it to Newfoundland without incident, but as they approached the Spanish coast, they were set upon by an Algerian ship captained by a renegade Dutchman and taken as captives back to Algiers. There, he lived in bondage as a Christian until his second owner violently forced him to convert to Islam. Pitts spent the rest of his time in North Africa as a Muslim and even made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and kept living with his master, despite now being free as a result of his conversion. All the while maintaining his internal fealty to Christianity, Pitts eventually escaped, separating from his Algerian shipmates in Smyrna and then sailing for Livorno,[80] and from there he traveled on foot through Germany and the Dutch Republic before finally sailing back to England in 1694 after over fifteen years of captivity. In 1704, Pitts' account was published as *A True and Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammetans, with an Account of the Author's Being Taken Captive*. This account was written not only to provide his audience with a detailed description of life in North Africa as both a captive and a free man, but also an apology and a confession for his conversion, which he attempts to make up for by portraying it as performed solely out of self-preservation. In the end, Pitts promotes the triumph of English ideals and religious conviction over the draw of Algiers and Islam, and completes his literary penance by lauding, "…the wonderful goodness of the Lord towards me, whose

[80] Pitts refers to Livorno in his account as Leghorn, the English name for the city at the time.

blessed name I desire to glorify in the sight of all men."[81] Pitts' narrative is an archetype of the genre of captivity narratives that proliferated throughout Europe in the early modern period, and exemplifies the accounts that fed the appetites of those seeking adventure, descriptions of life across the Mediterranean, and those looking for another tool in their fight against Islam.[82]

The story of early modern Mediterranean captivity is one with many chapters, and they begin with the captivity narratives, accounts published by returned captives of their experiences in North Africa. In the sixteenth century, Europeans who survived Barbary captivity and made it back to their homes began to write down their stories and publish them, feeding the steadily growing demand for tales of exotic adventure and information on the Maghreb. This was a market that printers were eager to capitalize on; in England, there were ten works related to captivity published between 1577 and 1625.[83] Joseph Pitts' narrative itself went through four editions of publication by 1738.[84] Narratives were also popular in the rest of Europe, and surviving narratives exist in languages such as German, Spanish, Icelandic, Dutch, French, Swedish, and Italian, in addition to English.[85] Across the continent, captivity narratives shared many themes and tones, although they were written from a variety of perspectives and to serve a variety of purposes. Authors used their accounts to appeal to

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[81] Joseph Pitts, "A True and Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammetans. In Which is a Particular Relation of Their Pilgrimage to Mecca, the Place of Mohammet's Birth, and a Description of Medina and of His Tomb There. As Likewise of Algier and the country adjacent: and of Alexandria, Grand Cairo, etc. With an Account of the Author's Being Taken Captive, the Turks' Cruelty to Him, and of His Escape. In Which Are Many Things Never Published by Any Historian Before," in *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*, ed. Daniel Vitkus (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 339.
[82] Pitts, "A True and Faithful Account," 39, 218-340.
[83] Matar, "English Accounts of Captivity," 553.
[84] Pitts, "A True and Faithful Account," 218.
[85] Klarer, ed., *Barbary Captives*, vii-viii.

monarchs for financial assistance for themselves or for fellow captives still in bondage. Similar to the way printers seized on the market, captivity narratives were also promising sites of indoctrination for religious orders and governments, who saw in the captivity narrative genre a means of communicating their ideas and agendas to a wide audience. All of these factors made captivity narratives both a popular and powerful genre in early modern Europe, and they also served as the genesis for the historiography of early modern Mediterranean captivity.

Many captivity narratives were written with an eye on personal gain, usually in terms of financial stability. This was often the primary concern for returning captives, whose absences could last for a number of years and leave them with no stable job or income to return to. To that end, captivity narratives often served in part as a tribute to those who had assisted the captive. In the case of Joseph Pitts, he acknowledges the assistance Sir William Falkener, who sent Pitts enough money to get him out of prison in Colchester and back home. Pitts pays homage to Falkener in his account and in real life, and writes that, "When I came from Colchester to London, I made it my business, as in duty bound, to go and pay my thanks to that honorable gentleman [Falkener] from whom I received fresh kindness."[86] Without the aid from Falkener, Pitts would have had no way to free himself and return to Exeter, and so in a similar vein to the way he honors God in his account, Sir William Falkener receives an appreciative nod for his role in helping Pitts get home.

For Antoine Quartier, a French Catholic who was a captive in Tripoli from 1660 to 1668, his benefactors were his family. On his return to France, he went back to his hometown to

[86] Pitts, "A True and Faithful Account," 339.

visit his parents, who, along with an uncle of Quartier, seem to have been responsible for securing his ransom and return. Quartier writes, "After having thanked [his parents] and acknowledged my debt to them for securing my liberty, I went to Paris to give thanks to one of my uncles to whom I was even more indebted…"[87] Even though it is his own family responsible for his salvation, Quartier still feels enough of a debt to them that he makes mention of his visit in his account. Quartier also apparently felt some debt to the Mercedarians, as he joined their ranks upon his return to France and appeals to his readers on their behalf.[88]

In many of the English accounts, personal financial appeals were specifically directed towards the crown and the royal court and reinforced returned captives' loyalty to their homeland. During the Elizabethan era, the Queen and her representatives were very involved in establishing diplomatic ties with Islamic states, which meant that it was easier for her to ransom her subjects from Barbary captivity, which she did with some frequency.[89] It is no surprise, then, that Elizabethan captivity narratives often contain a note of gratitude for the Queen and her court for their help in the captive's redemption or subsequent support after captives had returned to England. John Fox's account, which is narrated by an unknown third person, describes the escape of Fox and 266 other European captives from Alexandria, Egypt, in 1577. The account describes how Fox and his fellow captives broke out of their prison and stole a galley which they sailed out of the harbor under cannon fire, which the author largely

[87] Quartier, "The Religious Slave and His Adventures," 183.
[88] Quartier, "The Religious Slave and His Adventures," 184.
[89] Matar, "English Accounts of Captivity," 560.

attributes to divine intervention, eventually arriving to safety in the Greek Isles. His return to England in 1579 is described as follows:

> "Who being come into England, went unto the court and showed all his travel unto the council, who considering the state of this man, in that he had spent and lost a great part of his youth in thralldom and bondage, extended to him their liberality to help to maintain him now in age, to their right honor and to the encouragement of all true-hearted Christians."[90]

While lacking direct references to the Queen herself, Fox's account shows appreciation to the benevolence of her court and council in helping support him on his return to England, and in turn, shows readers how good and fair their Queen is in the defense and support of her subjects.[91]

This appreciation for the Queen's help is also shown in the account of Thomas Sanders, whose account of his year of captivity in Tripoli as a galley slave was published in the late sixteenth century. Sanders does refer to Elizabeth directly, and ends his account by giving his thanks to the "gracious Queene, for the great care her Majestie had ouer us, her poore Subiects, in seeking and procuring of our deliverance aforesaide: and also for her honorable priuie Counsell…"[92] The role that Elizabeth played as a benevolent monarch ransoming English captives meant that most English accounts written during her reign were more focused on promoting English and Christian values than campaigning against Islam or and

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[90] John Fox, "The worthy enterprise of John Fox, an Englishman, in delivering 266 Christians out of the captivity of the Turks at Alexandria, the third of January 1577," in *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption*, ed. Vitkus, 67.
[91] Fox, "The worthy enterprise of John Fox," 55-67.
[92] Matar, "English Accounts of Captivity," 559.

Muslim state, with whom the English were on relatively good terms at the time. This changed when James I came to the throne, however, and English foreign policy shifted away from diplomacy and towards privateering against North African corsairs. The monarchical change led to a shift in ransom policy, as the decline in diplomatic relations led to more targeting of English ships by corsairs and consequently more English captives, and also a shift in the tone of English narratives, which now began to focus more on combatting the threat of Islam and raising awareness of the plight of English captives than paying tribute to its ruler.[93]

Jacobean English narratives displayed some negative attitudes towards Islam, but also attempted to enlighten readers about English captives in North Africa as well. As English foreign policy changed under James I and the English became less friendly with the North African states, even sometimes attacking their ships, the corsairs retaliated, leading to an increase in the number of English captives in North Africa. James was not as involved as Elizabeth in the ransoming of captives, and so the two main themes of Jacobean captivity narratives were to denounce Islam while increasing public awareness for the cause of those in captivity. In 1608, the account of John Fox's escape was repurposed by Anthony Munday, an English writer who changed the name and shifted the focus away from the royal assistance that had been so prevalent in the original, and instead highlighted the role of the sailors.[94]

The humble sailors are also the focus of the account of John Rawlins, who was a captive in Algiers from 1621 to 1622. He opens his account with a dedication to the Lord High

[93] Matar, "English Accounts of Captivity," 560.
[94] Matar, "English Accounts of Captivity," 562.

Admiral of England, George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham, whom he implores to take notice of the plight of his fellow sailors who are still captives. This dedication the Admiral rather than the King is a clear attempt to get the royal government to take notice of the captive issue, as Buckingham was the one who oversaw English maritime operations, while also showing the bravery and loyalty of those men who had been taken captive and resisted the allure of Islam. The rest of Rawlins' account, which is full of religious references and homage to God, portrays the escaping captives as the heroes at the expense of the cruel Turks and Moors, whom Rawlins and his companions must kill in order to escape. Rawlins writes his account in the third person, which is common among the genre, and seems to relish his description of this slaughter of the North Africans, which he justifies by invoking, "…the extreme cruelty of the Turks in general, the fearful proceedings of [Algiers][95] against us in particular, the horrible abuses of the Moors to Christians, and the execrable blasphemies they use both against God and men."[96]

In his 1675 account of his five years of captivity in Algiers, William Okeley takes an even harsher position towards Islam, describing the Prophet Muhammad himself as "the greatest imposter that ever seduced the nations, but one,"[97] and a "religious thief."[98] The

[95] In the original text, Rawlins uses the term 'Argier' which was one early modern spelling for the city of Algiers.
[96] John Rawlins, "The Famous and Wonderful Recovery of a Ship of Bristol, called the Exchange, from the Turkish Pirates of Argier, with the Unmatchable Attempts and Good Success of John Rawlins, Pilot in Her, and Other Slaves; Who, in the End, with the Slaughter of About Forty of the Turks and Moors, Brought the Ship into Plymouth, the 13th of February Last, with the Captain a Renegado and Five Turks More; Besides the Redemption of Twenty-Four Men and One Boy from Turkish Slavery," in *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption*, ed. Vitkus, 117.
[97] While "the greatest imposter" seems to refer to Muhammad, Vitkus presumes that "but one" is Okeley referring to Satan.
[98] William Okeley, "Ebenezer; or, A Small Monument of Great Mercy, Appearing in the Miraculous Deliverance of William Okeley, John Anthony, William Adams, John Jephs, John --, Carpenter, from the Miserable Slavery of Algiers with the Wonderful Means of Their Escape in a Boat of Canvas; the Great Distress and Utmost Extremities Which They Endured at Sea for Six Days and Nights; [and] Their Safe Arrival at Mayork, with

historian Fernand Braudel asserted that at times, early modern European governments would encourage captives to write especially anti-Islamic captivity narratives in order to promote European and Christian values and cast doubt on the allure of the Maghreb that was drawing so many Europeans with its promise of riches, especially those who might have something to escape from back home.[99] While there is scant evidence for this,[100] it is clear that many accounts were written with a distinct anti-Islamic tone, often in juxtaposition of the triumph of Christianity and European bravery and courage, in this case specifically English. This tone was not unique to English narratives, and other European narratives also mirror this motivation and tone in their accounts.

Across Europe, authors of captivity narratives used their writing as a piece of propaganda in the fight against Islam. Throughout the early modern period, the centuries-old struggle between Christianity and Islam was waged by proxy through the captivity system, and many captives who returned from Barbary bondage used their accounts to advocate for the benefits of Christianity and the evils of Islam. Sometimes this advocacy came in the form of an outright call to arms; in the early seventeenth century, a French member of the Knights of Malta named Guillaume Foucques wrote down his experience as a captive in Tunis, and his account was largely made up of military intelligence that accompanied a call for a French attack on the Tunisian fleet. Foucques' account was also strongly anti-Islamic, and in calling

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Several Matters of Remark During Their Long Captivity and the Following Providences of God Which Brought Them Safe to England," in *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption,* ed. Vitkus, 141, 149.

[99] Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, tome II (Paris : Librarie Armand Colin, 1949) 611-613 – According to Braudel, not only was Islam a financial draw to those looking to join corsair fleets, but also soldiers stationed at European military outposts in North Africa, for whom Islam represented an escape from their debts and a chance at a better life – "La vie des presides ne pouvait être que miserable…Pour ne pas régler leurs dettes insoutenables, des soldats désertent et passent à l'Islam."

[100] Matar "English Accounts of Captivity," – the main argument of this article consists of Matar refuting this claim of Braudel through the medium of English captivity narratives.

for military intervention in North Africa, referring to the Tunisians as "pagans and infidels" against whom the French should seek vengeance.[101] The account of the Spaniard Antonio de Sosa is also written with an eye on potential diplomatic or military intervention in North Africa. His 1612 account of an escape attempt of his fellow Christian captives from Algiers, led by Miguel de Cervantes,[102] is written in the third person with a focus on the geography and of the area as much as the experiences of the captives.[103] In his narrative, Antoine Quartier casts a suspicious eye on the practices of Islam, and focuses specifically on criticizing European converts to Islam, whose allure he cannot deny. Quartier describes the harsh treatment of Christian slaves by Muslim masters, for whom, "The stick and the whip are their only forms of instruction. These infidels do not take illness, weakness, and helplessness into account."[104] To Quartier, a devout Catholic, converts to Islam are much worse, and describes these renegades in scathing detail:

> "The renegades, above all, glory in perverting the Christians…This is why they spare no violence, cruelty, and mercy…to force [the Christians] to follow the teachings of the Quran.

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[101] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 14.

[102] The escape attempt recounted by de Sosa in this narrative was only one of multiple attempts by Miguel de Cervantes (of *Don Quixote* fame), who was eventually ransomed. During his time as a captive in Algiers, de Cervantes was reportedly such a nuisance to the dey of Algiers, who at the time was a Venetian renegade named Hassan Pasha, that the dey bought him from his former master for a large sum of money and locked him in a cell for many days, and according to de Sosa, said after that, "…his Christians, his ships, and indeed the whole city were safe because he kept that wretched Christian under heavy guard." Klarer, *Barbary Captives*, 97. (Antonio de Sosa)

[103] Antonio de Sosa, ""Second Dialogue of the Martyrs," in Topography and General History of Algiers, Divided Among Five Books, Which Will Exhibit Strange Cases, Horrific Deaths, and Extraordinary Tortures that Christianity Needs to Understand: With Copious Doctrine and Curious Elegance," in *Barbary Captives*, ed. Klarer, 92-98.

[104] Quartier, "The Religious Slave and His Adventures," 165.

These infidels are both the judges and the persecutors of captives who resist them and they never tire of making them suffer."[105]

In his descriptions of Tripoli, Quartier pays the locals no compliment, writing that all of the labor is done by captives since the Muslims are lazy and live in an "idle and effeminate way." He once again takes particular issue with the renegades and describes them as dishonest thieves who mock the Quran and despise their Arab coreligionists. Quartier's especially vicious tone towards these converts, and his unkind descriptions of Islam in general, can likely be attributed to two factors: his devotion to Catholicism and anger towards those who have left his precious faith behind in exchange for one which has done so much harm against his fellow Christians. The former was a constant throughout his life, as evidenced by his joining the Mercedarian Order, who had helped ransom him, upon his return to France. The latter is understandable, given the draws of conversion, as Quartier himself admits in his foreword, but may also be influenced by the Frenchman's distaste for all other religions. In his description of the layout and economic operations of Tripoli, he mentions the city's Jewish community in a similar vein, saying, "The Jews…live alone at this end of the city as infamous and despicable people."[106]

Captivity narratives were not always completely truthful accounts, and some narratives were written to accentuate the adventures of the author. The genre was usually intended to provide information about Christian slavery in North Africa, as well as the cultures and people who inhabited the region, and usually did so with a certain motivation in mind.

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[105] Quartier, "The Religious Slave and His Adventures," 165.
[106] Quartier, "The Religious Slave and His Adventures," 172-173.

Among these motivations, though, truth was not always the primary one, and some accounts have embellished some of the realities of their captivity. Captivity narratives served as an important source of information about the experiences of captives for Europeans, but importantly, they were also a popular source of entertainment. Mario Klarer writes that, "For Europeans in the early modern period, these eyewitness reports represented one of the most important sources on Islam in general and North Africa in particular, while at the same time quenching their readers' thirst for gripping plots in exotic settings."[107] As a result, captives who returned home and wrote down their experiences did so in order to inform their compatriots but also to entertain them, and according to Klarer, there are even examples of published accounts that claim to be authentic narratives that are entirely plagiarized from parts of other narratives, like that of Maria Martin in 1807.[108]

The altering of accounts was not always done by their authors, as in the case of Emmanuel d'Aranda, a Flemish nobleman who spent two years in captivity in Algiers.[109] The original handwritten manuscript of d'Aranda's account has been found, and the versions published at the time in a number of languages contain scenes relating to d'Aranda's experience that are nowhere to be found in the manuscript, which "documents the author's original intentions, before publishers, editors, or translators could alter the narrative for their specific marketing purposes."[110] The rewriting of the John Fox account by Anthony Munday was also done in part to cater to an audience eager for tales of swashbuckling adventure and daring escapes.

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[107] Klarer, ed., *Barbary Captives*, 41.
[108] Klarer, ed., *Barbary Captives*, 41.
[109] Klarer, ed., *Barbary Captives*, 117.
[110] Klarer, ed., *Barbary Captives*, 119.

Some of these literary fabrications translate into statistical ones as well. In the words of J.S. Bromley, "We may have exaggerated, for instance, both the numbers and the relative hardships of their [North African] prisoners."[111] The number of accounts meant that information in one might be contradicted or corrected in another; Joseph Pitts was intent on providing as much factual information as he could and even corrected some previous errors published in captivity narratives. Pitts clearly felt the need to assure his readers of his factuality due to all of the contrasting narratives; in the words of Daniel Vitkus, "Pitts strongly, even anxiously, asserts the truth value of his account," which can be seen in his description of his account as both "true and faithful" in its title.[112]

Titles were also used to promote the highlights of accounts and entice readers, as seen with the title of a 1558 German account by Balthasar Sturmer, which was called *Account of the Travels of Mister Balthasar Sturmer, Native of Marienburg in Prussia, from Dantzigk to Lisbon in Portugal, Sicily, and Many Other Places. How He Was Captured by the Turks and Moors, and Finally Released in a Wondrous Manner. Assiduously Chronicled and Described by Himself*. Sturmer's title speaks to not only his desire to sell audiences on what he advertises as an action-packed account, but also goes to great lengths to try and prove its validity, not least through the copious amounts of punctuation he includes in the title.[113]

Embellishments and fabrications were implemented in captivity narratives to serve a literary purpose and enhance the narrative aspect of these accounts. This led captivity narratives to hold a unique place in literary history, as both a precursor to the modern novel

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[111] Matar, *British Captives from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic,* 28.
[112] Vitkus, ed., *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption*, 218-219.
[113] Klarer, ed., *Barbary Captives*, 56.

and the beginning of the historiography of Barbary captivity. Their most important role at the time, however, was still as a source of information about North Africa.

For the vast majority of Europeans, captivity narratives were their only source of information on North Africa, and this made them central to the development of the history of Mediterranean slavery. The early modern European conception of the realities of Islam and life in North Africa was made up of what could be learned from captivity narratives, and so despite the personal agendas, anti-Islamic tones, and occasional artistic license, captivity narratives on the whole gave a largely factual representation of life in the Maghreb. Interestingly, this sometimes led to narratives that praised North Africa and their Muslim captors rather than denouncing them. Many narratives speak favorably about the behavior and piousness of North Africans, such as Hark Olufs, a Danish captive in Algeria. Olufs spent eleven years in the city of Constantine, and eventually gained his freedom and rose to the rank of supreme commander in the bey of Constantine's army. Olufs writes in his narrative that, "…one can find as much honesty among the Turks as among us Christians. They are fervent in their false religion, and one would be hard pressed to find anyone who acts deliberately against what they consider to be the duties of a Muhammadan."[114] Not only did Olufs write kindly about the behavior of Muslims, but he also adopted some of their customs, converting to Islam during his time there and continuing to dress in the North African manner, which he had grown accustomed to over his decade there, back in Denmark.[115] Olufs

[114] Hark Olufs, "The Remarkable Adventures of Hark Olufs, Born on the Island of Amrum in the Diocese of Ripen, Jütland; Peculiar Adventures , Which He Experienced Particularly in Constantine and Other Places in Africa. Printed in Danish on Account of their Remarkable Nature, and Now Translated Into German," in *Barbary Captives*, ed. Klarer, 238.

[115] Olufs' difficulty in reassimilating in Denmark is known due to other surviving documents which attest to his wearing of North African clothes after his return home (Klarer, ed., *Barbary Captives*, 234) as well as his own

was far from the only captive who converted and adopted Muslim customs; Joseph Pitts also converted to Islam, and despite his insistence throughout his narrative that it was but a façade, he undertook the *hajj*, a holy pilgrimage to Mecca.[116] Pitts' compatriot, Richard Hasleton does not denounce Islam so much as he does Catholicism, having been a captive both in Catholic Spain and Muslim Algeria from 1582 to 1593. In his account, published in 1595, Hasleton's treatment by the Spanish seems to be much worse than that suffered by the Algerians, and in fact, he escaped Spain to Algeria in order to be ransomed back to England.[117]

This trend among Protestant captives was also common in Huguenot narratives, such as the one written by Isaac Brassard, who was a captive in Algiers from 1687 to 1688. While in captivity, Brassard faced pressure from both Algerian and French officials to convert to Islam and Catholicism respectively in order to have a chance at freedom, more so even from the priests in Algiers, but he remained steadfast in his Protestantism. This decision even seems to have saved his life at one point, when a French attack on the city led to the basha killing many of the French Catholic captives in Algiers.[118] Protestants like Hasleton and Brassard were not only theologically opposed to Islam but also Catholicism, especially Huguenots, who were sometimes sent to the French galleys as punishment after the 1685 revocation of the Edict of Nantes; men like Brassard then often chose "irons in Algiers or Tunis over "hard

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narrative; "I brough rare clothes, furnishings, and ready money with me, all of which I had taken from Turkey with my master's knowledge." – Olufs, "The Remarkable Adventures of Hark Olufs," 253.

[116] Pitts, "A True and Faithful Account," 277 – Pitts spells the word now commonly spelled as *hajj* as 'hagge'.

[117] Richard Hasleton, "Strange and Wonderful Things Happened to Richard Hasleton, Born at Braintree in Essex, in His Ten Years' Travails in Many Foreign Countries. Penned as He Delivered It from His Own Mouth," in *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption*, ed. Vitkus, 73-95.

[118] Isaac Brassard, "The Tale of Mr. Brassard's Captivity in Algiers," in *Barbary Captives*, ed. Klarer, 201-209.

slavery" in France."[119] From both a religious and cultural standpoint, then, captivity narratives were not always entirely critical of their captors, and while more an exception to the rule of the genre than the norm, these examples hint at a more understanding side of the Mediterranean captivity system that is often overlooked.

The genre of European captivity narratives and the published accounts that have survived to the present day constitute an amazing source on what life was like in early modern North Africa and remain as important of a source today as they were centuries ago. Unfortunately, the myriad European sources do not have a Muslim counterpart, and there are comparatively very few primary sources about the experiences of Muslim slaves in Europe. In the words of Hind Loukili, "If the European accounts of captivity are so numerous that they form a literary genre themselves, the Arab-Muslim library suffers from a real lack of texts in Arabic relating to Muslim captivity on Christian soil."[120] Ellen Friedman attributes this lack to the combination of a lower literacy rate among Muslim slaves and a lower chance of their manumission, so even if a captive was literate, they very rarely were able to get home and write down their experiences. However, largely based on European sources from the time, there is scholarship on the experiences of Muslim slaves in Europe, and through this scholarship, it is possible to draw some comparisons between Christian captivity in North Africa and Muslim slavery in Europe.

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[119] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 80.

[120] Hind Loukili, "D'une captivité musulmane à l'autre : un lettré au XVIe siècle et une *hâjja* XVIIIe siècle," in *Captifs en Méditerranée (XVI-XVIIIe siècles): histoires, récits et légendes*, ed. François Moureau (Paris : Presses de l'université Paris-Sorbonne, 2008) 39 – « Si les récits européens de captivité sont si nombreux qu'ils forment un genre littéraire en soi, la bibliothèque arabo-musulmane souffre d'un manque réel de textes en langue arabe relatant les captivités musulmanes en terre chrétienne. »

Chapter 3 – The Captivity:

Examining Similarities and Differences between European and North African Captivity

As the captivity narratives have shown, experiences of captivity could be a very mixed bag in terms of treatment, lodgings, and privileges enjoyed by each captive. While the narratives do not cover the experiences of Muslim slaves in Europe, secondary scholarship has been able to fill in some of the gaps in understanding the experiences of these captives and how they compared with the descriptions of captivity recorded in the narratives. While the historiography has often attempted to distance the two captivities, if not ignore Muslim slavery altogether, it has become clear that not only were the two related, but they had much more in common than previously thought.

Muslim Slavery in Europe

While less is known about Muslim slavery in Europe, specifically the experiences of Muslim captives from their perspectives, it is clear that in keeping with the time, this captivity was harsh and Muslim captives did not have many freedoms. According to Salzmann, when Muslims were captured, they were held as temporary prisoners until their fate was decided, with gender being the primary determining role in terms of who was assigned to what work.[121] Once sold, the only information recorded about Muslim slaves was their ethnicity, point of sale, and price.[122] If captives arrived as prisoners of war, they might

[121] According to Salzmann, women originally made up the majority of Muslim slaves in Italy, as domestic slaves were the most in demand, but as the need for galley slaves and laborers rose, the balance shifted, and men came to dominate the Italian Muslim slave population.
[122] Salzmann, “Migrants in Chains," 397-398.

be shown off in the streets of whichever city they arrived in, as was the case in Rome. After the Battle of Lepanto, four hundred of the Muslim prisoners of war were paraded in chains through the city, with some of them dressed in brightly colored costumes as a show of Christian dominance over Islam. While some ended up as domestic slaves (largely the women), they were not always better off, as many of these women also ended up as concubines. In Rome, domestic servants were not unheard of, and several Roman cardinals even owned Muslim slaves.[123] However, the majority of captives were owned by the state or crown, and so were kept in slave prisons known as *bagnios*.[124] Space in these prisons was limited, and cells measured about six feet by six feet.[125] In Rome, the Castel Sant'Angelo served as the *bagno* for Muslim slaves in the city while slaves at the port were kept in a prison on the docks. [126] In Naples, some slaves in the port were held in the arsenal while galley slaves slept on their ships. During the construction of the palace of Caserta, Muslim slaves were kept in their own slave quarters, although converts to Christianity were lodged separately (while remaining slaves).[127] Slaves in the rest of Europe were held in similar prisons, although in Spain, important prisoners – those who would fetch the highest ransom – were held in castles and palaces and were supposed to be exempt from work in order to keep them healthy.

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[123] Walden, "Muslim Slaves in Early Modern Rome," 301-308.
[124] The spelling of this term, always referring to the early modern slave prisons found on both sides of the Mediterranean, changes based on the language and geographic focus of the source, so the spelling will vary depending on the source being used; it will also be referred to as a *bagno* (also Italian), a *baño* (Spanish), and a *bagne* (French).
[125] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains," 401.
[126] Walden, "Muslim Slaves in Early Modern Rome," 313.
[127] Thomas, "Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta," 173, 179.

This confinement did not mean that slaves had no freedoms, however, and in Spain they interacted with Christian society to various degrees based on status and owners.[128] In Rome, slaves in the port were allowed to run little shops called *barrache* and taverns called *darsene*, where they could buy and sell goods and even make a little money. Slaves in Italy were also sometimes paid a small wage for their work, even though the sums were extremely small. Their quarters were usually quite cramped, and these small freedoms did little to mitigate the plight of these slaves, but their general treatment was more closely linked to the work that they did, which was important in determining their fate as slaves.[129]

Of all the assignments a Muslim slave could get, galley slavery was by far the most brutal and the most dangerous. Conditions on all Mediterranean galleys seem to have been equally backbreaking, and their rise in the Mediterranean and the associated rise in Muslim slavery is referred to by Salzmann as the Mediterranean "Galley Complex."[130] The advent of galleys shifted the demand in slaves from women to men, as the latter were needed on the oars of Europe's navies and merchant ships. These slaves spent their days chained to benches with very little space as well as inadequate food and water, and at night, most galley slaves slept on their ships. These tight quarters also made the spread of disease commonplace. In the summer, conditions were especially bad due to the elevated temperatures on ships, and large numbers of slaves died from disease; from 1720 to 1721, the plague killed a fifth of the entire rowing force of France. The backbreaking work of rowing for hours on end while exhausted and malnourished also meant the lifespan of galley slaves was shorter than for other slaves,

[128] Corrales and López-Morillas, *Muslims in Spain, 1492-1814,* 84.
[129] Walden, "Muslim Slaves in Early Modern Rome," 313-315.
[130] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains," 397-398.

and since galley slaves were not permitted to marry, they were constantly being replaced by new slaves.[131] The work of a Muslim galley slave was brutal and usually reserved for the slaves deemed the least trustworthy by their owners.[132] Slaves were sometimes punished on top of their labor, and galley overseers were not afraid to use violence to keep order and keep slaves working.[133]

Violence was not always used to maintain order on galleys, however, and in many cases, integration of galleys was used to try and prevent uprisings. In her chapter, Walden discusses Roman galley slavery and the interesting interreligious mix of the galley rowers, as Muslims and Christians rowed side by side. While the demand for Muslim galley slaves was strong, it was also supplemented by Christian disciplinary systems, and so Muslim slaves shared their benches with *buonavoglie*, or debtors.[134] Although they rowed together, they remained separated ideologically, and the reasoning behind interspersing Christian prisoners amongst the Muslim slaves was actually to minimize the risk of a Muslim rebellion. Galley overseers wanted their slaves docile, and they also wanted them to stay Muslim, and were against attempts to convert them, even wanting to ban access to any information galley slaves could get about Christianity.[135] In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, galleys reserved anywhere from a fifth to a third of their benches for Muslim slaves.[136] This was also the case in Italy, where the percentage of Muslim slaves on galleys was initially kept low as a safeguard against potential mutinies.[137] Like their Christian counterparts in North Africa,

[131] Salzmann, “Migrants in Chains," 399.
[132] Thomas, “Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta,” 176.
[133] Salzmann, “Migrants in Chains," 399.
[134] Walden, “Muslim Slaves in Early Modern Rome,” 300.
[135] Salzmann, “Migrants in Chains," 400-401.
[136] Corrales and López-Morillas, *Muslims in Spain, 1492-1814, 81*.
[137] Walden, “Muslim Slaves in Early Modern Rome,” 303.

Muslim slaves in Europe were unlucky if they were assigned to the galleys, a designation that was often a death sentence. It was much more favorable for slaves to be assigned to work on shore.

Muslim slaves were also in high demand as laborers for public works and construction projects, which was the most common role for slaves in early modern Europe. Galley slaves sometimes ended up working these jobs, especially during the winter, and also further into the eighteenth century as the use of galleys in the Mediterranean declined, and therefore the need for galley slaves. Consequently, more Muslim slaves were working these jobs, and sources from across Europe record Muslim slaves working in mines and shipyards, and building roads, fortifications, public buildings, and even palaces, as was the case with Caserta. Muslim slaves were brought to Caserta after the *forzati*, or Christian prisoners sentenced to labor, escaped too often, and Muslim slaves were seen as less of a risk. Conditions at Caserta varied, as a fairly complex system developed where some of the slaves who spoke Italian served as de facto leaders and could negotiate with overseers for better hours, wages, and treatment, but in general, the work remained grueling with long hours of labor each day. Slaves were sometimes allowed to work without their chains but were also whipped if they were not working hard enough. Their jobs of quarrying stone and building the palace were dangerous, and a number of slaves died during the construction from accidents, disease, and even fights. In response to this, a hospital was set up where injured or sick slaves could go for treatment, and most deemed unfit to continue working were sent back to Naples. The association with Muslim labor was interesting, and in some cases,

structures built with free labor were seen as finer than those built with slave labor, despite the association of Muslim slaves with captive labor.[138]

The same association was seen in Rome, where Muslim slaves were put to work in all manner of public works, from the maintenance of the infrastructure of the port to rebuilding the bastion around the Vatican. Slaves in Rome were usually in chains, and like slaves across Italy, were distinguished by their clothes and hairstyles, which made them stand out and led to their association with construction. Over the centuries, the ubiquity of Muslim slaves working across Rome made them highly visible. Print sources of the time circulated images of them at labor, further cementing this association and putting them in a class on par with thieves and criminals. As on the galleys, Muslim slaves on land in Rome were also strictly segregated from working with Christian convicts, which extended to the social sphere as well. Some of these sources still attempted to romanticize Muslim slavery, but in reality, Muslim laborers were subjected to long hours of grueling labor, often while shackled. While these slaves were not treated especially well, they were usually not brutalized, and Christian owners were aware that their treatment of Muslim slaves had consequences on the other side of the Mediterranean.[139]

Regardless of their work assignment, Muslim slaves were usually organized into some sort of organized identification system. In the Italian peninsula, this system actually included Christian convicts, known in Italian as *forzati*, who were sentenced to servitude for their crimes and often worked alongside Muslim slaves on galleys and at hard labor sites. The first

[138] Thomas, "Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta," 174-179.
[139] Walden, "Muslim Slaves in Early Modern Rome," 308-321.

captive laborers at the palace of Caserta were *forzati*, but after too many escaped, the Neapolitan authorities decided to switch to Muslim slaves who did not know the terrain or the language and were thus less likely to run away. All Muslim slaves were generally referred to as *turchi*, and they were divided into two subgroups. The first were *schiavi turchi*, and these were the general Muslim slaves, distinguished by wearing their hair in a topknot. The other subgroup were the *schiavi battezati*, and these were the Muslim slaves who had converted to Christianity and were distinguished by their white outfits. Both groups were present as laborers at Caserta, but while the *battezati* may have enjoyed separate quarters and some better treatment, there was little to separate them from the *schiavi turchi* in terms of privileges and treatment; both were still subjected to long hours and hard labor.[140]

Indeed, the treatment of Muslim slaves in Europe was harsh, but it was not unchecked, as it had repercussions back in North Africa. The interconnected nature of Mediterranean slavery meant that the treatment of slaves became a factor in the everlasting religious struggle. There are many examples of captives writing to the authorities holding them or back to North Africa about their treatment in order to try and get better treatment or even secure their release. One of these examples is Yusuf of Tlemcen, who in 1644 was wrongfully detained by the Spanish on his way back to North Africa after being ransomed. Yusuf wrote to the Spanish Council of War explaining his situation and cleverly referred to the impact on Christian captives in North Africa that his continued captivity could have. He was released shortly after.[141]

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[140] Thomas, "Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta," 176-177.
[141] Hershenzon, "'[P]Ara Que Me Saque Cabesea Por Cabesa...'" 28.

Another Algerian captive in Spain, a corsair captain named Bibi Muhammad, was taken captive after his ship went down off Majorca. He wrote to both Spanish and Algerian authorities to try to secure his ransom, but also wrote home about his poor treatment, which led to the limiting of freedoms including church privileges for Majorcan captives in Algeria. Spanish friars in Algiers had to write back to the Viceroy of Majorca to secure better treatment for Muhammad and his fellow captives in order to improve the state of the Majorcans in Algeria. The Viceroy complied, making Muhammad's owners spend more on food and refusing to allow him to be sold to the galleys in the hopes that this would appease the Dey of Algiers. After long negotiations, Muhammad was eventually freed in an exchange for Spanish captives, in no small part thanks to his letters.[142]

This interconnection existed in Italy as well, where like in the case of the corsair captains in Spain, rank was an important factor in the treatment of Muslim captives; ship captains were afforded certain comforts regular captives were not in order to maximize their potential ransom. Merchants played an important role in getting letters from captives back to North Africa about their treatment, and these letters often led local rulers to leverage their captive Christian populations to European rulers to secure better treatment for their captive subjects. In Naples, for example, there was a reluctance to grant captives any privileges until the dey of Tunis threatened the Christian cemetery in Tunisia if the Neapolitan Muslim captives were not given land on which to bury their dead.[143] Christians in North Africa heard of this threat, including the French priest Jean Le Vacher, who wrote a letter to the Propaganda Fide, a religious organization in Rome, telling them that the dey of Tunis had threatened the

[142] Corrales and López-Morillas, *Muslims in Spain, 1492-1814,* 85-88.
[143] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains, " 397, 403-404.

Christian cemetery due to the poor treatment of slaves in the Roman port of Civitavecchia as well, and asked the Roman cardinals to improve the treatment of the city's Muslim slaves in order to preserve the Christian cemetery in Tunis.[144] Envoys from Tripoli also reported back on the poor treatment of Muslim captives in Naples, which led to crackdowns on Neapolitan owners who were overly cruel in an attempt to avoid retribution to the Christians in Tripoli.[145]

In the same way that consequences were felt on both sides of the Mediterranean, so too were benefits, as masters knew that all of their actions, good and bad, would have repercussions. When French captives in Tripoli were afforded special privileges by local authorities, Tripolitan galley slaves in France were given extra food by the French marine minister.[146] Some Europeans even published works embellishing the good treatment of Muslim slaves in Europe, as was the case in Rome. Descriptions of the *barrache* and the relative freedoms enjoyed by Muslims held in and around Rome were played up, constituting an interesting form of propaganda that was designed not to promote the amazing benevolence of Roman slave owners, but rather to try and ensure that North Africans did not mistreat Christian captives on the basis of the mistreatment of Muslims in Europe.[147]

These accounts promoting the good treatment of Muslim slaves in Europe were received across the Mediterranean into a very similar society. If Christian captives in North Africa had read descriptions of Muslim slaves in Europe, they would likely have resonated

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[144] "Petition on behalf of Jean Le Vacher to PF, [1655]," Early Modern Documents – University of Leiden, Vatican Docs #440. https://docs.google.com/document/d/1cCrhg4m5N5k47XeJSfGo1LnAzsT0kf54/edit#heading=h.gjdgxs.
[145] Thomas, "Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta," 175.
[146] Weiss "Ransoming "Turks" From France's Royal Galleys," 43.
[147] Walden, "Muslim Slaves in Early Modern Rome," 316.

with many of the hardships suffered by their Muslim counterparts but would likely have also recognized the increased freedoms that they enjoyed in comparison. European captivity narratives and other documents from the time help to construct a wonderfully detailed portrait of North African captivity, and while the structures of captivity and the overall experiences seem to be similar, there were a few freedoms enjoyed by Christian captives, largely religious ones, that do not seem to have been granted to their Muslim counterparts.

Christian Captivity in North Africa

When European captives first arrived in North Africa, their introduction to the region was often similar to that of Muslim slaves in Europe. While the initial capture and voyage could be traumatizing, it was when slaves were brought ashore and either claimed or sold that, in the words of Emmanuel d'Aranda, "Here, our tragedy begins."[148] Processions were also common in North Africa, and historian Robert Davis describes the pomp and circumstance associated with the arrival of new captives. Corsairs returning with captives were eager to show off their bounties not only to bring acclaim to themselves, but also to advertise their captives to anyone who might be interested in them. One captive described his arrival at port as being accompanied with banners, bells, trumpets, and cannon fire, and another captive went a step further, saying about the arrival of corsairs with especially good

[148] D'Aranda, "Short Story of My Unfortunate Journey," 125.

hauls of captives, "If it is a very rich Prize indeed, he spares no Powder, but fires perpetually, even before he can be seen or heard from Algiers."[149]

After they disembarked, captives were usually brought to the palace of a wealthy slaver or a government official,[150] where they would be given some time to acclimatize to their new surroundings. The first pick for new slaves in any city went to the ruling pasha, and the captives he chose often ended up as galley slaves in his fleets. If they were skilled workers or individuals of rank, however, they might be chosen in order to bring in a higher ransom or to fill a position of need in the city, such as a surgeon or carpenter. The majority of the captives chosen by the pasha were put in one of the pasha's *bagnios*, and were not regularly ransomed, making this one of the worst assignments for a captive. This was particularly bad for captives in Morocco, where the local sultans were known for their violence and erratic behavior, as well as a preference for exchanges over ransoms which made it especially hard for captives in Morocco to return home.[151] A Swedish captive named Marcus Berg, who was a captive in Morocco from 1754 to 1756, described the behavior of one such sultan: "It would be futile to describe the cruel treatment of both Christians and Moors by the emperor when he gets angry, which often occurs without the slightest reason, and then his wrath can only be appeased by bloodshed or by tormenting and abusing all those

[149] Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 55.
[150] Davis notes that in Algiers, these two individuals could often be the same man.
[151] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 19.

involved."[152] Some of the pasha's slaves were also put into the public city *bagnios*, where captives could belong to many masters.[153]

After the selection process where captives were chosen for these *bagnios*, they had their heads shaved in an attempt to strip away some of their identity. Other public organizations were also granted some pick of the captives, and then those remaining were taken to the market to be sold. The experience of being sold was often quite a shock, and potential buyers spared no effort in checking for potential signs of labor skills or a noble or wealthy background. Especially for artisans, who usually could not afford a ransom, concealing their skills could be the difference in returning home, as owners were very unlikely to ransom or sell a skilled worker. After a price was more or less agreed upon in the main slave market, captives were taken to the palace to finalize deals. Once again at this stage, the pasha could select a few captives for himself, and the remaining captives were sold by auction and turned over to their new masters. This was an important step in the life of a captive, since who one's master was and what work they had one do could decide a captive's fate.[154]

Living conditions for Christian captives in North Africa were similar to those of Muslims in Europe, but the former enjoyed more freedoms in their daily lives. Christian captives were also largely kept in *bagnios* like their Muslim counterparts, and North African cities boasted a variety of *bagnios* in which captives would be placed depending on their

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[152] Marcus Berg, "Description of the Barbaric Slavery in the Empire of Fez and Morocco, Briefly Authored by Marcus Berg, Who, Along with Many Other Christians, Suffered the Same for Two Years and Seven Days, and Thenceforth Was Released Together with Eight Other Swedes on August 30, 1756. Under the Benevolent Reign of Our Most Gracious King, King Adolf Friedrichs," in *Barbary Captives*, ed. Klarer, 287.
[153] Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters,* 59.
[154] Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters,* 54-65.

owner and work. According to Ellen Friedman, state-owned *baños* were not implemented in Algiers until the second half of the sixteenth century, but once they were, almost all captives were kept in one. These included the *baño grande del rey*, the Spanish term for the private *baños* of local rulers like pashas, which were reserved for the captives of the ruler, captives expected to soon be ransomed, and the captives of other owners who could afford the fee required to house their captives there. There were usually somewhere between 1,500 and 2,000 captives in this *baño* at one time. Another government prison, known as the *baño de la bastarda*, held around 500 captives who were usually used as either galley slaves or laborers for public works projects. Even captives of individual owners were largely kept in *baños*, especially owners who had large numbers of captives, like corsair captains. It was a common practice for a few or even many owners to share a *baño*, and some owners even had smaller versions in their homes for only their captives. In Algiers, Emmanuel d'Aranda was kept in the *bagnio* of a galley general named Alli Pegelin, whose *bagnio* housed his 550 Christian captives, and d'Aranda writes that Pegelin also kept a number of captives in his home.[155]

Similar to their European counterparts, North African *baños* were laid out with small cells equipped with chains and shackles where captives were kept ringing a larger central area. While most *baños* had a relatively free atmosphere, some were much more crowded than others and conditions ranged; the *baño* of the dey of Tunis was underground and received little sunlight, and its roughly 600 inhabitants lived in cramped quarters.[156] D'Aranda attests to how congested *baños* were for sleeping, saying, "As there are so many

[155] D'Aranda, "Short Story of My Unfortunate Journey," 127.
[156] Friedman, "The Exercise of Religion by Spanish Captives in North Africa," 21-29.

people and there is so little space…the people all sleep crowded together…what troubled us the most was that the whole floor was covered with people at night."[157]

This was not always the case, however, and in most *baños*, the large central area was a recreational space for captives in the *baño* and captives who lived elsewhere – as well as other inhabitants of the city – to gather. Taverns, churches, hospitals, and pharmacies were all common fixtures in North African *baños*. D'Aranda describes his first time in a *bagnio* and his first impressions of the taverns; "Upon entering [the *bagnio*], one came immediately…into a spacious vault that received light through bars from above, but so little that lamps were necessary even in the afternoon. In this vault, there were as many as twenty taverns owned by Christian slaves. Most of the Turks come here to drink."[158] The *baño* taverns were an important point of contact between Christians and Muslims, as the latter frequented them despite the Muslim ban on alcohol, and they were also an opportunity for captives to make some money and have some semblance of independence. According to d'Aranda, captives had very few avenues to make a living, and aside from trading and stealing, owning or working in a tavern was just about the only way for captives to do so.[159] Independence for captives in *baños* was often based on a captive's value; owners did not want a captive who might bring them a handsome ransom to run away, so they were more closely watched. Most slaves in the *baño* had to remain there when not working, although less valuable captives had a little more freedom and could sometimes leave during the day.[160] Most of the time, though, captives remained in the *baños* during the day, and the only

[157] D'Aranda, "Short Story of My Unfortunate Journey," 153.
[158] D'Aranda, "Short Story of My Unfortunate Journey," 127.
[159] D'Aranda, "Short Story of My Unfortunate Journey," 128.
[160] Friedman, "Christian Captives at 'Hard Labor' in Algiers," 625-626.

exception was if they were going out for work. Captives in North Africa were employed in similar ways to slaves in Europe, and like in Europe, the worst job for a Christian captive was as a galley slave.

Galley slavery on the North African fleets was as backbreaking and cruel as its European counterpart and constituted the worst assignment for a Christian captive. Pierre Dan, a French priest in North Africa, said about galley slaves that, "Of all the evils that the poor captives are forced to endure the worst without doubt is that which they suffer in the galleys of the Turks and Barbarians."[161] Up until the eighteenth century, when the galley began to fade from relevance as the dominant maritime Mediterranean vessel due to technological advances, galley slaves were a necessity and commonly found in *bagnios* on both sides of the sea.[162] According to Ellen Friedman, ships sailing in corsair fleets might require as many as 240 rowers,[163] and Robert Davis puts the number anywhere between 150 and 300 per ship.[164] While many corsair captains owned many captives, as seen in Emmanuel d'Aranda's account, they still frequently needed captives from other places in order to have enough for their fleets. Local rulers who might have a stake in a voyage would sometimes lend some of their captives to the galleys, and merchants would often keep captives to rent specifically to fleets who need more oarsmen.[165]

Once on board their ships, these galley slaves were clothed in rags and chained to both their oars and their benches where all they did was row, sometimes for hours on end

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[161] Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, 73.
[162] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains," 405.
[163] Friedman, "Christian Captives at 'Hard Labor' in Algiers," 619.
[164] Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, 75.
[165] Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, 75

without rest. According to an English captive names Francis Knight, galley slaves often grew delirious; even when slaves could sleep, remained sitting up on their benches, often in chains. When slaves had to relieve themselves, they would occasionally have opportunities to do so via a small opening in the ship's hull, known as a *borda,* but often the exhaustion led to slaves simply relieving themselves where they sat, creating an unimaginable stench that also attracted fleas, rats, and other pests.[166] The diets for galley slaves were no better, as attested to by a Spanish captive in late sixteenth century Algiers named Diego de Haedo. According to Haedo, slaves received only a few bits of breadcrumbs, dirty biscuits, and a little vinegar. Finding water was an even bigger issue, and Haedo as well as other captives recounted instances of large numbers of captives dying of thirst or only avoiding this fate by drinking seawater for as long as a week.[167]

The treatment of galley slaves was not much better than their conditions, and galley slaves were frequently whipped and beaten, which may have been performed excessively in order to try and stave off any attempted mutiny or rebellion.[168] Galley crews used various whips to keep slaves rowing, and according to Davis, the favorite was, "a dried, stretched bull's penis: "a Bulls Pizzle.""[169] The English captive John Rawlins, who served as a galley slave during his captivity, also described the cruel treatment suffered by galley slaves. "All this while our slavery continued, and the Turks, with insulting tyranny, set us still on work in

[166] Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters,* 76.
[167] Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, 76.
[168] Friedman, "Christian Captives at 'Hard Labor' in Algiers," 619-620.
[169] Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, 77.

all base and servile actions, adding stripes [whip marks] and inhuman revilings, even in our greatest labor."[170]

Despite all the horrors of galley slavery, there does seem to have been some sort of organized hierarchy among the galley slaves, also known as *galleoti*, in a bid to create some sort of control for themselves. Sailors amongst the slaves rowed infrequently, as most of their work involved managing the rigging and sails. Ships would have one or more *scrivani,* or secretary, who kept track of the slaves and their affairs as well as anything captured on a voyage, whether it be booty or bodies. The most experienced slaves and the ones entrusted with leading groups of *galleoti* were known as *vogavani*, and their position as leaders among the Christian galley slaves and go-betweens for their fellow slaves and the Muslim crew granted them a little elevated status that afforded them and the *scrivani* a little more comfort than a run-of-the-mill *galleoto*. This meant that when galleys brought in treasure, those higher on the pecking order would likely get first pick or a larger portion of whatever was left of the slim portions that made their way down to the slaves.[171] This meager consolation was nowhere near enough to compensate for the brutality that was galley slavery, a brutality suffered by galley slaves on both sides of the Mediterranean. While all physical labor done by Christian captives was hard, galley slavery in particular was one of the most demoralizing and fatiguing experiences imaginable. It is no wonder that for many of those condemned to the galleys, whether from exhaustion, sleep deprivation, hunger, thirst, malnutrition, disease, or beating, that condemnation often spelled death.

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[170] Rawlins, "The Famous and Wonderful Recovery of a Ship of Bristol," 109.
[171] Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, 80-82.

Many who were lucky enough to not be selected for galley slavery were still laborers and were put to work on all sorts of jobs with harsh conditions. Galley slaves were not exempt from this labor either, and in the winter when conditions would not allow ships to leave port, they would be assigned hard labor jobs and work throughout the day. They joined regular land laborers on all manner of projects, most of which were associated with public works. In Morocco, captives were put to work in quarries, cutting and transporting stone for building projects. Outside Algiers, captives cut blocks weighing tens of tons that required the efforts of hundreds of captives to move. They brought this quarried stone to the port to build the Mole, a long rocky barrier that sheltered Algiers' harbor and helped to fortify it. Across North Africa, captives were involved in every stage of public works, from sourcing stone to transporting it to building sites, many of which were in cities with streets so narrow that captives had no other recourse but to carry large stones themselves. In Algiers especially, where the wealthy preferred to build their villas on the hills overlooking the harbor, captives were used to carry materials up to the sites of these houses.[172] Captives were also put to work as miners, movers on docks to load and unload cargo, and in just about any other area of physical labor that needed to be done.[173]

Outside of the cities, many captives were put to work as laborers on farms. Antoine Quartier was one such laborer, and part of his time as a captive in Tripoli was spent as a farmhand. As part of his work, Quartier and his fellow captives were tasked with building an earthen rampart and ditches to protect the farm from both Arab herders and lions, ploughing the soil, clearing vegetation, and planting seeds. Quartier seemed surprised to find farms in

[172] D'Aranda, "Short Story of My Unfortunate Journey," 133.
[173] Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, 82-85.

such a dry region, but many captives were put to work as agricultural laborers outside cities, and with their help, these farms managed to bear fruit. In the words of Quartier, "It is a surprising thing to see that a deserted land…produces so abundantly."[174] Quartier then writes, "God blesses the work of the captives who have watered it with their sweat, mixed with the tears that these barbarians make them shed by demanding of them things beyond their strength."[175]

Like on the galleys, captive laborers could expect harsh working conditions and treatment, and whips were a common form of motivation. Laborers often complained of the harsh treatment at work sites, and according to Davis, "It was a common complaint among slaves that the overseers "treat [us] like beasts," such that the response to those who collapsed from exhaustion was simply "to beat them until they are able to rise again.""[176] Emmanuel d'Aranda describes a few types of labor he was made to do, including making rope and moving sacks of wheat, and with each new task, d'Aranda describes some new beating he received. "Because [the overseer] could not get us to hold still be shouting, he came to teach us with canes…The guard came to help me put [a sack of wheat] up again, but he gave me three or four blows in my face with his fist…"[177]

This harsh treatment of laborers had its European counterparts as well, and Ellen Friedman compares the treatment of captive laborers in Algiers to that of captive Muslim miners in Spain, who also faced the threat of not only whippings but also illness.[178] The

[174] Quartier, "The Religious Slave and His Adventures," 176.
[175] Quartier, "The Religious Slave and His Adventures," 176.
[176] Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, 83.
[177] D'Aranda, "Short Story of My Unfortunate Journey," 129.
[178] Friedman, "Christian Captives at 'Hard Labor' in Algiers," 622.

intense heat of North Africa did not help matters, and disease and death were common results of poor working conditions and overworking. On the Tripolitan farm where he was laboring, Antoine Quartier and twenty of his fellow captives fell ill due to the excessive heat, and this was often both a cause and exacerbator of illness; "We all felt a violent pain in the side and had a malignant fever that killed eight of us in a few days."[179] Ellen Friedman writes about a case in July of 1719 outside Algiers, where captives were working on excavating a Roman ruin. A combination of bad water and heat put forty-six captives in the hospital by that October, some of whom died from disease that was apparently becoming epidemic at the excavation site.[180] The conditions of captives assigned to labor were similar to slaves in Europe, where public works projects like Caserta also required a large captive labor force, whips and beatings were common, and disease posed a serious threat to captives working long hours with little nourishment.

Disease was not as much of a concern for captives who were not subjected to hard labor, and many captives were relatively fortunate to have much less grueling work than galley slaves and laborers. The aforementioned taverns were important work sites for many captives, as they allowed them to make money not only for themselves but their masters as well, and many captives did odd jobs or were rented out to as needed to help masters make a little extra money.[181] Taverns were not the only captive-run businesses, and many captives made their own products to sell in shops or inns that they ran. A female Dutch captive named Maria ter Meetelen, who was a captive in Morocco from 1731 to 1743, ran an inn and also

[179] Quartier, "The Religious Slave and His Adventures," 177.
[180] Friedman, "Christian Captives at 'Hard Labor; in Algiers," 622.
[181] Friedman, "Christian Captives at 'Hard Labor' in Algiers," 623.

made her own wine to sell there. She was also involved in housekeeping duties, as were many other female captives.[182] Most women and children captives worked in the domestic sphere in homes and palaces as nannies, pages, and housekeepers, and these positions were prized for their relative comfort compared to hard labor jobs. Skilled workers were also put into relatively good jobs, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, doctors, surgeons, and shipbuilders, the latter of whom were especially important to the maritime economy of the North African city-states. When a ship was finished, captains would often hold celebrations and receive gifts, some of which were given to these master builders, and these important captives were taken care of by the corsairs, who kept them well clothed and well fed.[183] According to Davis, "Except for their lack of freedom, such men almost certainly led more comfortable lives in Barbary than they could ever have expected in Venice, Livorno, or Naples." However, their important role in their new societies meant that their values were extremely high to their masters, and save for an exorbitant sum, it was highly unlikely that they would ever be ransomed, and so master builders often tried to escape as their only recourse to freedom.[184]

Another group of captives that were unlikely to be ransomed were priests. Their presence in the *baños* and as leaders in the captives community, as well as the services they provided to both Christians and Muslims, made them invaluable for local rulers, and they made up an important part of the fabric of everyday captive life. They also were at the center of one of the most important freedoms enjoyed by Christian captives in North Africa, a

[182] Maria ter Meetelen, "Miraculous and Remarkable Events of Twelve Years of Slavery, of a Woman named Maria ter Meetelen, Resident of Medemblik," in *Barbary Captives*, ed. Klarer, 275.
[183] Friedman, "Christian Captives at 'Hard Labor' in Algiers," 623-624.
[184] Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, 96.

privilege not as widely shared by their Muslim counterparts in Europe: the practice of religion.

Religion remained a very important part of the daily lives of Christians in North Africa, and they enjoyed a much richer spiritual life than Muslim captives in Europe. An important feature of North African *baños* were churches run by priests, some of whom were captives and some of whom were missionaries in North Africa to try to ransom captives. These churches, which began appearing as early as 1551, held regular services throughout the year, allowing captives to stay connected to their faith despite captivity in an unfamiliar land. The practice of religion amongst captives was one of the main differentiators between European and North African captivity, as unlike Muslims in Europe, Christian captives, especially Catholics, were largely allowed to practice their religion as they normally would back home. *Baño* churches were well maintained and in some cases even comparable to churches back in Europe. A French missionary in Tunis named Jean Le Vacher remarked in a letter that, "…by the Grace of God, these [chapels] are better kept than many parochial churches in Christendom, not only on holy days, but also the rest of the time."[185] These orders, such as the Trinitarians and Franciscans, collected donations, said daily masses, and even organized feasts and processions on holy days. Diego de Haedo wrote that Sunday services at the *baño* churches always drew large crowds, and on holidays, services sometimes had to be held outside to make space for all who wanted to attend. Holy Week was celebrated

[185] Alison Forrestal and Felicia Roşu, "Slavery on the Frontier: The Report of a French Missionary on Mid-Seventeenth-Century Tunis," *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 14 (2): 170-211: 184. https://doi.org/10.1179/1462245913Z.00000000013. – from the original Italian – "…e p[er] gratia de Dios ono si p[er] le festi/ Sacerdotali, come p[er] il restante, meglio tenute, che molte chiese/ anco Parochiali non sono in Christianità."

with such pomp that one friar stated of the decorations that, "it is no greater in any city in Spain."[186] It was apparently so impressive that many non-Christian residents came to admire the scene and even attend the occasional service. This was the case not only in Algiers; Tunis had similar religious policies for captives, and holy day processions took place through the streets of the city, where Muslims not only celebrated feasts with Christian captives but would sometimes help with decorations.[187]

The religious tolerance shown by Muslim leaders towards Christian captives was not perfect, and there were instances of restricted religious freedoms shown towards captives, such as a 1759 prohibition on mass in Algiers brought on by a famine, but even this was short lived. On the whole, the Muslim tradition of religious tolerance went hand-in-hand with their belief that the best captives were the most devout, and this was also convenient in discouraging captives to convert to Islam, after which they would have to be freed at a loss to their master. Only in rare instances was conversion encouraged or even forced, although there are a number of examples of this in captivity narratives. This occurred both through the promise of riches, as was the case for Richard Hasleton – "…the king assayed to seduce me with promises of great preferment, saying, if I would serve him and turn Moor, I should want nothing."[188] – and at the threat of violence, such as Joseph Pitts' description of more or less being beating into conversion; "but at last, seeing his cruelty towards me insatiable unless I did turn Mohammetan, through terror I did it…"[189] The religious freedoms experienced by Christian captives, especially for those Protestants who were persecuted back home for their

[186] Friedman, "The Exercise of Religion," 27.
[187] Friedman, "The Exercise of Religion," 28-29.
[188] Hasleton, "Strange and Wonderful Things Happened to Richard Hasleton," 89.
[189] Pitts, "A True and Faithful Account," 312.

beliefs, are one of the most unique aspects of Barbary captivity and biggest differences with slavery in Europe. This tolerance was not only a result of Muslim beliefs, however, and their treatment of Christian captives was intertwined with the treatment of Muslim slaves in Europe.[190]

The treatment of Christians in North Africa was also checked due to the repercussions it had for the treatment of Muslims in Europe, and many captives attempted to use this to their advantage. The wide religious freedoms offered to Christian captives were not only theologically but also diplomatically and economically motivated, and similar to the ways in which captives and masters in Europe wrote about their captivity in order to try and improve their condition or secure better treatment for Christian captives respectively, the same was true in the Maghreb. In publications back in Europe, treatment of Christian captives was sometimes played up in order to increase support for ransom efforts, as was the case with the writing of Pierre Dan, who gave readers an extended list of cruelties inflicted on Christian captives.[191] Captivity narratives often served the same purpose for redeemed captives pleading the case of those captives who remained behind as letters sent by Muslim slaves back home to report instances of especially harsh treatment towards them. Antoine Quartier ends his narrative with an appeal to the reader about the poor treatment of Christian captives in North Africa, and writes, "You know that the slaves are incessantly exposed to the danger of becoming infidels and that they suffer from every imaginable misery."[192] Quartier also mentions in his account the delivery of some letters from captives to their families in France,

[190] Friedman, "The Exercise of Religion," 23-34.
[191] Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, 132.
[192] Quartier, "The Religious Slave and His Adventures," 184.

and this was also a common practice. Captives also wrote letters home to their families, sending updates on their status and appealing to them for help in getting them ransomed, as Quartier himself seems to have done based on his note of thanks to his family who helped free him.[193] These letters described the conditions of captivity, like the letter written by Samuel Harres to his father on July 10, 1610, in which he details his experience rowing on a galley.[194]

Since Christian captives enjoyed more freedoms than Muslim slaves, it was often the case that the treatment of Christian captives was worsened in response to events in Europe or provocations by Europeans, such as the enslavement of all French in Algerian territory in 1620 after a massacre of Algerians in Marseille,[195] or the killing of French Catholic captives during a French naval attack on Algiers in 1688.[196] In some instances, Muslim rulers used their good treatment of Christian slaves as leverage to ensure better treatment for their captive citizens, and worse treatment was more used as a threat and a bargaining chip, such as the threat of the dey of Tunis to close the Christian cemetery after hearing of poor treatment of Muslim slaves in Italy.[197] In 1659, two Roman captives in Tunis, Pauolo Cortarzo and Gio'Tomaso Cocchi, wrote to the Propaganda Fide saying that the Tunisian authorities were threatening to convert large numbers of their captives to Islam after hearing reports that Muslim slaves in Malta had been converted to Christianity. Cortarzo and Cocchi despair at this possibility and beg the Propaganda Fide to take some sort of action to save

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[193] Quartier, "The Religious Slave and His Adventures," 183.
[194] "Samuel Harres to His Father," in *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption*, ed. Vitkus, 347-348.
[195] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 17.
[196] Brassard, "The Tale of Mr. Brassard's Captivity in Algiers," 206-207.
[197] "Petition on behalf of Jean Le Vacher to PF, [1655]"

them from a forced conversion.[198] Eloy Martin Corrales writes that there are many instances from the middle of the eighteenth century where complaints from one group of captives might have negative effects for their counterparts, but usually, efforts were taken to ensure that conditions were improved rather than worsened for both groups of captives as a result of these complaints.[199] Many of these complaints and letters not only updated their recipients on the conditions of their captivity, but contained appeals for ransoms or exchanges.

Another important element in the treatment of captives was their economic value, and both Christian and Muslim masters wanted to ensure captives who might command a high ransom were kept in good shape in order to maximize that profit. Both Christian and Muslim captives, especially ones who knew that they might be able to get themselves freed via a ransom or exchange, went to great lengths to try and secure this path to freedom for themselves. This was, of course, one of the primary concerns for every captive in the Mediterranean slavery complex, regardless of age, gender, class, or religion, and second only to survival: how to gain freedom and make it back home.

[198] "Letter from two slaves in Tunis to PF, [1659]," Early Modern Documents – University of Leiden, Vatican Docs #379. https://docs.google.com/document/d/1O9uLkWTTW-PoGmG4ROEyPP5NffHjohW5/edit.
[199] Corrales and López-Morillas, *Muslims in Spain, 1492-1814,* 88.

Chapter 4 – The Deliverance:

Ransom, Exchange, and Other Paths to Freedom

"And, dear father, I humbly beseech you, for Christ Jesus' sake, to take some course for my deliverance, for if neither the king take no course, nor my ransom come, I am out of all hope ever to behold my country again."[200] This is the conclusion of a letter sent from Robert Adams, a captive in Salé, Morocco, to his father back in England, on November 4th, 1625. In this desperate plea, Adams summarizes the one primary hope held onto by all captives: the possibility of returning home. The precarious fate of each captive, held in the balance until they either found salvation or did not, was often rooted only in hope. The French historian Michel Fontenay articulates the importance of this hope when he writes, "This word "to hope" makes all the difference between the hope and distress, and reminds us that behind this question of price that we debate, there were men suffering in their flesh and in their heart."[201] For some, hope was more or less all they had to hold onto. For others, however, the various systems of deliverance built into the Mediterranean captivity complex would prove their salvation. Especially for Christian captives, ransoms, captive exchanges, and escapes were legitimate ways to shed their chains and return to their homelands, and for others looking to escape their bondage but not necessarily looking to return home, conversion offered a different kind of freedom. Redemption was common within the system, and many

[200] "Robert Adams to Captain Robert Adams," in *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption*, ed. Vitkus, 350.
[201] Fontenay, "Esclaves et/ou captifs," 22 - « Ce mot « espérer » fait toute la différence entre l'espoir et le désespoir, et nous rappelle que derrière cette question de prix dont nous débattons, il y a eu des hommes souffrant dans leur chair et dans leur cœur. »

captives became beneficiaries of the economic foundation of early modern Mediterranean captivity that profited off of granting them their freedom for a price.

Ransom

The most common path to manumission for captives was through a ransom. The ransom system practiced in the Mediterranean was complex but well established, and it served the needs of both Europeans looking to bring their friends and family home and North African rulers who were only too happy to turn a profit. In some instances, however, captives did not even need to be ransomed. This was the case for citizens of states who had bilateral treaties with North African powers, and once captured and brought back to port, these individuals were taken to the representatives of their state to await the next ship back to Europe.[202] Bypassing captivity and therefore ransom in this way did depend on captives being able to prove their identity as belonging to a party who had a treaty, and not just being on a captured ship sailing from that state. In 1684, two German brothers, Andreas Matthäus and Johann Georg Wolffgang were sailing from London for Amsterdam when the English ship they were sailing on was captured by Algerian corsairs and taken back to North Africa. Upon its arrival, the English ship, its English crewmen, and its English cargo were duly handed over to the English consul in Algiers, but the two German brothers, along with all of the other non-English passengers, were seized and became captives.[203] A lack of proof of

[202] Andreas Matthäus and Johann Georg Wolffgang, "The Travels and Wondrous Fortunes of Two Brothers in Algerian Bondage, Andres Matthäus and Johann Georg Wolffgang, Engravers from Augsburg, Submitted for Printing by One of Their Sons on Account of Its Rareness," in *Barbary Captives*, ed. Klarer, 193.
[203] Wolffgang, "The Travels and Wondrous Fortunes of Two Brothers," 194.

identity led to an Italian priest named Felice Caronni being taken captive in Tunis in 1804. When his ship was captured by corsairs, the ship captain fled with Caronni's passport, rendering him unable to prove his assertion that he was Milanese and therefore fell under the protection of a treaty, and as a result, he had to spend a few months as a captive until his identity could be proven with the help of letters from back home, an Italian physician who was able to contact Caronni's cousin, and the French consul.[204] Those who were able to be rescued by such a treaty numbered among the lucky few, however, and the majority of those taken captives did not enjoy such protection. If they were to make it back home, they would have to find another way to do so.

Ransoms were the most common way that captives found their freedom, and for Christian captives in North Africa, they usually occurred in one of three ways. Captives were either ransomed by a religious order, a secular organization or monarch, or, usually for one or a handful of captives, by a benefactor, friends, or family. These ransoms were one of the foundations of the North African corsair economy, along with tributes from treaties with European powers and profits from cargo captured by corsairs.[205] To that end, ransoms were usually encouraged and accepted by North African leaders; whether those offering money were representatives of a king, religious redeemers, or someone negotiating on behalf of a few captives did not matter, as long as they were willing to pay.[206] In Algiers, for example, ransoms accounted for about fifteen percent of the total income, a sum that came out to

[204] Felice Caronni, "The Account of an Amateur Antiquarian's Short Journey: Surprised by Corsairs, Taken to Barbary, and Happily Repatriated," in *Barbary Captives*, ed. Klarer, 344, 349, 354.
[205] Friedman "Christian Captives at 'Hard Labor' in Algiers," 629.
[206] Friedman, "Christian Captives at 'Hard Labor' in Algiers," 630.

around thirty thousand pesos a year.[207] Clearly, Europeans were happy to pay for their captives and did so handsomely throughout the early modern period, and in many cases, the largest sums, and largest number of captives ransomed, were done so by religious orders.

Christian religious redemption orders were numerous and ubiquitous in North Africa, and as their main focus was the ransom of Christian captives, they were often more effective in securing ransoms than political leaders who also had to worry about diplomatic ties. Leading the way amongst the redemption orders were the Trinitarians and Mercedarians, who transcended ethnic boundaries and had representatives from across Europe in North Africa, especially Spain and France. The missionaries on the ground would work with their organizations back home to secure funds which they would then use in negotiations with local rulers. These funds were often accumulated through donations, and so orders had to either appeal to monarchs for money or advertise their efforts to the general public. Pierre Dan, a French Trinitarian who was active in redemption efforts, published a series of drawings and engravings of captives and their conditions in North Africa to appeal to the French public for funds.[208]

Captivity narratives also served as an appeal for funds for redemption orders, such as the narrative of Antoine Quartier, whose accounts ends with a tribute to the order that redeemed him and that he joined on his return to France.[209] Religious redemptions were not always initiated by the orders themselves, and sometimes done at the behest of captives in

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[207] Friedman "Christian Captives at 'Hard Labor' in Algiers," 630 – while this may seem like a large sum and a large portion of the economy to be constituted from one sector, Friedman notes that this may even be a low estimate, and at times, ransoms could have accounted for an even larger slice of the Algerian economy.
[208] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 39.
[209] Quartier, "The Religious Slave and His Adventures," 184.

North Africa. One such example of this comes a letter written in 1663 by an Italian captive in Tunis named Andrea Grella to the Propaganda Fide in Rome. Grella's letter[210] implores the Propaganda Fide to send money to their associates in Tunis to help pay for his release and the release of some other captives. Interestingly, he also includes a note in the letter on behalf of his master requesting the release of a Muslim slave of an Italian duchess, as Grella believes that this will help him secure his own ransom.[211]

Once funds were secured, missionaries would then bring them to North Africa, where members of their order who had already established local chapters would use them for the ransoms of both state and private captives. In 1730, Mercedarian redeemers reportedly spent a sum of 121,333 pesos on the ransoms of 328 captives in Algiers; 77,984 of this went to state officials while the remaining 43,139 went to private owners.[212] In Tunis between 1605 and 1714, various orders ransomed 666 captives, including 104 between 1706 and 1714.[213] The ethnic origins of these captives did sometimes play a factor in helping captives from specific states get ransomed, as they usually targeted captives who were from the same background as a specific chapter of each order. The historian Sadok Boubaker notes that between 1611 and 1620, redeemers from Genoa secured the ransoms of 93 captives, while their Neapolitan counterparts only accounted for 45 ransoms in that same period.[214] While these religious orders did not exist for Protestant captives, they were still sometimes aided by

[210] Technically, Grella sent two letters to the Propaganda Fide over the span of ten days in February of 1663, but they are two copies of the same letter; Grella sent it twice out of fear that the first would not be received.
[211] "Two letters from a slave in Tunis to PF, 1663-02-14 and 1663-02-24, Tunis", Early Modern Documents – University of Leiden, Vatican Docs #382.
https://docs.google.com/document/d/1QrgDQ_sgFrCbxdNmn1X1ENhXhiOTsgHD/edit.
[212] Friedman "Christian Captives at 'Hard Labor' in Algiers," 630.
[213] Boubaker, "Réseaux et techniques de rachat des captives," 26.
[214] Boubaker, "Réseaux et techniques de rachat des captives," 26.

Catholic redemption orders; in 1643, French Trinitarians ransomed thirty-three Huguenot captives with funds given to them by the leaders of La Rochelle, a Protestant stronghold of the French Atlantic coast.[215] In lieu of this type of aid, however, they would appeal to their churches or governments for help.[216]

The schism within Christianity added an interesting wrinkle in the ransom system, although this was more prevalent with state-sponsored ransoms rather than ones performed by religious orders. However, religious redemption missions were sometimes initiated by monarchs when they themselves were incapable of large-scale manumission efforts. Throughout the seventeenth century, when French monarchs such as Henry IV and Louis XIII were preoccupied with events in Europe, they would deputize redemption orders to go to North Africa and carry out ransom proceedings in their stead.[217] This is not to say that monarchs themselves, or even their representatives, were not active in redemption efforts, and in fact, state-sponsored redemption was another common way for Christian captives to be ransomed.

Ransoms paid by secular orders or monarchs were often more complex, as they had to factor diplomatic relations into their ransom negotiations, and were not always as effective as religious redemption efforts. Negotiations were usually conducted in North Africa between a consular official or representative of a monarch and the local North African ruler. However,

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[215] Weiss, *Corsairs and Captives*, 48.
[216] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 60, 66 – Weiss notes that while captive Protestants sometimes turned to their churches for aid, in Protestant lands, secular authorities were in charge of state-sponsored ransom efforts, a contrast to Catholic states such as France, where despite an attempt in the mid-1670s to secularize the redemption process, the religious link remained, and French missionary orders remained central to Royal redemption efforts.
[217] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 12, 37.

initial agreements were frequently broken by both sides. Muslim rulers keen on maximizing their profits often forced ransom deals in place of previously agreed exchanges. One such instance of this took place in 1768, when the Spanish crown attempted to free all of its roughly fifteen hundred subjects in captivity in Algiers. Despite a prearranged exchange and ransom deal, the Dey of Algiers continuously backtracked, and in the end, Spanish representatives ended up having to pay ransoms for the majority of the captives that returned to Spain.[218] Even prearranged ransoms were commonly scuttled at the last second; in his captivity narrative, Marcus Berg recounts the feeling of elation when he and his companions were finally ransomed only to find out right before sailing back to Sweden that the dey had actually decided to keep one of the captives who had been part of the ransom agreement with the king of Sweden.[219]

For many European rulers, ransoming their subjects was not the priority, especially when they were preoccupied with foreign affairs back in Europe, so they would sometimes send envoys to negotiate on their behalf. In the sixteen twenties, after a few failed attempts from envoys from Marseille to negotiate ransoms for French captives in Tunis, Louis XIII sent a Corsican named Sanson Napollon to pay the ransoms on his behalf, which he did, securing the freedom of all one hundred and fifty French captives in the city.[220] Napollon had more difficulty in freeing the eight hundred French captives in Algiers however, and he was not helped by Louis' demand that all the communities who had members in captivity were required to contribute funds to Napollon's ransom effort, and as a result, he was only able to

[218] Friedman, "Christian Captives at 'Hard Labor' in Algiers," 632.
[219] Berg, " Description of the Barbaric Slavery in the Empire of Fez and Morocco," 305.
[220] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 34.

afford to pay for three hundred captives.[221] Upon the ascension of Louis XVI to the throne, the situation was not much improved, and the French crown would only pay ransoms for captives deemed worthy of the money, such as skilled sailors, who were then pressed into French naval service.[222] This prioritization of skilled captives did have some unintended benefits, though, and it did lead to the ransoms of some French Protestants by the Catholic monarch.[223]

This royal reluctance to engage in ransom efforts was not always the norm, however, and there are examples of monarchs who were very involved in securing the freedom of their subjects. During his reign as the King of the Two Sicilies in Naples, Charles of Bourbon maintained a focus on ransoming Neapolitan subjects in Barbary captivity, as well as fostering diplomatic relations with various North African states.[224] English captives during the Elizabethan era also enjoyed the attention of their Queen, who was committed to the frequent and swift ransom of her subjects in captivity as attested to in many captivity narratives from this period.[225] Not only was Elizabeth central to the ransoms of her subjects, but as a Protestant monarch, she would also sometimes help negotiate ransoms for other Protestant captives, as she successfully did for a number of Dutch captives in Morocco at the turn of the seventeenth century.[226] Petitions to monarchs or royal representatives could also

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[221] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 35.
[222] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 59.
[223] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 63.
[224] Thomas, "Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta," 175.
[225] Fox, "The worthy enterprise of John Fox," 67.
[226] Matar "English Accounts of Captivity," 560 – Elizabeth's keen involvement in ransoms was even more romanticized due to the apathy of her successor, James I, in the same arena. James cut many diplomatic ties with North Africa, including paying ransoms, while shrinking the once-mighty English navy and encouraging attacks on Muslim shipping. Ironically, in doing so he condemned many more Englishmen to raiding and captivity as their diplomatic enmity made them more of a target for corsairs.

prove fruitful, as was the case with the crew of the *Anna*, and English slaving ship that was wrecked off the coast of Morocco in 1789 and whose crew was taken captive. The ship's captain, James Irving, sent a petition to the Vice Consul, and eventually he and eighteen of his crew members were ransomed.[227] Dutch consuls in North Africa also played important roles in the ransoming of the citizens of their state, even if they were not acting on behalf of Dutch leaders.[228] Consular officials do not seem to have always been the most reliable supports in ransom negotiations, though; in Joseph Pitt's captivity narrative, he notes that although he went to the English consul for help, all he got were kind words and no action.[229] Monarchs' concern for the welfare of their subjects in captivity was important, as it did reflect on their own power and ability to protect their people, but they were often unable to take responsibility for the ransoms of all of their subjects, especially if they did not view them as worthy investments.[230] When religious orders and state officials could not secure ransoms, it was up to the captives themselves to try and find their own assistance in securing their freedom.

Individuals or small groups of captives who got themselves ransomed sometimes did so with the help of one of the two previous institutions, but they often had to rest to securing assistance from other individuals. These individuals were often family or friends back home, but financial assistance came from a variety of places. The financial ability to afford a ransom was, of course, the most important factor, and so captives from higher classes who had access to more money would have higher ransoms placed on them, but would also be

[227] Schwarz, "Ransoming Practices and "Barbary Coast" Slavery," 59, 72.
[228] De Boer and Reinders, "'Notoriously and Publicly Known to the Stock Exchange'," 73.
[229] Pitts, "A True and Faithful Account," 309-310.
[230] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 50, 58.

able to afford them more. Wealthy travelers who were preparing for voyages through waters where corsair activity was common would often prepare financially in the case of their capture, and set aside some funds to be used if they needed to be ransomed.[231] For those less well off financially, their families or communities usually had to bear the financial burden of paying their ransom.[232]

Across Europe, different regions had different approaches towards ransoms that were not financed by the state or religious orders. In France, especially the south where most of the captives were taken from, families pulled out all the stops in order to scrape together enough money to ransom their loved ones, and since those captured were usually the male breadwinners, women often did a lot of the heavy lifting in these familial ransom efforts.[233] In Northern Europe, special 'slave banks' were set up by ship owners to help ransom any passengers who were taken captive from their ships.[234] In England, merchant companies also sometimes organized ransoms for captives.[235] In the Dutch Republic, where the government was ideologically opposed to supporting the corsairs' ransom economy and therefore refused to pay any ransoms, raising of the funds for ransoms was left to local organization. In some cases, this involved the Dutch Protestant Church and even some synagogues, but their role was usually limited to financing and was done so as part of a community effort rather than a religious led redemption organization like the Catholic ones.[236] Family members were also

[231] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 68.
[232] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 31 - In some extremely rare instances, captives were actually allowed to return home to get those funds, whether they were their own or had been collected by their community, but again, these cases were exceedingly uncommon.
[233] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 31.
[234] Klarer ed., *Barbary Captives*, 36 – Klarer uses the German term *Sklavenkassen* to describe these banks, although that term would not have been used ubiquitously across Northern Europe.
[235] De Boer and Reinders, "'Notoriously and Publicly Known to the Stock Exchange'," 77.
[236] De Boer and Reinders, "'Notoriously and Publicly Known to the Stock Exchange'," 78.

heavily involved, as they were across Europe, although due to the prices of some ransoms, many families were unable to afford ransoms all by themselves. In this case, towns would often support families as well as local businesses, especially those related in some way to the issue of captivity, like merchants and ship owners.[237] Charitable donations to these causes were also common, as charity was an important Christian value, and it also lent an air of benevolence to any businesses involved in ransom efforts.[238]

Of course, whatever money was gathered was useless if captives were not able to access it, and getting the money to North Africa to be used for ransoms was a problem. State consuls were one option, and they would also help organize passage home for redeemed captives, but there were also many instances of mediators and middlemen in Europe and North Africa who helped Christian captives secure ransoms. These mediators could be based on either side of the Mediterranean, but would have ties to both. The most prolific of these middlemen were, interestingly in a predominantly Christian and Muslim context, Jews. Jews played a vital role in this system, especially Sephardic Jews, whose families often extended across the Mediterranean, and they often served as intermediaries in the ransom system, helping captives send letters home, transferring and lending ransom funds, and helping provide lodgings and arrange travel for captives after their ransoms had been paid.[239] Because of their unique religious identity, many Jewish negotiators had more freedom in North Africa than Catholic religious orders, and thus were able to ransom captives that would have been impossible for Europeans to access.[240] These Jews were also often merchants, and

[237] De Boer and Reinders, "'Notoriously and Publicly Known to the Stock Exchange'," 81.
[238] De Boer and Reinders, "'Notoriously and Publicly Known to the Stock Exchange'," 82.
[239] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 33-34; Hershenzon, "'[P]Ara Que Me Saque Cabesea Por Cabesa...'" 23.
[240] Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea,* 51-52.

their involvement in the ransom system as middlemen also help to give illicit trade between Muslims, Christians, and Jews a legal pretext.[241] In the Dutch Republic, where Jews had more religious freedom in the early modern period than most other places in Europe affected by North African captivity, the Jewish d'Azevedo family was so prominent in their role as ransom negotiators that one member, Louis, was involved in at least one hundred and twenty-two ransom negotiations, according to records from the era.[242] Middlemen were not only crucial in the ransoms of Christian captives, but Muslims as well, and without their role as a conduit for information and funds, the few Muslims that were ransomed from European slavery would have been even fewer.

While it was much more uncommon for Muslim slaves to be ransomed relative to Christian captives, the ransom system did benefit them as well, and there are instances of Muslims being ransomed from Europe. Since there were no reciprocal religious orders devoted to ransoming Muslim slaves, this had to be done through the impetus of the slaves themselves, and the Muslim path to manumission was a lot narrower than that of Christian captives. Muslim slaves also often had to initiate the process themselves, and often did so by writing home to families, friends, or even rulers.[243] Occasionally, rulers did intervene on behalf of their subjects, and there are a few examples of large-scale Muslim ransoms. A late-eighteenth century Moroccan source references the ransom of between six hundred and one thousand slaves from Spain in one year;[244] further east, perhaps partially in the fulfillment of

[241] Hershenzon, "'[P]Ara Que Me Saque Cabesea Por Cabesa...'" 22.
[242] De Boer and Reinders, "'Notoriously and Publicly Known to the Stock Exchange'," 84 - Louis d'Azevedo was such a well-recognized figure that he ended up involved in diplomatic negotiations between Algiers and the Dutch Republic and was a representative for both parties.
[243] Hershenzon, "'[P]Ara Que Me Saque Cabesea Por Cabesa...'" 14.
[244] Klarer ed., *Barbary Captives*, 37.

the Muslim charitable principle of *thawab*, Sultan Muhammad III of Morocco personally ransomed the more than one thousand Muslim slaves in Malta in the 1780s.[245] Muhammad even sent some diplomatic envoys to Europe to negotiate on his behalf and secure ransoms for his subjects, such as a mission to Spain from 1767 to 1779 led by Ahmad al-Ghazzal al-Andalusi, or a mission led by the sultan's secretary, Muhammad b. Uthman al-Miknasi, who visited Spain as well as Malta and the southern Italian Kingdom of the Two Sicilies to negotiate ransoms.[246] Families also petitioned rulers for money, often playing on the religious themes of a Muslim enslaved by Christians to try and get help; letters and petitions from the early modern period often include descriptions of torture and beatings for refusals to convert.[247]

When rulers could not assist enslaved Muslims, families stepped up and tried to raise enough money to rescue their loved ones. Letters that slaves wrote home were not always desperate please for assistance; some instructed families more specifically with what to do and how much they would need for ransoms, such as a 1692 letter from an Algerian captive in Majorca instructing nine of his family members to contribute a certain amount to his ransom.[248] Once ransoms had been collected, Muslim families also went to middlemen to assist in their ransom efforts. Sometimes, slaves acted as their own representatives; there are many instances of slaves negotiating their own ransoms, even sometimes being allowed to leave to collect their ransoms and then returning to pay them.[249] Trust was an important

[245] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains," 405.
[246] Nabil Mouline al-Andalusi, "Un ambassadeur rédemptoriste au service du sultanat sharîfien : Ibn ᶜUthmân al-Miknâsî en Espagne, à Malte et à Naples," in *Captifs en Méditerranée*, ed. François Moureau, 51.
[247] Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea*, 76.
[248] Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea*, 76.
[249] Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea*, 80.

factor in these sorts of ransoms, and some masters negotiated with slaves to provide collateral in the event that they reneged on their payments. In 1597, a Muslim slave in the Spanish North African enclave of Melilla arranged his ransom, and was allowed to leave for eight months to collect the money and return with it. Four other Muslims slaves were held on the condition of his return, and only after the slave went back and paid his ransom were the other four allowed to leave with him.[250] Good faith negotiations like these were not always the norm, and sometimes, it was the European masters who attempted to cheat the system. In the same way that North African rulers sometimes refused ransoms or renegotiated deals in order to get a better profit, European rulers did the same with Muslim slaves. In kingdoms like Spain and France, where the royal galleys depended on Muslim manpower, those in charge would often renege on deals or refuse payments altogether, sometimes at the risk of provoking a war, in order to keep as many healthy galley slaves as possible.[251] Ultimately, the back and forth of the ransom economy within early modern Mediterranean captivity was rooted in economic principles, as the money moving around kept the entire system going. However, the religious spirit, which heavily influenced the system, was deeply intertwined, and the ideological dimension of this economic system led to some interesting confluences of differing agendas.

Finding a clear rule, whether economic or religious, within the Mediterranean ransom system is complex, and often, the religious intricacies involved mean that the actual events that took place do not conform entirely to either economic or religious motivation. Within Europe, religious divisions raged in the early modern period, meaning that for some,

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[250] Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea*, 80.
[251] Weiss, "Ransoming "Turks" from France's Royal Galleys," 39.

Catholics or Protestants were a bigger enemy than Muslims. In Richard Hasleton's narrative, his experience in chains seems much worse in Catholic Spain than in Muslim Algiers, so much so that he escapes from the former to the latter after being beaten in an attempt to convert him to Catholicism.[252] Hasleton, an English Protestant, was at least safe to practice his religion in his own country, but for others, this was not the case. French Protestants provide an interesting window into the religious intricacies of early modern Mediterranean captivity, as many preferred Muslim captivity to persecution in France.[253] Protestants of the era often felt more connection to other Protestants rather than their fellow countrymen, and this manifested itself in ransoms. Isaac Brassard, a Huguenot captive in Algiers, was only ransomed with the help of English authorities, as his religion meant that his own French authorities would not help him.[254] Other Huguenot captives went to Dutch and English authorities for aid with redemption efforts.[255] As previously mentioned, Queen Elizabeth of England also played an instrumental role in the ransoms of Protestant captive, both English and Dutch.[256] Sometimes, though, Protestants and Catholics set aside their differences in order to secure ransoms. Huguenots and Catholics would occasionally collaborate on redemptions; some Protestants carried funds for Trinitarians, who sometimes used their resources to help ransom Huguenots.[257]

These religious redeemers did not always help out of the goodness of their hearts, though, and often did so with an eye on attempted conversion. The religious conflict was not only

[252] Hasleton, "Strange and Wonderful Things Happened to Richard Hasleton," 73-95.
[253] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 80.
[254] Klarer ed., *Barbary Captives*, 203
[255] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 57.
[256] Matar "English Accounts of Captivity," 560.
[257] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 33.

inter-Christian, and the issue of conversion to Islam loomed large for both sects. Many captives did convert and lived for a time as free Muslims, such as Joseph Pitts, who completed the pilgrimage to Mecca,[258] and Hark Olufs, the latter of whom maintained some of his new customs even after returning to Denmark.[259] Not even ransom could save all captives from a life in North Africa, and some favored it over returning home. The Frenchman Thomas d'Arcos was taken captive by Algerian corsairs in 1625, but his ransom was paid after six months of captivity. However, despite having his freedom purchased, d'Arcos remained in North Africa, adopted the name Osman, and lived as a Muslim until his death while keeping in touch with friends back in France.[260] The unique environment created by Mediterranean captivity was deeply layered, with no action seeming devoid of an ulterior motive and no rule exempt from exception. Gillian Weiss summarizes some of the complex conditions around redemption and its religious elements well; "Competition for the souls of Barbary slaves, in other words, extended political sectarian rivalries from Europe across the Mediterranean."[261]

Exchange

While not as common as ransoms, and not as welcomed by North African rulers, prisoner exchanges were another way captives found freedom that shows the interconnectedness of the system. Similar to ransoms, exchanges could be both large and small scale, and while

[258] Pitts, "A True and Faithful Account," 261-290.
[259] Olufs, "The Remarkable Adventures of Hark Olufs," 234, 253.
[260] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 24.
[261] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 57.

prisoner exchanges are usually thought of as an easy way to secure freedom for large numbers of captives or one or a few very important ones, exchange was also used in the Mediterranean system as a way for the families of individual captives to help secure the freedom of their loved ones. There are many examples from the early modern period of families on both sides of the Mediterranean purchasing a captive for the sole purpose of exchanging them with a loved one in captivity, and this seems to have been a fairly common and accepted practice of the time. A Spanish captive in North Africa named Diego López de Acosta wrote a letter to a contact in Spain instructing him to purchase a specific Muslim slave in Spain for whom his master would exchange him.[262] In his letter to the Propaganda Fide in Rome, Andrea Grella also requests that a certain Muslim slave belonging to the Duchess of Mondragone, who has been requested by his master, is released in an exchange for Grella.[263] This sort of purchase for exchange happened with higher class captives as well, and could also be initiated by the Muslim captive. In 1613, an Algerian corsair captain named Babaçain was captured by a Spanish royal ship and taken captive. He spent his captivity as a galley slave, all the while trying to get in contact with his wife and get himself ransomed. When he was able to reach his wife by letter, he instructed her to purchase a Spanish captive similar in rank to him in order to get him freed. Fortunately for Babaçain, his wife was able to purchase Domingo Alvarez, a Spanish soldier captured two years earlier, from his master. As a result of her petition and Alvarez's history of service to his country, the Spanish crown allowed the exchange to go through, and both corsair and soldier were freed.[264] Muslims even were sometimes given Christian slaves to exchange for family members by local rulers,

[262] Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea*, 77.
[263] "Two letters from a slave in Tunis to PF, 1663-02-14 and 1663-02-24, Tunis"
[264] Hershenzon, "'[P]Ara Que Me Saque Cabesea Por Cabesa...'" 15, 18, 29.

such as the case of Fatima Algajon, who petitioned the sultan of Morocco for help redeeming her son in the 1580s, and was given a Spanish captive named Hernando Esteban to use in an exchange for her son by the sultan.[265]

Of course, exchanges were not limited to individual swaps, and often took place on a larger scale. The numerous treaties signed between North African and European powers often precipitated large ransoms, as was the case with the French and Spanish, but as with some ransoms, these were also often reneged on by both sides. An exchange following a treaty between France's Henry IV and Tunis saw the French refuse to return all of the promised galley slaves, and in 1739, a large-scale exchange negotiated between Spain and Algiers was belatedly changed by the Dey, who only accepted fifty Muslims in exchange for fifty Spaniards, and insisted on the rest of the Spanish captives being ransomed.[266] In many of these large exchanges, it was the North Africans dictating terms, and they often had more negotiating power than given credit for. In 1769, Spain attempted another large exchange, taking twelve hundred Muslim captives to Algiers to try and free the fifteen hundred or so Spanish captives in the city. The Dey refused a full exchange, however, and insisted that aside from twenty-six corsair captains he would exchange naval officers for, the rest of the exchange would be conducted based on a two Algerians for one Spaniard rate, and in the end, six hundred and thirty-one Spaniards were exchanged for one thousand two hundred and thirty-six Algerians; the remaining Spanish captives had to be ransomed.[267] Even in smaller group ransoms, Muslims often got more bang for their buck; in 1689, the Sultan of Morocco,

[265] Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea*, 83.
[266] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 13; Friedman "Christian Captives at 'Hard Labor' in Algiers," 631.
[267] Friedman "Christian Captives at 'Hard Labor' in Algiers," 631-632.

Mawlay Isma'il, demanded one thousand Muslim slaves in exchange for merely one hundred Christian captives.[268] Like ransoms, both the size and price often varied, and there was rarely ever one set going rate for captives, either in exchange for money or other slaves. Those who found their freedom through one of these two routes always had to pay something, however; for others who preferred to take matters into their own hands, escape was a more enticing, albeit less successful, path to freedom.

Escape

Escape was an uncommon way to find freedom due to its difficulty, but there are some instances of its occurrence. Mutinies especially were few and far between, as most escape attempts were across the sea, but a few did succeed, such as a group of Protestant slaves led by French sailors mutinied an Algerian ship off the coast of Spain, or when a group of captives chained up their captors and sailed their captured warship to Genoa.[269] John Rawlins' captivity narrative also describes the mutiny that he and his fellow captives led successfully against their captors.[270] More commonly, escapes that took place across the sea were not mutinies, as captives could rarely overpower armed crews, but rather escapes. These could be as small as an individual sailing across the Mediterranean either as stowaways or on their own, such as Richard Hasleton's escape from imprisonment in Spain to North Africa.[271] Escape attempts were often conducted by a large group, like that of John Fox, who led over

[268] Hershenzon, "'[P]Ara Que Me Saque Cabesea Por Cabesa...'" 13.
[269] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 29-30.
[270] Rawlins, "The Famous and Wonderful Recovery of a Ship of Bristol," 109-120.
[271] Hasleton, "Strange and Wonderful Things Happened to Richard Hasleton," 81-88.

two hundred and fifty captives onto stolen boats in Algiers and managed to escape.[272] Muslim slaves too took part in escape attempts; in 1755, a group of galley slaves in Trapani, Sicily, stole two ships and sailed them back to Algiers.[273] Escape seems to have been a particularly attractive avenue to freedom for groups like galley slaves, who had very low chances of being ransomed, and if they were not, faced a very likely death as a result of their work. Poor captives stuck doing hard labor were also unlikely to be ransomed or exchanged unless they were the lucky beneficiaries of a mass manumission. With nowhere else to turn in the hopes of finding freedom, captives like these, who lacked the financial and familial support systems to seek other means of freedom, turned to escape.

For captives who attempted to escape and failed, however, the consequences could be dire, and these captives were often used to make an example of what would happen to others who wished to follow their path. In a letter from the French priest Jean Le Vacher to the Propaganda Fide in Rome, dated January twenty-ninth, 1654, he tells of the fate of a group of former slaves of the Pasha of Tunis who were caught in an attempt to kill the Pasha and sail away in one of his ships. As punishment for their attempted crime, most of the group were given fifty to sixty lashes each, and others had ears and noses cut off which they were then forced to cook and eat, but six of them were tortured in some especially violent ways: "[the Pasha] had the limbs of the first one pulled off while still alive; the second was quartered and dragged through the city; the third was exposed naked and the Bassa ordered that the other Christian [slaves] from his galley kill him with needles; the fourth, he ordered killed with red-hot pincers; the fifth was hanged upside down from a window, then burned; the sixth was

[272] Fox, "The worthy enterprise of John Fox," 61-67.
[273] Thomas, "Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta," 179.

pierced with a heated iron…"[274] Escapes, then, were a dangerous business and were rarely successful, but for those who had no other option, it could sometimes be a viable alternative to the traditional ransoming or exchange. For others, freedom was not necessarily about getting home, and they were content with freedom in the lands they had been brought to in chains. For these individuals, another viable option to find a form of freedom was conversion.

Conversion

For some, primarily Christian captives, conversion represented a path to an alternative freedom. Islam proved much more welcome to captives willing to renounce their faiths than Christianity, and so the number of converts was much higher amongst Christian captives in North Africa than among Muslim slaves in Europe. The knowledge that conversion meant freedom was enough to sway some, as were some of the other benefits of that conversion, like parades, integration into society, and for some, the chance to start a new life and acquire a great deal of wealth. Some of the most prominent naval officers, corsair captains, and even pashas in North Africa at this time were themselves former European Christians who had converted. High-ranking officials in Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, including dey and pasha, were at various times converts of English, Greek, Genoese, Venetian, and Albanian origin, and renegades were even more ubiquitous amongst the corsair captains.[275] A list from the 1580s of Algiers' thirty-five captains who owned war galleys saw converts

[274] Forrestal and Roşu, "Slavery on the Frontier," 197.
[275] Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 34.

outnumber so-called Turks five to two, and the admiral of the Algerian fleet himself was an Italian renegade.[276] The freedom accessed by conversion was not always due to the promise of freedom and riches, however, and sometimes the result of coercion and violence, as was the case with Joseph Pitts, who lived as a Muslim for many years before escaping and returning to England.[277] The allure was obviously strong; according to Gillian Weiss, conversion rates amongst Christian captives in Algiers may have been as high as twenty percent at times.[278]

For Muslim slaves, however, the other side of the coin did not offer the same rewards. During the construction of the royal palace of Caserta in Naples, many slaves converted to Christianity, largely due to the presence of a catechist who worked closely with slaves to try and secure their conversion. However, upon converting, slaves enjoyed only separate lodgings and being allowed to work without their chains, rather than being freed altogether.[279] The benefits available to Christian converts to Islam, namely freedom, do not seem to have translated across the Mediterranean, and so throughout the early modern period, many more captives swapped Christianity for Islam than the reverse. While ransom, exchange, and escape were all largely economically driven, conversion as a path to freedom represents one of the most interesting questions surrounding early modern Mediterranean, which is the role of religion in this economic system. For some, conversion was an escape, pure and simple. For others, becoming Muslim meant a lot more than just attaining their

[276] Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 34 – the full list of places of origin for the thirty-five corsair captains is as follows: ten Turks, six Genoese, three Greeks, two each from Venice, Spain, and Albania, and one each from Naples, Sicily, Calabria, France, Hungary, and Corsica, along with one Jew of unidentified origin and three sons of renegades, themselves born into Islam.
[277] Pitts, "A True and Faithful Account," 220-340.
[278] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 23.
[279] Thomas, "Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta," 179.

release, and they were committed to their new faith, even if those around them were not. Contextualizing conversion, something that at the surface seems like a purely religious problem, but in this context becomes murkier, within the larger Mediterranean slavery system uncovers a unique phenomenon within that system: how the role of religion, the overarching religious ideology of the time, intersects with the economic principles that are the base of the system, and what happens when the two collide.

Of all the phenomena encapsulated in the Mediterranean captive system, conversion is the most interesting example of this, for a few reasons. First, despite the complex web of identities and loyalties that dictated who was taken captive by whom, the lines marked by religion were rarely crossed, and conversion was one of the only instances of switching sides. Second, conversion specifically as a form of escape is unique because in many ways, it was not liberating, particularly for Muslim slaves who converted to Christianity. Third, most of the other elements of the system tend to clearly lean one way or the other, and do not offer as clear of an example of the middle ground between religion and economics as conversion. Ransoms were also sometimes a good example of this middle ground, as for many of the religious redemption orders, saving captives from conversion was just as important as bringing them home safely, and so the economic burden of paying a ransom had some religious motivations.[280] Even if a captive was Protestant, Catholic orders preferred to ransom them and worry about trying to convert them later than leaving them to be caught in the clutches of Islam, and this fear was ubiquitous.[281] In a 1647 letter to the secretary of the Propaganda Fide, a missionary in Algiers named Boniface Nouelly writes of the despair he

[280] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 47.
[281] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 49.

feels for the captives who are in danger of the scourge of apostasy, and closes the letter with the repetition of his hope that more missionaries will soon come from Italy with the goal of not only redeeming captives, but also saving them from becoming renegades.[282] Even these examples of the multifaceted motivations for ransoms, though, are all tied up in conversion, as is the fear that the greatest loss was not to lose someone physically through captivity (from which they could always return home) but to lose someone spiritually to apostasy. Therefore, conversion presents itself as the best lens through which to examine the complicated actors at play in early modern Mediterranean captivity, and to understand that lens, one must first understand the reasons behind conversion.

Captives who converted primarily did so for one of three reasons: economic gain, personal freedom, or religious conviction. Of course, this did not only apply to captives, as many of the corsairs themselves were converts, and made up the bulk of those who converted for economic gain. This usually happened as the result of the conclusion of a war in Europe that had been profitable for privateers, and these privateers were now without jobs and with plenty of skills just waiting to be used. For example, English privateers who had profited under Elizabethan rule were put out of work when James I ascended the throne and simultaneously ended privateering and shrunk his navy, leaving English sailors with few prospects and North African corsairing looking like a very appealing opportunity.[283] Conversion was an essential part of being able to capitalize on that opportunity, and the majority of Europeans who became corsairs opted for it, though some resisted. One notable

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[282] "Letter from Boniface Nouelly to the PF secretary [Francesco Ingoli], 1647-06-20, Algiers," Early Modern Documents – University of Leiden, Vatican Docs #133.
https://docs.google.com/document/d/1_CAx2UzKivAxS92eFQBUCQ2fawz_In-A/edit
[283] Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 19.

corsair captain, a Dutchman named Simon Danseker, famously refused to convert to Islam, and was eventually murdered by the dey of Tunis in 1615 for what the dey described as "his crimes against Islam."[284] Thus, in order to join the Muslim fleets, these renegades converted, and thus were able to reap the rewards of an Islamic piracy that took the place of their state-sponsored privateering.

As a result of the opportunities available to converted captives, personal freedom was the most common reason for conversion. Personal freedom is an interesting additional motive, as it cannot be equated with economic or religious inspiration, but often combined elements of both. However, conversion as a means of freedom was a route that was really only available to Christian captives in North Africa, and not their Muslim counterparts in Europe. Freedom was also not guaranteed for European converts; Joseph Pitts wrote in his 1704 captivity narrative that the idea that Christians are immediately freed upon conversion is a misconception, and in fact, he knew some captives who converted to live out their days in North Africa remaining in captivity.[285] This seems to be the exception to the rule rather than the norm, however; while Pitts writes about Muslim owners that they seem to care more about their money than their captives, he also states that it is very uncommon for them not to free converted captives, even if it brings about a financial loss: "And you must know that when a Christian slave turns Mohammetan, there can be no ransom for him, but yet it is looked on as an infamous thing for any patroon [owner]…to deny them their liberty…"[286] Conversion for freedom, then, might have been more economically motivated for converted

[284] Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 64.
[285] Pitts, "A True and Faithful Account," 307.
[286] Pitts, "A True and Faithful Account," 306.

European captives in North Africa, as it finally gave them autonomy and the ability to work for themselves and make a living, such as the Danish captive Hark Olufs, who held various jobs including treasurer during his time as a freed convert in Algeria.[287] However, converts like Olufs and Pitts who eventually returned to Europe maintained their Christian beliefs (or at least claimed to in their narratives) during their time as supposed Muslims, and so there does not seem to be any real religious conviction supporting their conversion, which seems to have been done more out of self-preservation. There are examples of Christians who did convert to Islam and live out their lives in North Africa, like Thomas d'Arcos, but he was ransomed first and chose to then remain and convert, so while his conversion seems to have been genuine, it was not the conversion which initially gave him his freedom. In contrast to the seemingly secular explanations for Christian conversions, the same cannot be said for Muslim slaves in Europe. Economic gain and freedom do not seem to be adequate explanations for apostasy, and in this case, there may have been more religious conviction involved than for the majority of Christian captives who converted.

The case of Muslim slaves converting to Christianity follows a different set of parameters than the conversions of Christian captives, and so it is not out of the question that religious conviction may have been a primary motivation in these conversions. Ariel Salzmann discusses how Christian converts to Islam would have had more opportunities not only for themselves but for their families, and these converts were often given assistance by former masters or the government.[288] These same benefits simply did not exist for Muslims who converted to Christianity. According to Salzmann, these 'gains', which were in many

[287] Olufs, "The Remarkable Adventures of Hark Olufs," 240.
[288] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains," 402.

cases so meager they hardly merit being considered gains at all, included the right to bequeath property when a slave died and the right to sleep outside their *bagnio*.[289] Muslim slaves at Caserta who converted received some better treatment,[290] slept in a different building than the Muslim slaves, and wore different clothes than their former coreligionists.[291] Muslim slaves in the Roman port of Civitavecchia who converted were rewarded with little more than better work.[292] None of these gains seem adequate enough to explain these conversions from an economic or personal standpoint, especially when coupled with the fact that converts to Christianity risked running afoul of both their fellow slaves and the Inquisition, who could charge them with secretly remaining Muslim.[293] Christian society was not very trusting of Muslim converts, and these converts were not allowed to leave for fear they might reject their new faith.[294] Islamic converts merely had to say a few words to be accepted as converts,[295] and then were more or less free to practice as they pleased.[296] Muslim slaves were not even allowed to convert if they were suspected of wanting to do so for the wrong reasons, and once they had been allowed to convert, they were held to a strict regimen of services and prayer, as well as being closely watched by the Inquisition, none of which were exactly kept secret from potential converts.[297] Taking all of these deterrents into consideration, it seems unlikely that there can be any explanation aside from religious conviction that led to the conversions of Muslim slaves to Christianity. Certainly, some likely

[289] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains," 402.
[290] Thomas notes that conversion for better treatment alone was discouraged as a practice.
[291] Thomas, "Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta," 180-181.
[292] Walden, "Muslim Slaves in Early Modern Rome," 316
[293] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains," 402-403.
[294] Thomas, "Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta," 174.
[295] Pitts, "A True and Faithful Account," 312.
[296] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains," 402.
[297] Thomas, "Slavery and Construction at the Royal Palace of Caserta," 180.

remained internally Muslim, as did some Christian converts to Islam, but it is far more likely that Muslim slaves converted out of a true belief than Christian captives who converted for more economic or personal factors.

The role of owners in conversion complicates even further the struggle between religion and economics that captives faced when considering conversion. Economic and religious factors are both plain in the justification for either wanting or not wanting a captive to convert, and these inherently contradict one another from the perspective of the owner. Economically, it was bad business to have a captive who represented income either via their labor or through their ransom value and let them convert and go free; owners who did this were essentially throwing away an investment. Especially for owners of galley slaves and other hard labor captives, who needed every able body they could get, it was in their best interest to discourage conversion to preserve their workforce, and this likely contributed to the religious freedoms experienced by Christian captives in North Africa that were discussed in Chapter 3.[298] Religiously, however, it must be kept in mind that Mediterranean captivity formed an economic dimension of the centuries-old Christian and Muslim holy struggle, and so the ideological victory that took place whenever a captive converted was no small occurrence. This ideological battle can be seen in the motivations for religious redemption orders, some attempts of individual owners to have their captives convert, whether by force or by promises of rewards,[299] and the processions of converts that took place on both sides of the Mediterranean. In France, these processions included both Muslim and Protestant

[298] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains," 402.
[299] Hasleton, "Strange and Wonderful Things Happened to Richard Hasleton," 89; Pitts, "A True and Faithful Account," 312.

converts to Catholicism, a reminder of the true complexity of religious divisions in the era.[300] Even captives who did return home were scrutinized for possible signs of secret adherence to a different faith than the one they had left their homes with, and this distrust can often be seen in captivity narratives, where the redeemed authors have a chance to show their loyalty to their preferred brand of Christianity, even if they had been converts in North Africa.[301] Masters who tortured their slaves into conversion, such as in the case of Joseph Pitts, were then beating away their investments, while those who discouraged conversion could be said to be dishonoring their religion. The complications of the question of conversion were endless, and for owners, caught between the competing pulls of two ideologies, the correct choice was not always clear.

Conversion, then, like everything else tangled in the web of Mediterranean captivity, cannot be explained simply in terms of one factor, or even simply at all. All of the players on the captive stage played roles governed by distinct motives, but ones that were often clouded by one another, and so decisions that might seem to make sense based off one set of beliefs, like the refusal of a captive to convert in order to find freedom, might in the end cost them their lives. On the other hand, the opposite decision, to convert as a way to find freedom, would be scrutinized by both master and countrymen, and someone would always be vilified by someone else for their chosen set of beliefs. More than just conversion, even, many aspects of the system seem contradictory, exceptions to a quickly unraveling rule, that at a quick glance are perfectly understandable. A closer examination of the entire system, however, brings clarity to the lives of the many thousands of men, women, and children

[300] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 49.
[301] Pitts, "A True and Faithful Account," 219.

caught up inside this system, and when looking at it from the perspective of the captive, the ideologies take a backseat to the people who lived them. For Christians in North Africa and Muslims in Europe alike, political maneuverings and diplomatic negotiations were of little interest; economic prospects and religious loyalties were important, but not binding. Captives were just that – people in captivity, ensnared by corsairs and a system that was built on their servitude, and through it all, those people did their best to remain just that. It is important to preserve the humanity of those who spent time in captivity, and remember that through all the ideologies and competing factors that decided their fate, the only fate they were concerned with was finding their freedom and returning home.

Conclusion/Epilogue

Understanding the complex system of early modern Mediterranean captivity is not an easy task. One cannot view the system purely through one lens, whether that be religious, economic, political, or even ethnic; to ignore one or more of these factors would be to miss out on the full picture. Like all systems of slavery and captivity, the early modern Mediterranean one was, at its roots, an economic system designed to turn a profit through either the free use of enslaved labor or the money made through ransoms and treaties, primarily for the North African states. On top of the economic intentions, though, this particular system was governed by a religious ideology that separated captive from captor just as the sea separated the two continents – Europe and Africa – from one another. Those religious ties, which often but not always fell along ethnic lines, rivalled financial gain as the primary motive for the capture and especially redemption of captives on both sides of the Mediterranean. Throughout the process of seizure, servitude, and salvation, the driving forces of God and gain would sometimes align, and they would sometimes butt heads, but both always impacted the fortunes of everyone involved. This was true for the original capture of captives, the ways in which they were treated during their captivity, and how, or if, they managed to find freedom.

Throughout this system, as seen in this thesis through the journey of the captive, there are examples of events that were only possible as a result of the unique conditions produced by the world of the early modern Mediterranean. Only in this system would Protestants and Muslims live side by side as captives, collaborating against Catholic oppression, under which sometimes Muslims even received better treatment from their Christian masters than their

fellow Christian prisoners.[302] Only in this system would a Dutch-born Muslim captain of a Moroccan ship raid villages in Iceland, and bring the captives he had taken back to a region whose cities were just as likely to be ruled by a converted European as they were by a born Muslim. Only in this system would national and political and religious and economic ties all supersede one another, and it was up to each individual captive how they used the system to their advantage in surviving what could be a very brutal captivity and trying to find their way home. Early modern Mediterranean captivity is not an easily definable system; its complex is termed such for a reason.

Within all of that complexity, though, there are some conclusions that can be drawn from this study of this system. This thesis is meant to examine Mediterranean captivity in a way that builds on the existing historiography while also acknowledging some of its inconsistencies and biases. Building on such a long historiography and one that has evolved a great deal over time is not an easy task, especially when that historiography itself draws on as rich of a primary source genre as captivity narratives. While they do make a brilliant collection of primary sources, captivity narratives were also highly influenced by the motives of their authors, who were themselves highly influenced by their surroundings, and this renders them unable to be completely reliable sources. Looking at them through the lens of secondary scholarship and roughly four centuries of historical hindsight, these narratives have now become sources that require qualification with their use because of the ways that they wrote about early modern North Africa. The pro-Christian and anti-Muslim tone taken in many of these narratives had two important lasting impacts on the study of early modern

[302] Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains," 403-404.

Mediterranean captivity: it incorrectly separated European and North African captivity into distinct and uncorrelated systems, and it led to an eclipse of the study of Muslim slavery until relatively recently. Through an examination of these narratives and their motivations, as well as their effect on the historiography, it is clear that while the presence of these narratives is a unique and important asset to the historiography and their effect on later scholarship cannot be understated, that effect was not always positive in its skewing of the reality of early modern Mediterranean captivity, and only later studies began to correct the misconceptions initially promulgated in the captivity narratives.

The main historiographical trends this thesis aimed to correct were the ideas that the two captivities were unrelated, and also that, as suggested in some narratives, North African captivity was a horribly cruel endurance with no contemporary counterpart. Some narratives do acknowledge otherwise, particularly those by Protestants who experienced similar treatment in Europe.[303] However, direct scholarly comparison did not exist until recently, and even then, they were largely articles rather than full monographs. Still, these sources were important in presenting the realities of both captivities, and beyond that, making it clear that they were actually two sides of the same system rather than individual ones. The analysis of European and North African captivity in Chapter Three looks to build on this historiographical turn and further reinforce the interconnectedness of captivity across the early modern Mediterranean. It also attempts to show the realities of those captivities as much as possible, and what those realities tell about the links between those in bondage on either shore. The reality of the captivity, regardless of location, was that it was an

[303] See the accounts of Richard Hasleton and Isaac Brassard – Hasleton, "Strange and Wonderful Things Happened to Richard Hasleton," Brassard, "The Tale of Mr. Brassard's Captivity in Algiers,"

exceedingly harsh and often cruel system of captivity and slavery, and this thesis in no way attempts to obscure that fact. What is important to understand in conjunction with that, however, is that it was the same, except for a few variations, across the board. Captive Muslims and Christians could be subjected to the galleys, do hard labor, be domestic servants, or work whatever odd jobs they needed to make ends meet for their masters. The nuances of the captivity come in an analysis of their freedoms, and like a lot in the realm of Mediterranean captivity, those freedoms within captivity are often closely tied to religion. The freedom of worship enjoyed by Christian captives was the standout difference between the two captivities, and it has led to almost an overcorrection of the attitude encapsulated in the desperate descriptions of Christian suffering in the captivity narratives. While it seems clear that Christian captives enjoyed more privileges than their Muslim counterparts, this does not take away from the reality of the brutality of their captivity. These privileges were an escape from that brutality, rather than an alleviation of it, and this was one of the two biggest difference between the two captivities. The other main difference between the two was a captive's ability to attain their liberty.

Chapter Four examines the ability of captives to return home, and to that end, this thesis shows that due to the presence of organized ransom institutions, in particular religious redeemers, it was much easier for Christian captives to achieve manumission than it was for Muslim slaves. Catholic religious redeemers were the most effective and industrious of all the groups attempting to secure ransoms in the early modern period, and their successes in facilitating ransoms were instrumental in sending potential authors of captivity narratives back to Europe, whose narratives then often credited those institutions for their role in helping them gain their liberty. These institutions were supported by their governments, who

often sent them to North Africa in their stead, and the religious-political relationship flowed very well within the economic context of the ransom economy. Secular parties also negotiated ransoms, and this was where both Christians and Muslims could find salvation. Christian captives had more paths to manumission, yes, but that did not mean that Muslim slaves had none. Historiographically, Muslim ransom 'institutions', which were entirely secular and very informal compared to the actual organizations that existed for Christians, have not been a widely studied chapter of Mediterranean captivity, but governmental and private ransoms, as well as exchanges, were harnessed by Muslim slaves in the same ways as Christian captives, if somewhat less frequently. Christians more often used consular officials while Muslims favored letters home to family, but both methods were employed when needed, as were the middlemen who moved letters, money, and captives back and forth. Escapes and conversion were also potential paths to redemption occasionally available to captives, but they were not always successful and did not always guarantee liberty. Understanding these routes to freedom is important, but exploring the factors that combined to create the conditions for these paths to manumission is central to a developing the complete picture of Mediterranean captivity that this thesis is constructing.

Throughout the journey of captivity, the main factors that governed the fates of the system's victims were economics and religion. Previous scholarship has often chosen one or the other as the lens through which to examine captivity, but this thesis follows the recent trend of viewing them as symbiotic in their governance of captivity and redemption. Chapter Four looks specifically at the religious and economic influence on conversion, but they had an influence on the other forms of manumission as well. Ransoms, for example, were economic transactions often conducted by religious organizations whose primary motive was

to protect Christian captives from conversion to Islam. This motive still places conversion at the center of the confluence between economics and religion, though, and this religious transfer could be precipitated by purely financial and personal motives, seemingly more common for Christian captives, or religious conviction, seemingly more common for Muslim slaves, even if it did not guarantee their liberty. One important difference in conversion between Christian captives and Muslim slaves is that while conversion almost always meant freedom for Christians, it was the opposite for Muslims, who were almost never freed upon conversion. Christian captives to Islam enjoyed much more freedom upon conversion, including their liberty, than Muslim slaves who were at best afforded their own quarters and better treatment if they adopted Catholicism. The freedom given to converts was also in the hands of the owners, who might decide to free a converted slave for religious reasons or discourage a captive from converting in order to preserve their economic investment, another instance of the application of competing motives to conversion. There was also no guarantee converts would be accepted by their new societies, and captives who converted but returned home were also under suspicion from their time as a captive and a convert.

To put all of these complex nuances of conversion simply, at every turn in the process of conversion, potential converts, their owners, and the societies converts were joining were being simultaneously influenced by religious ideas as well as economic ones, and more often than not, these ideas overlapped. Throughout Chapter Four, this thesis uses different forms of manumission to show how captives managed to make it home, with a particular focus on ransom as the most common. However, it is through conversion where this thesis illustrates the effects of religion and economics on manumission and how closely linked these two

factors were in determining the fate of those who fell victim to the system of early modern Mediterranean captivity.

The main takeaways from this study are admittedly a little confusing. The whole system of captivity was confusing, a labyrinthine system where little more than circumstance separated captor from captive and the closer one inspects events, the further they seem to deviate from whatever preconceived rule one had about the system. That complexity, though, is in itself an important takeaway. Not every system has a clear rule that dictates how it will run, and this is the case for early modern Mediterranean captivity; its defining rule, its one absolute ideology, is that there is not one, but rather a combination of multiple factors. There are some more concrete conclusions to be drawn, though, and these have to do with the realities of captivity and the ideas that dictated those realities. The shifts over time in the historiography of this topic mirror these conclusions, and this thesis is designed to present them in a way that not only draws but builds on those historiographical shifts. The realities of the interconnectedness of Christian and Muslim captivity, the numerous similarities in treatment within the entire captive system, and the impact of religion and economics on every facet of captivity are all trends that have developed over the course of increased scholarship on the subject, scholarship that now includes this thesis.

In addition to these concrete takeaways, though, one of the other goals of this thesis is to shed some light on a phenomenon that is not widely known today, but had and continues to have a great impact on the global political landscape. Piracy has had a huge place in the public conscience, and any mention of them conjures swashbuckling images of skull and crossbones and romantic figures with eye patches and peg legs. It does not usually evoke

Muslim corsairs, or even converted Christian ones, roving the Mediterranean and Atlantic on the prowl for ships and captives to take back to port. Captivity, and especially slavery, usually brings to mind the chattel slavery of the Americas rather than the system of early modern Mediterranean captivity that served as its contemporary. Despite taking a backseat in the popular historical memory, though, this system was a very highly organized and formidable one, one that touched people across Europe, North Africa, and even the Middle East. As argued in this thesis, this system is now beginning to be properly recognized for what it was: one system of captivity which had more or less equal treatment across the board, and was an economic-based system that blended with religious influences to determine the fates of those who cowered at their capture, suffered in servitude, and above all else, never stopped hoping for home and trying to find their freedom.

Epilogue

On June 28, 1815, a fleet of American warships sailed into the Bay of Algiers and presented the dey with a series of demands that included the end of tributes to Algiers, an Algerian payment of $10,000 to the Americans, and the release of all American prisoners in Algiers. This bold American stroke was the culmination of more than a decade of conflict and treaties after American insertion into Mediterranean trade at the end of the eighteenth century landed them into the Mediterranean captivity system and the associated treaty-and-tribute agreement with the various North African powers. Rather than rest on their laurels, the Americans then promptly sailed to Tunis, where they replicated the feat and extracted a $46,000 payment, and then did the same in Tripoli, where the pasha coughed up $25,000.

Rather than put an end to Barbary captivity, though, all these agreements did was inspire the North African leaders to renege on them, especially the dey of Algiers.[304]

As a result of this backtracking, May of 1816 saw the arrival of an English fleet led by Admiral Lord Exmouth, whose instructions were to negotiate a peace between various European powers and the North Africans, and he actually succeeded in doing so with Tunis and Tripoli, who both agreed to end Christian captivity completely. This left Algiers as the last remaining thorn in Exmouth's side, and the dey refused the total end of an institution that was as vital to the economy as Christian captivity. After some hostilities and failed negotiations, Exmouth returned to Algiers in late August at the head of a joint Anglo-Dutch fleet, and after the dey refused an ultimatum to abolish captivity, Exmouth and his fleet sent fifty thousand shots into the city, obliterating the Algerian navy and relegating the city to a smoldering ruin. Finally, the dey gave in, and signed a treaty agreeing to the end of Christian captivity in Algiers and the release of all the captives currently in the city. The once-great institution had been brought to its knees, and with it, the corsair fleets who had for so long given Christian Europe a gargantuan headache. More importantly for Europe, however, the final defeat of these city-states opened the door for the future conquest and colonizing of North Africa, and the first European imperialist incursion into North Africa, the 1830 French invasion of Algeria, was in many ways a result of the threat of the Barbary corsairs and the larger Mediterranean captivity complex. The historian Adrian Tinniswood summarizes the relationship between early modern captivity and imperialism well, and underscores the paradoxical ideologies at the heart of the matter.[305]

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[304] Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 293-295.
[305] Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 295-302.

"There's an obvious irony here. Fear of European conquest had turned the Barbary states into pirate kingdoms in the first place, motivating the Barbarossa brothers and their sixteenth-century corsairs to set out on their sea-*jihad*. Without that fear of conquest, Barbary's socialized piracy would never have grown into the scourge of Christendom; its followers would not have become the shock troops on the front line of the defense of the Islamic world. And ultimately the only way Europe could find to deal with the scourge was to conquer Barbary, sweeping away the corsairs in a tidal wave of colonialism."[306]

Early modern Mediterranean captivity was one of the most unique chapters in this ongoing ideological arms race between Christian Europe and Muslim North Africa, and the Barbary corsairs, like Tinniswood writes, were merely one very potent cog in the wheel of captivity, a wheel that could turn very fast indeed, and where good fortune was more often than not the only line between captor and captive. The end of this captivity system was merely the transition from one phase of the conflict into a new, more sinister and imperialistic one, but the same principles that sent European converts out on North African ships and put men like Joseph Pitts and Antoine Quartier and Hark Olufs into bondage would surely have been recognizable to those living during French imperialism in nineteenth-century Algeria.

An understanding of this system is built on making sense of those principles and ideologies, and as the historiography has evolved from its nascent form comprised of captivity narratives to modern sweeping studies of the entire complex as a whole, those ideologies have remained constant. Further research on the topic will undoubtedly uncover

[306] Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 302.

new twists and turns in the story, and shed light on some of the voices that have yet to be heard, particularly more of the experiences of Muslim slaves in Europe. Attempts to find and elevate their words to the level of prestige of their European counterparts would open a new door in the scholarship of Mediterranean captivity that would expand the scope of the historiography even more, all the while reinforcing the roles of economics and religion in governing the system. This thesis aims to demonstrate those roles, particularly through the journey of the captives, as they are the ones without whom the system does not exist, and their words and stories have brought their experiences to life and introduced names and personality into the previously indiscriminate system. From their initial capture and arrival in port, to their lives in captivity and dreams of manumission, to one day either finding it and returning triumphantly or watching that dream fade over the horizon, the captives are the storytellers of Mediterranean slavery, and the ideas and motivations which first appeared in captivity narratives are still being echoed in modern sources.

Early modern Mediterranean captivity does not need romanticization, nor should it be romanticized. It was, after all, a system of slave labor which plucked countless souls from their homes and whisked them off to a foreign land, never to see their families again. It was unmistakably cruel and violent, its history peppered with beatings and torture and mutilations and murders, and from that perspective, it is not something to be celebrated. But the individual experiences, the will to survive and preserve one's dignity, the bravery and courage of persevering through grueling labor in an alien land, all the while maintaining one's faith, stand out among the smoking wreck of this predatory system as a sole redeemer, not of the ideas, but of the people. Wherever and whenever possible, these captives fought to hold onto the only things they could take with them into captivity – themselves. Despite

some of the benefits enjoyed by captives, primarily Christian ones, the system of captivity was designed to break people down, reduce them to economic boons and points on the scoreboard of an exhaustive religious conflict. And yet, the captivity narratives tell of moral strength and unity; they honor individuals who made it their duties to help those in bondage, even if their motivations were not the purest; they make heroes of even the most modest of men. Their lives put on pause, trapped between the crushing weight of religious passion and financial prowess, the captives are what makes early modern Mediterranean captivity the unique system that it was. Amidst all the fear and despair and hardship suffered by captives on both sides of the sea, they always had hope and faith on their side, and the belief that the next ship over the horizon, the next ship to sail through the fog of religious and economic devotion, would be the one to carry them to freedom.

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Images

Figure 1, "Map of the Mediterranean in the Seventeenth Century," in *Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests, and Captivity in the 17th-Century Mediterranean* by Adrian Tinniswood, New York, London: Riverhead Books, 2010.

Figure 2, "Marché aux esclaves chrétiens à Alger," in *Historie van Barbaryen, En des zelfs Zee-Roovers* by Pierre Dan, Amsterdam, 1684. Bibliothèque nationale de France. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b2000020m/f22.item.

Figure 3, "Un marché d'esclaves chrétiens," in *Historie van Barbaryen, En des zelfs Zee-Roovers* by Pierre Dan, Amsterdam, 1684. Bibliothèque nationale de France. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b2000020m/f23.item.

Figure 4, "Galère barbaresque," in *Historie van Barbaryen, En des zelfs Zee-Roovers* by Pierre Dan, Amsterdam, 1684. Bibliothèque nationale de France. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b2000020m/f20.item.

Figure 5, "Barbares ou Barbaresques d'Alger," in *Historie van Barbaryen, En des zelfs Zee-Roovers* by Pierre Dan, Amsterdam, 1684. Bibliothèque nationale de France. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b2000020m.item.

Figure 6, "Title page," in *L'esclave religieux, et ses avantures* by Antoine Quartier, Paris, 1690. Bibliothèque nationale de France. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k326960k?rk=21459;2.