

Forum: "Chineseness" and "Europeaness" 【專題論文】

Imagining Europe through Barbary Captivity 由巴巴利海賊的擄贖行為談關於歐洲的想像

Gillian Weiss*

Keywords: Europe, France, Barbary, North Africa, Algeria, Captivity, Slavery, Corsairs, Crusade

關鍵詞：歐洲、法國、巴巴利地區、北非、阿爾及利亞，擄贖行為、擄贖奴、私掠者、十字軍

* Assistant Professor of History, Case Western Reserve University.

Abstract

For hundreds of years, state-sponsored corsairs and petty maritime bandits from "Barbary"—comprised of the Ottoman regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, and the independent kingdom of Morocco—preyed on Christian Europe's ships and shores, carrying away cargo and human beings. Between the mid seventeenth and the early nineteenth century, France pursued what it cast as two crusades against captivity in North Africa: the first to redeem Catholic countrymen; the second to liberate white Europeans. The transposition of a religious quest onto a secular undertaking helped justify the invasion of what became the nation of Algeria. And efforts to reverse and then eradicate Barbary slavery helped both to define the attributes of French belonging and demarcate the boundaries of Europe.

摘要

所謂巴巴利地區，指的是當時為鄂圖曼帝國勢力範圍的阿爾及利亞、突尼斯與的黎波里三者，加上獨立的摩洛哥王國等區域。自十六世紀起，巴巴利地區便橫行著許多得到王室特許的私掠者及非法的海賊，為時數百年之久。這些私掠者與海賊攻擊基督教歐洲各國所屬的船艦、侵擾沿岸土地、奪取船載貨物，並擄押船員為奴。

從十七世紀中至十八世紀初，法國為此先後向北非派遣了兩支十字軍部隊：第一次是為了贖回一批天主教農民，第二次則是為了解救歐洲各國遭押的奴隸。

十字軍部隊成立最初的目的在於從事宗教性的任務，其後卻產生轉變，越來越強調世俗性的任務；這便賦予了法國派遣十字軍出兵阿爾及利亞進行侵略的正當性。

然而，在歐洲企圖根絕巴巴利海賊擄贖行為的努力過程中，關於「法蘭西」的屬性不僅逐漸被定義，更劃出了關於「歐洲」的明確疆界。

Over the past four hundred years, North African assaults on Christian Europe's ships and shores have inspired operas, plays, songs, poems and fictionalized first-person accounts of bloodthirsty pirates, dissolute renegades, martyred clerics and crafty slaves in exotic climes. Spain's Miguel de Cervantes, taken prisoner during the 1571 Battle of Lepanto, for example, imbedded a semi-autobiographical "Captive's Tale" within *Don Quixote*. Before hurling his 1719 protagonist onto a desert island, Britain's Daniel Defoe cast Robinson Crusoe into Moroccan bondage. Icelandic folklore preserves memories of the 1627 descent on Reykjavik that carried off four hundred souls to Algiers. Americans still commemorate their nation's first foreign conflict in 1805 by singing about the shores of Tripoli.

In different periods, the seizure of Hamburgers, Danes, Irish, Portuguese and Neapolitans by state-sponsored corsairs and petty maritime bandits and their enslavement in the geographic area popularly known as "Barbary" provided evidence of European vulnerability and forced admissions of cultural relativity. In others, detention in the Ottoman regencies of Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers and the independent kingdom of Morocco motivated demonstrations of military and religious supremacy. After 9/11 pundits in the United States began to identify in pre-modern efforts to thwart and ultimately halt the ravages of sea rovers in the Mediterranean the roots of what the Bush administration called the global war on Muslim terrorism.¹

This article examines the role of France from the mid seventeenth to the early nineteenth century in pursuing what it cast as two crusades against Barbary captivity: the first to redeem Catholic countrymen; the second to liberate white Europeans. The transposition of a religious quest onto a secular undertaking helped justify the

¹ Recent English-language studies of Barbary captivity include: Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slaves in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Linda Colley, *Captives: The Story of Britain's Pursuit of Empire and How its Soldiers and Civilians Were Held Captive by the Dream of Global Supremacy, 1600-1850* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2002).

invasion of what became the nation of Algeria. And efforts to reverse and then eradicate servitude in North Africa helped both to define the attributes of French belonging and demarcate the boundaries of Europe.

Religious Crusade

Heir to Louis IX, sainted for leading French soldiers to the Holy Land, Louis XIV called himself the "Most Christian King:" guardian of sacred sites, enemy of heretics, protector of the worldwide faithful. At the helm of the Gallican Church, he sponsored missions to convert savages in the New World; in the Old he clashed with Catholic dissenters and persecuted Protestants. Via consuls stationed in North African ports, naval officers sent to discharge bombs, emissaries dispatched to negotiate treaties and members of two orders—the Trinitarians and the Mercedarians—founded in the Middle Ages and dedicated to releasing brethren from the grip of the infidel, he also attempted to shield France from the potentially corrupting influence of Islam.² In the popular imagination, fed by harrowing narratives and engravings (Figure 1), that Frenchmen and women might repudiate Christianity and "turn Turk" was the greatest peril of Barbary captivity. Tantamount to treason, it represented the betrayal of God, king and country.

Yet despite this perceived threat of incarceration in Muslim territories to religious and sovereign loyalty, Louis XIV—distracted by more pressing domestic and foreign conflicts—was initially prepared to abandon a portion of his enslaved subjects, who tended to be impoverished seafarers native to peripheral parts of the

2 On the early modern French activities of the *Frères de la Sainte Trinité* (Trinitarians) founded in 1198 and the *Pères de la Merci* (Mercedarians) established in 1218, see Paul Deslandres, *L'Ordre des Trinitaires pour le rachat des captifs*, 2 Vols. (Toulouse: Privat, 1903) and Hugues Cocard, "Les Pères de la Merci dans le royaume de France depuis le Concile de Trente jusqu'à la fin de l'ancien régime" (Thèse de troisième cycle, Université d'Angers, 1982).

realm. Ransoming priorities driven by practical, as well as spiritual considerations, he left the regionally organized Mercedarians and Trinitarians to buy back only individuals deemed crucial to the kingdom's strength and stability. As one friar explained,

[They] pulled from the chain, men who in Christian Lands could be useful to the public or in service to his Majesty. They delivered from Africa married men, who will now raise children left to run wild during their fathers' detention. [Finally], they returned to the Church several of her children, who driven by the force of famine, work, torments and confusion, might have soon abandoned the side of Jesus Christ and, with souls lost, followed that of Muhammad.³



Figure 1 (Source: Musée de la Marine, Paris).

3 [Michel Auvry], *Le Miroir de la charité chrétienne ou Relation du voyage que les religieux de l'Ordre de Notre Dame de la Mercy du Royaume de France ont fait l'année dernière 1662. en la ville d'Alger; d'où ils ont ramené environ une centaine de Chrétiens esclaves* (Aix: chez Jean-Baptiste & Etienne Roize, 1663), pp. 115-116.

From the 1640s through the 1670s, a score of voyages to North Africa brought home hundreds of the many thousands of Provençals, Gascons, Basques, Normans and Bretons swept away in land raids or, more often, chased down on open water.⁴ Back in France, men freed from toils in construction, small-scale agriculture, skilled crafts, administration, navigation and domestic service, and the occasional woman freed from a harem, then had a contractual obligation to march in processions of thanksgiving and reintegration. These elaborate pageants, which lasted from one to three months, re-enacted the hardships of slavery and the triumph of redemption through costumes, props, music and prayer. Weaving from coast to capital, they collected money for future rescue missions and brought a terrifying picture of Barbary captivity to inland villages. They also projected a vision of generous Catholicism meant to prove edifying to Protestant spectators and reminded participants—whose geographical origins and North African experience had left with perhaps only tenuous allegiances to the monarch and his Church—of nascent identities as pious Catholics and devoted subjects.

Many seventeenth-century slave processions culminated with a royal audience. While still a boy, recalled one printed account, the future Sun King "took pleasure in seeing [a group of liberated captives], and examining them for a good long time, seemed to form a plan in his heart to go himself (like another Saint Louis) to chastise the insolence of these Barbarians who treat his poor subjects so inhumanely."⁵ Apart from one disastrous attempt to establish a base on the Algerian coast, however, it was not until the 1680s that Louis XIV took up his ancestor's crusading mantle and unleashed his full naval arsenal against North Africa. A series of violent onslaughts over the next decade—made more destructive thanks to a new type of

4 For an analysis of the number of French captives in North Africa from about 1550 to 1830 and the percentage ransomed by the Trinitarians and Mercedarians, see Gillian Weiss, "Back from Barbary: Captivity, Redemption and French Identity in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Mediterranean," (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2002), chap. 1 and apps. 1 and 2.

5 Lucien Hérault, *Les Larmes et clameurs des chrestiens françois de nation en la ville d'Alger en Barbarie* (Paris: D. Houssaye, 1643), pp. 4-5.

battleship for launching explosive shells at sea—convinced the rulers of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli to let go a torrent of slaves. Sermons, medals, pamphlets and images all paid tribute to the leader who with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was cleansing France of Protestants and with multiple salvos against the Barbary States was cleansing the Mediterranean of its Muslim scourge (Figure 2).



Figure 2 (Source: Musée de la Marine, Paris).

Through legal diktat and military might, this warrior-king restored the freedom and patrolled the religious and political affiliations of Frenchmen. He also positioned himself as avenger of Christendom. Appearing to take up the banner in an ongoing clash between Crescent and Cross was at least in part a matter of expedience. Not only did fighting corsairs and freeing captives on the western edge of the Ottoman Empire deflect attention from a commercial and strategic alliance with the sultan called the Capitulations.⁶ It also gave France cover for state building and territorial expansion. By claiming as French and demanding the release of all Catholic subjects enslaved in North Africa and then parading them through the countryside, Louis XIV helped incorporate residents of longstanding maritime provinces into the polity. Over the course of the next century, his descendants employed redemption from Barbary as a means of consolidating control over more recently annexed European lands like Corsica. The actions of France's revolutionary government and Napoléon Bonaparte to save slaves from North Africa would show even more clearly the extent to which the idea of crusade carried within it the seed of colonization,⁷ the degree to which liberation served as guise for conquest.

Secular Crusade

By the time the Bourbon monarchy ceded to the French nation—which outlawed all religious orders including the Trinitarians and Mercedarians—extremely few natives of metropolitan France remained in Barbary captivity. But given that, as a deputy to the National Assembly put it in spring 1792, "There is nothing more im-

6 The first Capitulations, dated 1535—or 1536, according to the Gregorian calendar—were regularly renewed over the next three hundred years. See L.J.D. Féraud-Giraud, *De la Juridiction française dans les échelles du Levant et de Barbarie: Etude sur la condition légale des étrangers dans les pays hors chrétienté*, 2nd ed., 2 Vols. (Paris: A. Maresq Ainé, 1866).

7 On this point, see Norman Daniel, *Islam, Europe and Empire* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1966), esp. pp. 67-69, 328.

portant, nor more pressing for the representatives of a free people than to ensure that every individual enjoy this noble and proud liberty to the full," successive national bodies committed themselves to interceding on behalf of "our ill-fated brothers languishing in [Barbary] irons."⁸ Then, during the Revolutionary Wars that greatly expanded France's borders and sphere of influence, the Directory extended its reach across the Mediterranean from captive French citizens to incarcerated residents of freshly-established continental "sister republics"—in partial fulfillment of the new nation's sweeping, secular crusade to bring freedom to "all peoples who want to recover their liberty."⁹

During the decades that followed, Bonaparte forced the North African regencies to recognize as French and unfetter thousands more slaves from former Italian city-states, not to protect them from apostasy but to place them firmly under his dominion. For the first consul, redemption was a mode of jockeying for Great Power status, a bid to assume the cloak of Christendom in order to grab the staff of Empire. Various diplomats urged him to go further and, like divinely-sanctioned French rulers before him, wreak vengeance against the most notorious of the Barbary States, which "for centuries, has ridden roughshod over the most sacred of nations and humanity."¹⁰ In 1802 Bonaparte threatened the *dey* of Algiers directly. "I destroyed the empire of the Mamelukes," he thundered, in reference to the Egyptian

8 Jean-Baptiste Jamon, "Rapport à l'assemblée nationale, au nom du comité des secours publics, tant sur le rachat de tous les françois captifs chez les puissances barbaresques que sur celui de tout étranger qui, étant au service d'un François, ou employés sur les bâtimens de la Nation, seroit tombé en captivité" (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1792), p. 5. For the resulting decree, dated 10 March, see Sylvain Lebeau ed., *Recueil des lois relatives à la marine et aux colonies*, 9 Vols. (Paris: Imprimerie de la République, 1797; reprint, The French Revolution Research Collection, 1992), 2, p. 408.

9 Decree of the National Convention, 19 November 1792, *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860: recueil complet des débats législatifs & politiques des chambres françaises, imprimé par ordre du Sénat et de la Chambre des députés*, 1st series, 49 Vols. (Paris: Librairie administrative de P. Dupont, 1894), 53, p. 474.

10 Consul Dubois-Thainville, "Sur Alger," Paris, 18 November 1809, AAE, MD, vol. 10, f. 261, reprinted in Gabriel Esquer ed., *Reconnaissance des villes, forts et batteries d'Alger par le chef de bataillon Boutin (1808), suivie des Mémoires sur l'Alger par les consuls de Kercy (1791) et Dubois-Thainville (1809)* (Paris: Champion, 1927), pp. 133-150.

campaign of four years prior, warning the Algerian leader to expect the same fate unless he reined in his corsairs and liberated all French nationals. A few years later, self-crowned as emperor, and stung by the loss of his most valuable American possession, Saint Domingue, to revolution, Bonaparte saw in North Africa a site for compensatory colonization and began secretly plotting where, when and how to land French forces.¹¹

While some French observers were waiting for a reincarnation of Saint Louis, others hoped to adapt another religious concept from a bygone era to the modern campaign against North Africa. Sectarian divisions had doomed previous schemes for a confederation of Christian princes to battle pirates and unshackle slaves.¹² At the twilight of the eighteenth century, continental and transatlantic philosophers and politicians exhorted Europe's most powerful states to set aside petty rivalries and band together in a "universal league" to pursue a just war of suppression and conquest.¹³ "When thus will nations jealous of liberty of the seas unite themselves in a

11 Napoléon Bonaparte to Mustafa *dey* of Algiers, Paris, 27 July 1802 in *Correspondance de Napoléon 1er*, 32 Vols. (Paris: H. Plon, J. Dumaine, 1858-1870), 7, pp. 513-514. Vincent-Yves Boutin's 1808 report, "Reconnaissance générale des villes, forts et batteries d'Alger, des environs, etc., faite en conséquence des ordres et instructions de Son Excellence Monseigneur Decrès, Ministre de la Marine, en date de 1er et 2 mai pour servir au projet de descente et d'établissement définitif dans ce pays, par le chef de bataillon Boutin," Archives de Guerre, Ms. 1314, reprinted in Esquer, *Reconnaissance des villes*, pp. 18-91.

12 For proposals from both Catholics and Protestants, see Jean Coppin, *Le Bouclier de l'Europe, ou La Guerre Sainte, contenant des avis politiques et chrétiens qui peuvent servir de lumière aux roys et aux souverains de la chrétienté pour garantir leurs Etats des incursions des Turcs et reprendre ceux qu'ils ont usurpés sur eux. Avec une relation des voyages faits dans la Turquie, la Thébaidé et la Barbarie* (Lyon: A. Briasson, 1686), cited in Dominique Carnoy, *Représentations de l'Islam dans la France du XVIIe siècle. La ville des tentations* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998), p. 19 and Jacques Bernard, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 1704, pt. Pp. 2, 662, cited in Russell Parsons Jameson, *Montesquieu et l'esclavage: étude sur les origines de l'opinion antiesclavagiste en France au XVIIIe siècle* (New York: B. Franklin, 1971), pp. 186-187.

13 In her "Arguments for the Conquest of Algiers in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," *Maghreb Review* 14, 1-2 (1989), pp. 108-118, for example, Ann Thomson points to implicit and explicit support for an international alliance among Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man* [1790-1791], Johan Adam von Rehbinder, *Nachrichten und Bemerkungen über den algierschen Staat* [1798-1800] and Constantin-François de Chasseboeuf, comte de Volney, *Considération sur la guerre des Turcs* [1788]. On the abbé Guillaume-Thomas Raynal's calls for the same, see Thomson, "La Barbarie de l'Histoire des deux Indes aux 'Mémoires' de Raynal," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 333 (1995), p. 133-148, esp. annex 2.

political crusade directed against this pack of Africans that only our patience emboldens to brigandage," demanded one French writer.¹⁴ In 1814 a retired British admiral posed a similar question at the Congress of Vienna. Eccentric founder of the "Society of the Knights Liberator of the White Slaves in Africa," Sir William Sidney Smith mourned the demise of the order of Saint-John-of-Jerusalem which, from its base on the island of Malta, had acted as bulwark against Islam in the Mediterranean. Drawing an analogy between the bondage of Sub-Saharan Africans and Europeans, he rallied delegates to join an international alliance to eradicate all forms of servitude and, once and for all, purge the seas of "Turkish pirates."¹⁵

During the Restoration, French ministers and consuls endorsed this objective in principle but suspected in Britain's plans to head up "a crusade destined to abolish white slavery" a play for colonial dominance. In an address to the Chamber of Peers in 1816, René de Chateaubriand called on King Louis XVIII to go it alone. "It was in France that the first crusade was preached," he proclaimed, "it is in France that the standard of the last should be raised."¹⁶ Despite qualms about British involvement and the admission that "having nothing to fear from the *Barbaresques*, [France] really had no interest in pressuring other powers to unite against them," however, the government backed a massive Anglo-Dutch assault. This offensive compelled Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli to release several thousand captives from places like Sicily, Sardinia and Naples and to foreswear future slave taking. Since North African corsairs still did not desist from attacking European people and prop-

14 Jacques Grasset-Saint-Saveur, *Encyclopédie des voyages, Contenant l'abrégé historique des mœurs, usages, habitudes domestiques, religions, fêtes, supplices, funérailles, sciences, arts, et commerce de tous les peuples*, 5 Vols. (Paris: Chez Deroy, 1796), 4, p. 12.

15 William Sidney Smith, *Mémoire sur la nécessité et les moyens de faire cesser les pirateries des états barbaresques* (Paris: Le Normant, 1814).

16 Consul Jacques-Philippe Devoise to Foreign Minister Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, Tunis, 22 March 1816, cited in Pierre Grandchamp, "Les français paient la caisse (mai 1816)," *La Tunisie Française*, 17 July 1941, in *Autour du Consulat de France à Tunis (1577-1881). Articles parus dans la Tunisie Française (Novembre 1940-juin 1942)* (Tunis: Imprimerie J. Aloccio, 1943), pp. 98-99. François-René de Chateaubriand, "Position relative aux puissances barbaresques," presented to the Chambre de Pairs, 9 April 1816, reprinted in *Œuvres complètes*, 12 Vols. (Paris: Garnier, 1859-1861), 8, pp. 237-238.

erty, French naval vessels participated in two additional forays to admonish the Barbary States "that the guaranteed effect of their perseverance in a system hostile to peaceful commerce would be a general league of European powers, the result of which might well be annihilation."¹⁷

The outbreak of the Greek War of Independence in 1821 provided France with further grounds for waging holy war against the Ottoman Empire and additional ammunition for championing what had already become the largely symbolic cause of Barbary captives. Although initially wary of a struggle that bore a frightening resemblance to the French Revolution, royalists eventually joined liberals as philhellenes, equally horrified by the massacre of rebellious Greek Christian men and the influx of their wives and children onto slave markets from Constantinople to Tunis. French proponents of Greek self-rule, like foes of North African servitude before them, invoked the name of Saint Louis and called for a "new crusade" against the infidel.¹⁸ One French abolitionist group, accepting the earlier analogy between Atlantic and Mediterranean slaveries, diverted funds to ransom these new "white slaves," an accomplishment it touted as a "beautiful triumph... [for] the sacred cause of humanity."¹⁹ For the beleaguered French king Charles X, who took the throne in 1824, Greece's eventual success in throwing off the Turkish yoke presaged

17 Prime minister Armand-Emmanuel du Plessis, duc de Richelieu, cited in Charles-André Julien, *Histoire d'Algérie contemporaine: La conquête et les débuts de la colonisation*, 2 Vols. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1964), 1, pp. 30. Protocol of 20 November 1818, printed in Eugène Plantet ed., *Correspondance des beys de Tunis et des consuls de France avec la cour, 1577-1830*, 3 Vols. (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1893-1899), 3, pp. 563-564 n. 3.

18 Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *French Images from the Greek War of Independence, 1821-1830: Art and Politics under the Restoration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 15-24; Jean Dimakis, *La guerre de l'indépendance grecque; vue par la presse française (période de 1821 à 1824). Contribution à l'étude de l'opinion publique et du mouvement philhellénique en France* (Thessalonique: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1968), pp. 257-259.

19 *Journal de la Société de la morale chrétienne* 9 (1829): 18-19 reporting on 27 September 1827 meeting in Marseille, cited in Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 309, 370 n 71.

France's—in vindicating what he depicted as its sullied honor and in occupying Algiers "for the profit of Christianity."²⁰

The Conquest of Algiers

What ended in France's take-over of the westernmost Ottoman regency began with a dispute over an unpaid debt and escalated into a diplomatic incident because of a flywhisk. When the Algerian *dey* refused to apologize for hitting the French consul with a utensil otherwise reserved for airborne insects in 1827, the king ordered a blockade. Three years later, in a vain attempt to improve his domestic standing with a foreign coup, he authorized the conquest that eventually resulted in a colony. In the interceding period, the merits of invading the regency were debated in the Chamber of Deputies and the press. Apart from government ministers and a few lone voices that called on "the descendants...of Saint-Louis" to "abolish the white slave traffic,"²¹ only port cities like Marseille and Le Havre, persuaded that crushing the Barbary corsairs would bring commercial benefits, applauded the planned expedition with any enthusiasm.

Elsewhere, both the liberal and conservative opposition met with skepticism the announcement in the first months of 1830 that France was making military preparations to achieve "the destruction of slavery [and] piracy along the whole coast of Africa...[and] return the northern shores of [the Mediterranean] to produc-

20 Charles X to the Chamber of Deputies, Paris, 2 March 1830, cited in Barchou de Penhoën, *Mémoires d'un officier d'Etat-major* (Paris: Charpentier, 1835), p. 22.

21 René Julien Chatelain, *Mémoire sur les moyens à employer pour punir Alger et détruire la piraterie des puissances barbaresques; précédé d'un précis historique sur le caractère, les mœurs et la manière de combattre des Musulmans habitant la côté d'Afrique, et d'un coup-d'oeil sur les expéditions françaises tentées contre eux à diverses époques* (Paris: Anselin, successeur de Magimel, 1828), p. 2.

tion, civilization and commerce."²² Some partisan newspapers dismissed the project as nothing but a chivalrous daydream; others fretted that fanatical Muslim hordes would quickly slaughter unseasoned French troops. In fact, the submission of Algiers took just a few days. Little else met royal expectations: the palace contained few riches, the prison only a handful of Greek, Italian, Spanish captives and a single French slave.²³ Despite its disappointing scale—insufficient to avert the next French revolution—the conquest of Algiers was generally hailed as a great victory. "Algiers is taken! ... The honor of France is avenged! Piracy is suffocated in its den: the outrages of Europe are erased," declared one Parisian journal, appropriating the king's immediate rationale for invasion. Acknowledging his crusading lineage, it continued, "Muslim society recoils before Christian civilization... Louis XIV punished piracy; Charles X abolished it."²⁴

Conclusion

From the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, France looked to the medieval crusades for inspiration and validation and used redemption as a means of consolidating authority at home and building empire abroad. At a time when French belonging depended on Catholic affiliation and sovereign allegiance, Louis XIV saved Christian slaves in order to contain Islam and integrate marginal territories into his realm. At a time when French preeminence depended on acquiring overseas colo-

22 Jules de Polignac to Chamber of Deputies, Paris, 4 February 1830, in AAE, MD, Vols. 5, 6, 7, cited in Esquer, *Le Commencement d'un empire. La prise d'Alger*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Larose, 1929), p. 145.

23 Théodore, comte de Quatrebarbes, *Souvenirs de la campagne d'Afrique* (Paris: G.-A. Dentu, 1831), p. 63, identified the freed captives as Greek, Italian and Spanish. There was at least one German among them—George Simon Frederick Pfeiffer, author of *Meine Reisen und meine fuffjaehrigen Gefangenschaft in Argier* (Giessen, 1832)—and as the *Journal des Débats* reported on July 22, 1830 at least one Frenchman, a man from Toulon named Béraud, who had been enslaved for twenty-nine years.

24 *Journal des débats*, 10 July 1830.

nies, his successors used the release of Europeans and then the abolition of so-called white slavery to further imperial goals. The lens of Barbary captivity reveals the importance of liberatory holy war as a model for conquest. It also demonstrates how by 1830, the conflation of religion and race allowed a king's desperate bid for survival to pose as a selfless act of protection with Europe-wide significance. Liberating slaves from North Africa contributed tangibly and symbolically to the assertion of French power in the early modern period. In the modern era, it became a way of imagining Europe within white Christian captives recovered from the wrong side of the Mediterranean. ♦

♦ Responsible editor: Shih-Chiang Fan (范世蕃).

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