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Reading 'Barbary' in Early Modern England, 1550–1685

Introduction

The objective of this paper is to offer some answers to two questions about the period 1550–1685 – a period which begins, more or less, with the reign of Elizabeth (1558) and also the defeat of the Spanish fleet by the Ottoman Navy near Tripoli (1560), and ends with the death of Charles II (1685), and also the failure of the Ottoman siege of Vienna (1683) that led to the signing of the peace treaty at Carlovitz (1699). Within this period, what did English readers know about the complex worlds that were lumped together under the catch-all term, 'Barbary', and by which means did they acquire that knowledge? In the attempt to seek to demonstrate some of the ways in which encounters in that narrow and contested space were read by, and impacted upon, the politics of culture in the whole island of Great Britain in a period marked by Civil War as well problems with revolting 'domestic foreigners' (Irish, Scots, Welsh) at home and conflicts with European competitors (Spanish, Dutch, French) in the lands of Ottoman hegemony, it will also focus upon critical readings of those texts by scholars in subsequent times. While reference will be made to forms such as travel tales and accounts by diplomats, stress will be placed on two sets of related sources: (a) because of their popularity, accounts of piracy and narratives of captivity; (b) conversely, because they seem to have escaped consideration, a body texts referred to as Articles of Peace and associated documents.

Any attempt at making sense, in the present, of that body of texts read in their own time and re-constituted in times since must constantly bear in mind that it was not only that the Ottoman Empire had triumphed over the Hapsburg rival, but that within that Empire power had been devolved to regencies in Tunis, Algiers and Tripoli. Those operated side-by-side with the near neighbour, Morocco, which had defeated the former conqueror, Portugal (1578), but which was, for most commentators, part of 'Barbary'. In this it was unlike Tangier, which had been transferred to English control as part of

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the marriage settlement of Catherine of Braganza to Charles II (1662), though abandoned to Morocco (1684); which development, in its turn, ushered in a brief yet remarkably singular set of responses.

Andrew Hess, in his appositely entitled volume *The Forgotten Frontier*,[1] propounded the view that it was the shift in European (including English) interest to the New World that accounted for the relative marginalisation of European interest in this Mediterranean world: 'One reason for the near absence of interest in the history of the Ibero-African frontier during almost two hundred years is that it ceased to play a distinctive part in the evolution of either Muslim or European history'. This paper will suggest an alternative view: that what took place was not so much a marginalisation of encounters in the Mediterranean, but a re-fashioning of early modern tales that are being read by present-day scholars through the lenses of discourses fashioned in the subsequent periods of English colonial and imperial domination. The endeavours that celebrated that transformation might be summarised by two terms: misreadings; amnesia.

The first of these, misreadings, can be illustrated by two examples of the kind of commentary that not only flourished in the period of British imperial dominance and whose afterglow continues in the present, particularly in a form wholly unencumbered by supporting evidence, but also marked by tendentious rhetoric. An 1816 account, part of whose title proclaims that it includes 'an account of the various attacks made upon them by several states of Europe', compares Tunis with Algiers to the advantage of the first-named:

> The inhabitants of Tunis are justly considered [it is not said by whom] greatly superior to the Algerines, on account of their civilization and politeness; they have had much more of commerce among them than the former, have made some progress in manufactures, and are in their manners friendly and obliging. This disposition is, no doubt, in great measure the effect of their intercourse with Europeans, to whom they show much more respect than [do] the inhabitants of Algiers. Though they keep some Christian slaves, and in common with the rest of the inhabitants make depredations, they do not appear to exercise that savage cruelty which characterises the Algerine pirates.[2]

Similarly an 1847 observation, that makes no differentiation between the so-called Barbary States, can come to the unsurprisingly confident conclusion that: 'they occupy an important space on the earth's surface . . . In the advantages of position they surpass every other part of Africa – unless, perhaps, we except Egypt, – communicating so easily as they do with the Christian nations, and thus, as it were, *touching the very hem and border of civilization*' [my emphasis].[3]

With regard to the second term, that of amnesia: hardly any of the major recent histories of those years, or biographies of the key English participants – Charles I, Oliver Cromwell, Charles II – make any reference to documents entitled Articles of Peace that were concluded between the English and their North African counterparts in the period. How to account for such critical

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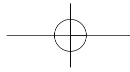
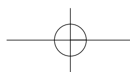


silence – especially when the English texts of some of those Articles of Peace were printed for public sale to and consumption by a popular readership? Since I am not, by training, a historian, I must admit at once that I have not made a search of the journals in which scholars in that discipline present their work. Looking, however, at some of the key recent books about the two monarchs and the ruler between them[4] – a selection made precisely because some are geared at the scholarly community (J. R. Jones, John Miller, Kevin Sharpe, Ronald Hutton, Timothy Venning) while others are aimed at a wider popular reading public (Antonia Fraser, Christopher Hibbert, Christopher Falkus) – it is interesting to find that there are only two citations worth the noting. Firstly, in a distinguished volume of nearly a thousand pages of close scrutiny, in which he devotes a fair amount of space to Charles I's diplomacy with European counterparts, Kevin Sharpe's only reference to North Africa is in connection with the impact upon local communities with reference to the collection of Ship Money – purportedly to finance attacks on pirates. That highly specialised, conflictual and ongoing debate is not, however, the burden of this intervention.[5] Secondly, in *Cromwellian Foreign Policy* (1995), Timothy Venning devotes only one (out of seventeen) chapters to events in the Mediterranean, and much of that to Venice and the Turks. From within the ranks of a preceding post-Second World War generation of eminent historians there is resounding silence, save for one, Christopher Hill, of whom more later. First, however, to popular accounts of piracy and narratives of captivity.

Accounts of piracy and narratives of captivity

The most common epithet used by commentators who wrote at the time of British imperial dominance to describe the phenomenon referred to as Barbary pirates, derived from the title of one of the most influential late nineteenth-century accounts, is that these pirates were the 'scourge of Christendom'.[6] Is it a perverse and unscholarly lack of evenhandedness to point out that the surname of the author of that 1884 volume is Playfair? Andrew Hess offers the damning observation that Playfair 'describes the corsairs in the manner of the mediaeval propagandists against Islam' (p. 89). While that is accurate, it is not perhaps sufficient since Playfair actually goes further. He not only suggests the existence of Ottoman communities whose economic activities had a religious dimension that was Muslim in content as well as purpose; he also hints that Christendom was unified. While I am not competent to comment on the assertion concerning the economic element in Islam, as described by Playfair, that critic's portrayal of Christendom is simply not the case. Furthermore, it is not capable of being demonstrated as being so.

The classic instance of Ottoman awareness of, and readiness to exploit, differences within the ranks of a so-called unified Christianity was that, with



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the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth by Pope Pius V (1570), English merchants were able to trade free of the Papal edicts against economic relations with Ottoman States. There are other instances that show the untenability of the notion of the 'scourge of Christendom' and to posit, in its stead, a countervailing view readily discernible in early modern narratives. This is that English accounts of piracy and of captivity were as much about the perfidy of other Christians (French, Spanish, and Italian Roman Catholics) in their dealings with (mostly according to the writers) blameless Protestant English – though, given the nature of the composition of pirate bands, that, too, is subject to qualification.

The first feature about piracy in the early modern period is that while many of the practitioners were from the 'whole island of Great Britain', that detail is not often enough acknowledged in subsequent critical accounts.[7] There are noteworthy exceptions, though, notably C. M. Senior,[8] and Janice E. Thompson, who, citing Peter Earle, asserts that 'many of the corsairs were footloose Europeans' who were 'often little more than pirates who sought their fortunes under the star-spangled green banner of Algiers rather than the Jolly Roger'.[9] Furthermore, these English pirates were not only in competition with their counterparts from other Christian nations; they were also in contestation with others of their own nation who operated from spaces that were not under the control of the Ottoman Regencies. English pirates who plied their trade in the North Atlantic were based in ports in southern Ireland as well as in Mamora (not far from Salé, close to the present-day Rabat). These English pirates had very little in common with their nominal compatriots who worked the Mediterranean and who were mostly (though not exclusively) based in Tunis. This latter group not only made no distinctions between the ships of Christian nations they raided, but the further they went into the eastern Mediterranean the more they came under Ottoman influence, with the result that several eventually entered the service of that Empire. If that act of entering the service of Ottoman rulers was one reason why they were accused of having 'turned Turk', or 'renegado', thereby seen in religious terms as adding to the miseries of Christian slaves in the Barbary States, perhaps an equally pertinent objection to them was that going over to the enemy made it possible for many of them now to live well above the station to which they had been born in England.

In that regard, perhaps the most celebrated example in Tunis was the English pirate, Ward, protected by Cara Osman, then head of the janissaries and in absolute control of the city. It was to Osman that Ward sold all his spoils; which were then, in turn, sold on to Christian traders, to the profit of pirate as well as ruler, and at the expense of Christians who would presumably then sell at a profit to other Christians and 'Turks'. Ward not only 'turned Turk' but took the title Yusuf Rais and married an Italian woman from Palermo – though it is reputed that, from time to time, he sent money to his wife back in England. He certainly became the best-known of the English pirates, not

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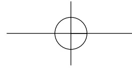


only after the publication of two accounts within a short time of each other in 1609, Andrew Barker's *A true and certain report*[10] and *Newes from the Sea*,[11] but also for the specifically-referenced play by Robert Daborne, *A Christian turn'd Turke*, of 1612.[12]

Barker leaves his readers in no doubt about his motives for telling his tale: not simply because, as one who had been taken captive by Ward, he could claim that he had been a witness of the pirate's actions, but especially because, in his view, he

> might best gratify my friends and most truly satisfy the world, and their greedy and avidious expectation what injury he has done, daily does, and still endeavours to do, to rich estates and provident seafarers, to the venturing merchant and the careful sailor, to poor wives and distressed children; how like a villain and an apostate he lives; and how, like a reprobate in persisting, he hopes to die. (pp. 1–2)

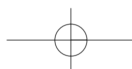
But then, what to expect from someone like Ward who does not know his place? Is it excessive to suggest that underlying Barker's chronicle of the origins and progress of Ward there is pirate envy? Barker describes Ward, while resident in Plymouth, as 'a fellow poor, base, and of no esteem; one as tattered in clothes as he was ragged in conditions'. Furthermore, not only did he never pay his rent, but 'All the day you should hardly fail to find him in an alehouse'. What sticks in Barker's crop is that Ward now

> lives there in Tunis in most princely and magnificent state, his apparel both curious [careful; fastidious] and courtly, his diet sumptuous, and his followers seriously obeying his will. He has two cooks that dress and prepare his diet for him, and a taster before he eats. I do not know of any peer in England that bears up his post in more dignity, nor has his attendants more obsequious unto him . . . For that [because] his success has made him desperate and resolute, his riches hath made him proud. (p. 16)

Whether or not Barker had sufficient knowledge of the lives of the English aristocracy and gentry to make the adjudication he offers is an intriguing though ultimately unanswerable question. But compare his tirade against Ward with the following matter-of-fact account by the Scot, William Lithgow:[13]

> Here, in Tunis, I met with an English captain, General Ward, once a great pirate and commander at sea who, in despite of his denied acceptance in England, has turned Turk, and built there a fair palace, beautified with rich marble and alabaster stones; with whom I found domestic some 15 circumcised English runagates whose lives and countenances were both alike, even as desperate as disdainful. Yet old Ward their master was placable and joined me lately with a passing land conduct to Algiers. Yea, and several times in my 10 days staying here I dined and supped with him [358].

Ward was not alone in rising to such heights of respect and status in Tunis. There was, for instance, Sampson Denball, from Dartmouth, who had arrived in that city with Ward, and who had himself become a *rais* in the fleet of Yusuf Dey, the Turk who ruled Tunis after the assassination of Cara Osman



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in 1610. But, as demonstrated in the tale of the pirates Purser and Clinton,[14] not every pirate was either as lucky or as privileged to be taken under the protection of the politically powerful in the Ottoman Regencies – especially in Tunis.

Englishmen who sought refuge in Algiers were, it would appear, less successful than their counterparts in Tunis. One reason for that may well have been the experience of the rulers of that city. Willing to assist those who claimed that their actions were anti-Spanish, they soon found that the word of some of these English pirates was not their bond. For instance, in 1604, Richard Gifford, secretly in the employ of the Duke of Tuscany, killed and wounded many of the local inhabitants when he set fire to galleys in the port; while, in 1608, the acting English consul, Richard Allen, decamped to Spain, taking with him three Ottoman ships and their cargoes valued at 300,000 pieces of eight – worth, at that time, the tidy sum of some £70,000. Perhaps the more interesting consequence of the event was that the Algiers ruler, having passed sentence of death on all English merchants living in that city, later commuted that sentence to the payment of a heavy fine before their departure. But while King James condemned the punishment pronounced by the Algiers ruler against his subjects, the English monarch's own hatred of pirates – especially those who were his subjects – was no less stringent. The hanging of 19 pirates side-by-side at Wapping Pier (the traditional place of execution of such people) in 1608 is but one example of his animus against them, though that action had as much to do with the monarch's hatred of Turks, perhaps best expressed in the poem, 'Lepanto', he had written as a young man in Scotland. In that poem, it is not only that the Turks are portrayed as agents of Satan; he depicts the Venetians as being so dispirited that, though they are urged by the angel Gabriel to take up arms against the Turks, they do not do so until all Christian States unite in the endeavour: a hope often expressed but never to be realised, mainly because of differences traceable as much to religious belief as to national aspirations between and within European states.[15]

Two further brief examples may be given of the 'scourge of Christendom' being English. Sir Francis Verney, having failed in his attempt to prove his right to a family inheritance, sold up and left for Algiers, where he, too, 'turned Turk' and went to sea as a pirate. Not only did he successfully raid several English ships, he also took especial delight from having taken one filled with Bordeaux wine that was destined for the cellars of the English monarch. He died in his bed in Messina in Italy in 1615. Compare that with the experience of the Cornishman Ambrose Sayer. When the English ship on which he was a common sailor was taken by one belonging to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, he found himself in jail in Florence for four years, followed by a further three at the hands of the Inquisition in Rome, and after that, a slave on a Spanish ship until he, together with other Protestants, also slaves on the same boat, managed to escape to Algiers. Living in that city for several years, he eventually rose to command a privateer of that place, and

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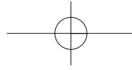
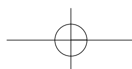


avenged himself by raiding French and Spanish ships. But, captured at Salé in 1613, he was sent back to England, where he was convicted of piracy; though he managed to escape. How to account therefore, especially in view of the critical acclaim that has marked reviews in journals of popular opinion on both sides of the Atlantic for Linda Colleys' *Captives. Britain, Empire and the World 1600–1850*,[16] that there is no mention anywhere in her account of Englishmen who had exchanged captivity for the freedom and the material benefits afforded them by local patronage?

While I shall return to some further issues raised by the Colley volume later on, it should at this juncture be noted that governments on both sides sought to tackle the problem. Two documents in evidence of this are the 1623 proclamation by James I restraining merchants from carrying munitions to, and reaping benefit from being used by, 'pirates and sea-rovers usually retiring to, and harbouring themselves at Algiers and Tunis';[17] and the reissue in London (1680) and in Edinburgh (1682) of a letter from the King of Morocco to Charles I in which the former seeks the assistance of the latter 'for the reducing of Sally, Argiers, &c.', at the same time noting that the two states had combined in taking the first-named port, had executed some of the pirates, and had sent some Christian captives back to England.[18] The extent, as well as the varieties of forms of co-operation between 'Turks' and 'Moors' and English rulers since the time of Elizabeth is traced in detail by Nabil Matar; his carefully nuanced conclusion with reference to Morocco is surely valid: 'Evidently the military cooperation between Britons and Moors covered both land and sea operations and was based on what seemed to be (although it was never formalized) a strategic alliance between London and Marrakesh'.[19] Examples of cooperation with other 'Barbary' rulers will be cited, where appropriate, below.

The point about citing examples such as these (and there are others) is in order to demonstrate the risks attached to making the assumption that all so-called Barbary pirates were North African by origin and Muslim by religion. From this it is but a short step to the construction of the conventional binaries such as those of Christian versus Muslim, or of overarching unities such as that of Barbary. David Delison Hebb,[20] for instance, draws attention not only to the dominant construction of the North African regencies in the seventeenth century as being pirate states,[21] the abuse of corsairs as 'villainous pirates' in texts such as those by Playfair (referred to earlier) and Lane-Poole,[22] still regularly cited to this day. Hebb also shows that even a more measured attempt at modulating that dominant view, as was the case with Sir Geoffrey Fisher's celebrated *Barbary Legend*,[23] was flawed because it went 'too far in exculpating the Barbary corsairs', especially in the seventeenth century. Other examples include, for instance, Joseph Morgan, *A Compleat History of the Piratical States of Barbary*[24] (1750) – actually a translation, with some minor additional material, of the text of the Englishman's French consular colleague, Laugier de Tassy, *Histoire du royaume d'Alger* (1727); the



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often-quoted but seriously flawed *Tunis Past and Present* by A. M. Broadley (1882);[25] J. S. Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean* (1904);[26] Stephen Clissold, *The Barbary Slaves* (1977);[27] and William Spencer, *Algiers in the Age of the Corsairs* (1976).[28] Gratifyingly, recent attempts at re-interpretation of the role of pirates and 'renegadoes' – including the cultural politics of their portrayal on the stage of their time – have slowly but hopefully decisively led to alteration in perception of these categories. Although wider in scope than the specificities of this paper, those by Lois Potter,[29] Barbara Fuchs[30] and Claire Jowitt[31] are, in their different ways, exemplary.

There is, furthermore, the matter of definition of the actions themselves. One should bear in mind that, while a pirate is a robber who engages in that task at sea, a privateer is someone who is usually authorized by the laws of the state in whose employ he is, and which state requires him to take as prize on its behalf the merchant ships of other states, notably those that are perceived as being the enemy. One should bear in mind further, that in the time of the encounters I am seeking to describe and decode the conventional stories of Muslims and Christians being in a virtual state of war with each other elide that of the perhaps even more virulent animosities within the ranks of the Christian nations, Catholic and Protestant.

Another factor complicating the conventional categorization was, as Janice E. Thomson rightly asserts, 'the unconventional form of political authority under which the corsairs operated. The Barbary states were ostensibly ruled by the Sultan's appointees, the pashas. Yet, in reality, by the turn of the seventeenth century, these states were under the control of senior military officers acting through their elected leaders, the beys and deys' (Thomson, p. 45). Thomson quotes, in support of her assertion, the conclusion reached by Peter Earle that since 'Barbary and Turkey acted independently . . . states which were at peace with Turkey were not necessarily at peace with Barbary, and vice versa' (Earle, p. 102). It was not until this juncture, that of the moment of the decline of the strength of English piracy and that of the growth of the power of pirates in ports such as Salé, that English governments stared to act.

The point I am seeking to emphasise is that while the actions of the English authorities were couched in the language of morality, the real objective was to seek to assert political and economic influence – not only against the Ottoman enemy, but also against other Christian nations, notably Catholic enemies such as Spain and France. Those efforts varied in their level of success. For instance, the 1620 expedition against Algiers, under the command of Sir Robert Mansel, managed to free only some 'forty poore captives' – the sum total of what the Algiers authority said that it had in the city.[32] In that regard there is the important point made by Hebb that by the 1620s the action of sending a fleet to sort out the Barbary pirates and to repatriate captives was the preferred policy of the English Crown, even though (as he calculates) the cost of freeing each individual prisoner by that means (£118 – a

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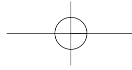
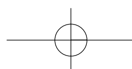


massive amount in those times) was at least twice what it would have cost had that been done by negotiation and peaceful means.

But note also the date of the expedition: 1620. The year in which an English fleet bombards Algiers in order to secure freedom for Christian captives is also the year in which two other significant events occur: the settlement at Plymouth by the Pilgrim Fathers who sought religious freedom in the New World; and black slaves from Africa are also first brought to that English New World. Neither those who gave instructions for the attack on Algiers nor those who settled in the New World, despite being fired with Christian and Protestant zeal, had a word to say about the plight of the blacks. It should be recalled that, in some instances, travellers themselves drew attention to the differences between Christian slavery in the New World and Muslim slavery in the old. For instance, it was noted that in Muslim countries the lash was hardly ever used against men, and never against women. Compare that with its use not only against blacks on plantations but also against whites on board ships. It was also noted that slaves in Muslim societies were not branded, thereby to show that, like cattle, they were the property of another human person; and that, unlike in Christian countries, and more akin to what had been the case in classical Greece and Rome, a slave was not doomed perpetually. Finally, the prejudice of ‘race’ that was integral to Christian slavery was not only absent but, furthermore, slaves from the interior of the continent of Africa, once freed, rose to positions of some eminence. There is, for instance, the example of former black slaves from the interior of the continent becoming magistrates in the courts in Fez, a feature that needs further examination.

Cynicism concerning the plight of captives – in this case, on both sides – is perhaps most evident in the following episode: when Captain Rainborough attacked Salé (1637), the rulers there sold some 1000 Christian slaves to Algiers and Tunis. Eventually, just under 300 captives were freed, together with the promise that those who had been sold to Algiers and Tunis would eventually be redeemed. When the Moroccan Ambassador was sent to London, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, could write to Archbishop Laud that ‘this action of Sallee . . . is full of honour’. Why? Because it ‘should help much towards the ready and cheerful payment of the shipmonies’, the infamous taxes levied by Charles I first against maritime towns and shires and later extended nation-wide to meet naval expenses, a tax that was to be one of the key issues that led to the overthrow and subsequent execution of the monarch. Instead of either the monarch or his key advisors or (indeed) his Archbishop making the moral connection, that task had to be done by the poet-politician Edmund Waller. Waller not only wrote a poem entitled ‘On the Taking of Sallee’, but, in a speech in Parliament, argued that ‘By the many petitions which we receive from the wives of these miserable captives at Algiers (between four and five thousand of our countrymen) it does too evidently appear, that to make slaves at home, is not the way to keep us from being made slaves abroad’.[33]



The connection of events taking place 'at home' in England with that of the plight of captives is referred to in the opening paragraphs of at least one official document. The account by Edmund Cason, who styles himself 'Agent for the Parliament', who had been sent to negotiate the release of captives in Tunis and Algiers, was printed for public sale in 1646,[34] the year in which Charles I surrendered to the Scots, and in which the royalist armies capitulated at Oxford. While the opening statement is probably, in principle, unexceptionable: 'As nothing can demonstrate to the world the sincerity of the intentions of a state better than their own public actions, so the piety of their resolutions can never be manifested more clearly than when carried on through variety of difficulties . . . ', note, in what follows, the nature of the language deployed to describe the politics of civil war and the effects thereof:

> At the commence of this parliament, while yet the kingdom was at peace, both Houses passed an Act whereby they did manifest unto the world their resolutions of undertaking that Christian work of the redemption of the captives taken by Turkish, Moorish and other pirates, from that cruel thraldom which they lay under immediately after the passing whereof this unnatural [*sic*] was by the malice of the kingdom's enemies fomented and continued and the whole kingdom enwrapped in misery, and to be redeemed by both Houses of Parliament from the tyrannical oppression which it groaned under. Whereby, indeed, that work of the redemption of captives was, for a time, interrupted in its progression.

Notwithstanding, the action that followed upon the political decision to ransom captives was impressive. The first ship, sent in 1645, laden with money as well as goods, was, by contrary winds, forced to anchor at Gibraltar, where it was set on fire. Some monies were saved and put on another ship; but that was, on the way back to England, wrecked off Cadiz. Still, the following year, the Parliament found the money to send yet another ship. That one safely brought back 244 captives, leaving behind the English Agent to await the arrival of two further ships, with an even greater sum of money and goods, to redeem the rest of the captives. While it is impossible to decide whether or not the nature of the actions was in any way motivated by the desire of Parliament to influence citizens at home, such singular persistence was untypical, especially in comparison with the previous regime of Charles I. Much more common in his time was the practice of levying a charge to be collected: sometimes from the merchants of the City of London; sometimes by general collection in churches; sometimes limited to that part of the country from which the captives came.

Pleas to perceived higher authority in which the case for captives was made, as well as reports of successful return home, were maintained by carefully-restricted permission by a variety of authorities for the gathering of alms. As Roslyn L. Knutson observes,

> The gathering of alms was a counterpart in early modern England to the redemptionist societies in Spain. Collections were authorized by various officials and official bodies, including the Lord Mayor, the Bishop of London, the Lord

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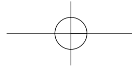


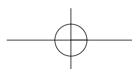
> Admiral, and the Crown (by way of the Privy Council). Acting on a petition from the suppliant or a representative, the official granted a license or passport, which permitted to go from parish to parish collecting alms for the relief of some great misfortune. The passport named the authority that had granted the petition, and it specified both the territory and the length of time that the suppliant was authorized to canvass.[35]

In addition, such events were often recorded in the popular press, of which two examples at random: 'Newes from Sally: of a Strange Delivery of Foure English Captives from the slavery of the Turkes' (1642),[36] and Henry Robinson's pamphlet *Libertas; or the Relief of English Captives in Algiers*[37] of the same year, that sought to connect succour of captives not only to trade but also to English national identity. Towards the end of the period under consideration, a different connection – that of religion, and more specifically of a Quaker familiarity with the Qu'ran – was made by George Foxe in a communication directed at the Great Turk, Mehmet IV.[38]

While the licence for the collection of such monies might have been proclaimed under the name of the monarch, the money collected was invariably handed over to selected City of London merchants with trading connections in 'Barbary', who would act as intermediaries to hand it over to their counterparts there. The English authorities avoided all formal links with the process, clearly described in the 1631 document that went out under the seal of Charles I:

> Whereas we are credibly informed . . . that there are many of our poore subiects in miserable captivity in those parts, within the Dominions of . . . Morocco . . . from which barbarous and cruell slauery and the manifold grievances and distress of soule, mind and body, which accompany the same: from which barbarous and cruell usages they cannot be freed until their ransomes be satisfied . . . for the speedy effecting thereof, have thought good . . . by a general collection within this Our realme of England, and Dominion of Wales, to commend their miseries and pittifull calamities unto the charitable consideration of all Our loving subjects, not doubting but that all good Christians . . . will . . . be moued, as feeling members of one anothers miseries, freely and willingly to extend their liberall contributions for the redemption of so many distressed Christians from the slauerie and bondage of the mercilesse barbarians . . . that we . . . doe order and grant that a general collection be made of the charitable devotions and liberalities of all our loving subjects. . towards the redemption of the said poore captives aforesaid . . . [39]

Stories about the fate of 'poor captives' formed one of the most regular – and, for publishers, profitable – genres throughout the period. Apart from those already cited, three further accounts having to do with 'Barbary' and regularly cited in critical studies are those by John Dunton (1637),[40] by Thomas Phelps (1685),[41] and by Francis Brooks(1693).[42] While the earliest I can trace are those by Thomas Saunders (1584; reprinted 1886)[43] and Richard Hasleton (1595; reprinted 1896, 1903),[44] those were followed by others lesser known though no less influential with reference to the plight of



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captives: John Rawlins (1622),[45] Frances Knight (1640; reprinted 1745, 1841),[46] and R. D. (1672).[47] The most comprehensive, as well as longest, by someone who signs himself "Mr. T. S."[48] is almost certainly a compilation made by someone who had never travelled in 'Barbary', but whose accounts were extracted from previously-published tales by those who had been in those parts.

Two features that they all (more or less) have in common are the following: they are written by men who claim that they have no special skill in writing, their objective being simply to offer an account of what had happened to them; and it was their Christian faith that kept them going. They, are, simultaneously, also marked by their differences, notably the extent of their animus against other Europeans rather than against Turks." Their texts are actually much more complex than the limited claims made on their behalf by their plain-dealing makers. For instance, captivity narratives provide revealing insights into a sense of English national identity, forged here by the special circumstances of contact not simply with the inhabitants of North Africa, but also with other European Christians. For Englishmen, neither of these groups (European Christians or North African Muslims) could be relied upon to play by the rules. Furthermore, that was sometimes the kind of behaviour indulged in also by their own countrymen who had turned renegado.

To illustrate, briefly, with two tales, those by Phelps and Saunders: the latter because his tale is not only arguably the first (1587) by an Englishman, but also it is also regularly ignored in commentaries; the former, because of the sophisticated range of reference from one who not only makes the claim of 'plain dealing' in his 'Preface to the Reader', but repeats it at the end of his tale:

> Thus have I given a short and plain account of my captivity and escape, with the circumstances that attended it; and though possibly my style may appear rough and unpolished, which the courteous reader, I hope, will excuse, expecting no other from such a blunt seaman, acquainted with nothing so much as dangers and storms; yet do I profess I have penned this narrative with all the sincerity and truth that becomes a plain-dealing Englishman.

For instance, Phelps's ship was captured by a pirate from Salé whose captain refused to recognise the Articles of Peace then in operation between Algiers and England. Phelps not only records that his initial encounter was with 'an ancient Moor who formerly had been a slave in England, and who was set at liberty by our late Gracious King Charles II'; he also tells of how, when he tried to persuade the Christian captives to overpower the pirate captain and his crew while they were asleep, that endeavour was foiled because one of the other English captives, the ship's steward, a 'sneaking varlet proved recreant . . . and, for fear of him, the other eleven turned also renegades to this heroic and Christian resolution . . . He proved himself a Christian in words, but indeed we found more civility from the Moors than [from] him'.

Sold on by the pirate captain as slaves to the ruler he refers to as Muley Ishmael, Emperor of Morocco and Fez, Phelps itemises in detail the cruelties

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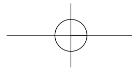


of that ruler: not only towards captives, but also against the ruler's own subjects. He informs his readers that he 'had been several times to the West Indies, and have seen and heard of divers inhumanities and cruelties practised there. I have also read in books, and have heard learned men discourse of the Sicilian tyrants and Roman Emperors. But, indeed, I forget them all; they are not to be named in comparison with this monster of Africa: a composition of gore and dust, whom nothing can atone but human sacrifices'. To show that, in his view, such behaviour was not singular, Phelps cites the case of one Hamed Ben Haddu, who, he says, had been the Moroccan Ambassador in England three years before, and who

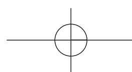
> although he was received and entertained here with extraordinary civilities, and caressed everywhere by endearments of kindness and respect; and although by his finesse and Moorish subtlety he stole into the inclinations of the well-meaning and good-natured English, so that he obtained the reputation of ingenuity and candour, yet the dog has returned to his vomit

that injunction made famous in 2 Peter 2:22: 'But it has happened unto them according to the true proverb, The dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.'

Phelps provides a fascinating account of the continued enslavement in Morocco of (by his estimate) 800 Christian captives, of whom some 260 were English. He tells his readers that although some had already paid substantial amounts for their freedom, and that an agreement had been concluded some years previously between the Moroccan ruler and an emissary from the English Court, as a result of which 'all the English slaves were to be set at liberty at the rate of 200 pieces of eight a head; and the bargain was so far struck that the Christians were got a mile out of town'. That they got no further, he says, was because of the intervention of

> the accursed Jews (the stench and pest of the nations of the earth, malicious to all mankind, and loathsome and abominable wherever they come, whom not only have the blood of the Saviour of the world lying on their heads, but are accountable for the blood of many thousands of his members, which they daily shed), these wicked enemies of Christianity brought back these poor Christians into the house of bondage thus: they proffered the Emperor as much money as the King of England tendered for the Christians' ransom, if he would only lend them for a while to build a city for the Jews; and then they would be returned to the king. The covetous tyrant soon closed with these advantageous terms, and the Christians were turned over to the Jews, who employed them [for] three years building their city. But, when finished, see the judgement of God! The Jews were turned out, and forced to give place to the Moors.

One of the most fascinating narratives of cultural encounter is that of Thomas Saunders, whose 1587 tale, re-issued in 1886, seems to have escaped consideration in recent collections: while Nabil Matar's previously-cited *Turks, Moors & Englishmen* has the author's family name as 'Sanders' (p. 181), his name escapes citation not only in Colley, but also in Vitkus[49] as



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well as Kamps and Singh.[50] Yet his is not only arguably the first English captivity tale of double-dealing between Europeans of different nations (English, French, Italian); it is perhaps also the first in a North African setting of two strangely-connected tales of justice in the world. 'Christian caitiffs' from other lands who had come aboad their ship when it was first boarded, and had 'made spoil of our goods, and used us as ill as the Turks did' (sig. B3r), are punished; the son of the king, who takes a (presumably) homosexual fancy to a number of English male captives and has them removed to his palace, where he forced them to 'turn Turk', on a mission to Constantinople to the 'Great Turk', is killed in an encounter in the Gulf of Venice; the king himself is killed instantly when his mare falls down under him. Eventually Saunders had written a letter which he had sent by another to his father in Tavistock, Devonshire. From there, via intercessions on the part of important figures such as the Earl of Bedford and Sir Edward Osborne, the plea for rescue and redemption eventually reached Constantinople, where the Sultan despatched the English diplomat to the Porte, accompanied by an Ottoman counterpart, to secure their release. Which was done. So that 'Here may all true Christian hearts see the wonderful works of God shewed upon such as Infidels, blasphemers, whoremasters, and runagate Christians' (sig. B4v).

Finally, how may one account not only for the details of the following story, but also for the publishing history thereof. Richard Blome's *A Description of the Island of Jamaica, with the isles and territories in America to which the English are related*, first published in 1672, was, the title-page informs, based upon the notes of Sir Thomas Linch [Lynch?], sometime Governor of Jamaica. Reprinted in 1678, and included in subsequent editions, there was bound in a further tract entitled '*. . . together with the present state of Algiers*'.[51] In that addition, in the part devoted to the itemisation of the various categories of the inhabitants of that city, there appears the following disclaimer, as well as observation:

> I know not if it may be proper to set down here the Christian slaves also, that, according to the best computation, are constantly in circa. 18,000, of which about 900 are galley-slaves, who are very miserable. The rest are employed by their several patrons: some in their gardens, houses, or sent to sea according to the professions and quality of their patrons, by whom, for the most part, they are better treated than any slave in the Grand Seignior's domains, having the benefit to keep shops, taverns, or work upon their handicraft-trade, paying their patrons certainly per month, not exceeding 3 dollars per month, according to the best agreement they can make; and what they make more, it is not in the power of the patron to take away from them: by which means thousands of captives obtain their liberty by their own industry. / They also have liberty to say and hear Mass every day of the week at the respective banyard and place allowed for the service. The Protestants also have a place to preach and pray in, the which is performed in the English consul's house, by the several nations, as English, German, Dutch, etc. (p. 7).

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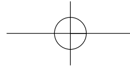


If the account in Blome modulates the stark tales told by Dunton, Phelps, Brooks, Knight and the rest, of the experience of Christians held captive in North Africa, such tales might also be seen as a follow-up to stories which tell of dissension within the ranks of the Regency rulers, of rivalry leading to killing and usurpation – such actions being described as characteristic of the region and of its governments. There are two famous examples: George Wilkins's *Three Miseries of Barbary*,[52] defined as ‘plague, famine, and civil war’, and the tract *Late Newes out of Barbary*.[53] If the Wilkins account is, in part, a tale of the mendacity of the Spanish ambassador towards his English counterpart, it also goes out of its way to praise the Emperor for his willingness ‘to do justice – even unto strangers’. And if the *Late Newes out of Barbary* tract is, in part, an account of the prevalence of civil war in that part of the world, then the feature common to both is the view that the miseries of Barbary might be accounted for by the ‘state and condition of these miserable Moors, given over beyond measure to these idle and superstitious vanities . . . blind prophesies, dreams, necromancy and suchlike’. Despite that, the writer claims that when he went, with others, to welcome the new king back to Marrakesh,

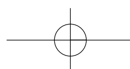
> he [the king] entertained us very kindly, and told us he would show the English what favour he could, and permit them free trade, willing us to take knowledge that he was sent by God's appointment, to relieve the oppression, as well of Moors as strangers, as Christians and all sorts, and what we had seen to advertise, saying we should yet see more strange matters come to pass, than what has passed. His meanings, as we gather, is the conquering of Spain, France, and Italy; with which opinion he possessed the credulous Moors.

It is a motif that is present in several texts, as in one further example, that by the diplomat Percy Kirke of his reception by the Emperor at Fez (1683).[54]

Articles of Peace

While there are several reasons why it is necessary to ask questions about the role played by the publication of Articles of Peace, one that combines past with present will suffice. In their own times, why did successive English administrations find it needful to have what were effectively the state printers issue for sale on the open market and to the reading public, the details of the treaties agreed with the North African states; in ours, why has there been hardly any analysis of their significance by historians of those earlier times? That neglect in the present is particularly important in view of some of the key features that recur in the texts concerned. Of these, perhaps the most important are the following:

(a) The construction of an English sense of hierarchy of the North African states; a sense that is itself dependent upon a sense of the extent of rela-



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tive friendship between itself and each of the Regencies. Tunis is best friend; Algiers worst; Tripoli and Morocco in-between.

(b) Equally fascinating is English awareness of national identity abroad as well as social difference at home. While English people resident in Tunis shall have freedom of movement while resident there, and shall not be subject to the jurisdiction of the common courts of law, but shall address themselves 'unto the Dey himself, from whom they shall have judgement', they shall also be allowed to take their children with them, even if those had been born in Tunis. On the other hand, if a Tunisian warship takes an enemy ship and finds Englishmen serving on that enemy ship for wages, such men should be made slaves – unless they were merchants, in which case, they and their goods should be freed.[55]

(c) While some of these Articles of Peace were concluded in North African locations (Tunis, Algiers, Meknes), diplomatic engagements with these states that are conducted in London rather than in 'Barbary' offer useful insights into the nature of political tensions at home in England. The most spectacular was the visit by the Moroccan Ambassador to Charles II, escorted by his counterpart, Robert Blake.[56] That event not only was the occasion for publication of *An Heroick Poem to the King*;[57] it also provides a detailed description of the arrival of the dignitaries at Gravesend, the journey upriver to Greenwich, from where they were rowed to Tower Bridge, then 'conveyed with His Majesty's coach (and, at the least, a 100 coaches more), and the chiefest of the citizens, and Barbary merchants' to meet the King. It also mentions that the Ambassador was by birth a Portuguese, who, having been taken captive at the age of eight, was taken into especial care by the Emperor, whose favourite he became. Furthermore, the English negotiator, Robert Blake, had arranged that 33 English captives who had been brought from Algiers and Tunis (some of whom had been in captivity for 25 years or more) should be freed. While 15 were immediately set free, the freedom of the other 18 was temporarily postponed because, as skilled gunners, their expertise was required to help with the suppression of an internal uprising against the Emperor; after which not only were they set free, but they also formed part of the cortege that went to Whitehall with the Ambassador.

While, as Nabil Matar has recently shown,[58] Charles I tended to pass the matter of ransom of Christian captives to the City merchants and to the ports, it was perhaps the actions of his interim successor, Oliver Cromwell, that caused comment and interest on the part of the rulers of Christian Europe. Still, the success of Edmond Cason's diplomacy in seeking the release of captives, mentioned earlier, did not prevent Cromwell from sending one of the strongest fleets – some 30 ships in all – against Tunis in 1655, forcing that city into submission. His subsequent actions enabled him, two years later, to proclaim to his parliament that he had made peace with those

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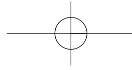
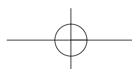


he referred to as 'the profane nations'. How different the Lord Protector's actions and reactions in other places: on the one hand, the massacre of the Irish at Drogheda (1649); on the other, assurance to English settlers and colonizers in Jamaica that that they would be protected by the army as well as the fleet while building their castles there.[59]

Following the restoration of the monarchy, Charles II signed Articles of Peace with Tripoli (1662); with Algiers (1662; 1682), and, perhaps most famously of all, with Tunis (1677). Close study of some of the key provisions will not simply draw attention to the irony of the terminology; they will especially highlight the dire consequences for 'Barbary' States which were found to be remiss in their application of provisions excessively against their interests. Apart from the example cited earlier of the distinction to be made in the treatment of Englishmen who served for wages, and those who were merchants, or that provision should be made in each of the States 'for the English and their Consul . . . to have a place for their prayers, and that nobody shall by word or deed to any wrong or damage whatsoever to any of the subjects of his said Majesty',[60] there are two intriguing examples of that further inequality of treatment. Firstly, that Englishmen accused of breaking local laws 'shall be liable unto any other judgement but that of the Duan' (Algiers 1664, Articles 12 & 13;[61] Tunis 1677, Article 8); furthermore, that in disputes between Englishmen, the differences were to be subject to the decisions made by the Consul. Furthermore, 'That in case any of his said Majesties subjects should happen to strike a Turk or a Moore, if he is taken, let him be punished; but if he escape, nothing shall be said to the English Consul or any other of His Majesties subjects on that account' (Tunis, 1662, Article 7). By 1677 the details were firmer still. Not only was it now clearly stated 'That no commander or other person of any ship or vessel of Algiers shall take out of any ship or vessel of His said Majesty's subjects, any person or persons whatsoever, to carry them anywhere to be examined, or upon other pretence' (Algiers, 1677, Article 5), the language of the Article cited earlier now reads: 'That in case any subject of His said Majesty, being in any part of the Kingdom of Algiers, happens to strike, wound or kil a Turk or a Moor, if he be taken, he is to be punished in the same manner, and with no greater severity than a Turk ought to be, being guilty of the same offence. But if he escapes, neither the said English consul nor any other of His said Majesty's subjects shall be in any sort questioned and troubled therefore' (Algiers, 1677, Article 16; Tripoli, 1677, Article 15).[62]

However else these may be interpreted, at least three features stand out. Firstly, the question of how to account for the re-printing, in 1677, for sale to the public, of the Articles of Peace originally concluded in 1662, and the question why their titles have now been changed to read 'Articles of Peace and Commerce'? Secondly, that whether with one, or more than one of the North African States, it was the English who came off best in the exchange: the corresponding State was required to fulfil a much greater obligation to the common good and peace than the English. Finally, if diplomacy did not



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work, there was always force: the number of times that Articles concluded were the outcome of a visit from an English fleet – one that sometimes resorted to bombarding one or more of the key North African towns into acceding to policies that sought to ensure peace for English governments.Three examples of this were Sir Edward Spragge, who signed Articles of Peace with Algiers (1671) and also destroyed ships in the harbour; Sir John Narborough, who concluded Articles of Peace with Tripoli (1676), and also burnt ships in that port that he claimed belonged to corsairs;[63] while Admiral Blake did the same with Tunis for Cromwell.

This brings me back to Christopher Hill, the only historian who sought to show the nature of the real relations that underpinned, from the English point of view, the foundations of these Articles of Peace. For Hill, '[t]he governments of the 1650s were the first in England to have a world strategy. After [Admiral] Blake had subdued the pirates of Algiers, Cromwell envisaged mounting control of the Mediterranean by the occupation of Gibraltar and Minorca' (p. 159); further, 'the Sultan of Morocco sent him [Cromwell] presents, and treaties were signed with Algiers, Tetuan, and Tunis, establishing English bases there' (p. 161). From this, he concludes:

> The forcing of treaties on Tetuan and Tunis introduced a new type of gunboat diplomacy, of which the next three centuries were to see a great deal. In 1656–7, Spain was effectively blockaded. The English navy cleaned up privateering from Algiers to Dunkirk, in a way that no other power could: Blake in the Mediterranean; Penn in the Caribbean; Godson in the Baltic, were phenomena hitherto unknown, presaging Britain's future. English merchants were now protected in the Mediterranean and Baltic in a way that would have been quite impossible to early Stuart governments. (p. 161)[64]

The claim is perhaps excessive in scope, though certainly, in principle, with reference to the international politics, spot on. This is all the more reason why scholarly amnesia is so strange. Or not, as the case may be. If, as the title of the Wilkins text referred to earlier had it, the three features characteristic of 'Barbary' were plague, famine, and civil war, then English governments made no small contribution to that state of affairs. Finally, and perhaps most intriguingly, if the moment we are discussing marks the beginning of English colonial empires other than in Ireland, the details of the evidence of the inequalities imposed by the so-called Articles of Peace will show that it was in the relations with the North African States that England first began to design and perfect that policy later to be referred to, as a characteristic mode of imperial strategy, as 'divide and rule'.

Conclusion

Having, firstly, limited my references strictly to texts that were available in the public domain and therefore likely to have played a part in shaping the

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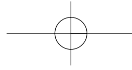
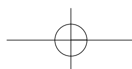


views of the readers of those times, and, secondly, deliberately apportioned the major part of my text to setting forth not simply the detail but especially the rhetoric deployed by the makers of the variety of texts of their own time, let me now briefly suggest not so much conclusions but ways of seeing those texts. While it might be asserted that I might have looked in greater detail at official government documents, at archives of the major trading companies, and perhaps also at the views expressed in documents sent from the 'Barbary' rulers, that has not been my interest. My concern is with the readily available texts by which means there was shaped, in early modern England, a sense of the space referred to as 'Barbary'.

The first – and probably dominant – sense is that the writers construct themselves not simply as being English (and that goes, as well, for the Scot, William Lithgow), but chiefly as superior to those Others whom they encounter: not only the inhabitants of those parts, but also to other Europeans whom they meet there. In part, the often unstated foundations are familiar: representations of a kind that show a remarkable similarity with those about other spaces, in which animosity against the Catholic enemy nations of Europe is matched by that against Islam. And yet, while with reference (for instance) to the Near East there is the constant reference to the 'Terrible Turk', that epithet and what it stands for is not nearly as common or as intense when references are made to 'Barbary'. The epithet recurs not only in plays and in poetry of the period that celebrated the punishment of apostates;[65] it is there especially in printed accounts of the sermons preached to celebrate the return to the fold of former backsliders. Arguably the two most famous of these were two versions of the same event, preached by Edward Kellet[66] and Henry Byram[67] and printed within a few months of each other. These were in line with religious as well as publishing practices both before and after, as shown, for example, by the pamphlets by Meredith Hanmer in 1586 (?),[68] and the Bishop of Worcester, Thomas Warmstry (1658).[69]

Concerning the ideological function of these sermons, there is an excellent analysis by Margo Todd[70] of William Gouge, *A Recovery from Apostacy*.[71] The rhetorical devices employed in these texts are clear, nowhere more so than (as far as can be ascertained) in the 1637 Oxford-printed text, *Compassion towards Captives* by Charles Fitz-Geffrey.[72] Dedicated to the Mayor of the port of Plymouth, his Introduction to 'the compassionate, that is, the truly Christian reader', is directed as much at the shortcomings of his readers as at the excoriation of the 'Barbarians'. While the side-note 'Biddulph' shows that he had got the story from the 1609 publication of *The travels of certaine Englishmen* by William Biddulph, preacher to the English merchants resident in Aleppo, it is the manner of Fitz-Geffrey's usage that is arresting. He cites the story from Biddulph that if Turks see a bird that has been ensnared they 'will give twice the price of it while it is alive to that which it will yield being dead, only to give it liberty and life. And some of them are said to give money to men and boys to take and bring unto them living birds, so that the birds



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may be beholden to them for their freedom'. It is in that context that Fitz-Geffrey poses his question to his 'compassionate, truly Christian' reader: 'With what face shall we look upon our Redeemer if we are not as charitable to our brethen under Turks as Turks are to birds, to reasonless creatures who are, upon the matter, reasonless creatures themselves?'

Posing next the question 'What heart can choose but relent, if not rend asunder, at the relation of these intolerable pressures endured by Christians under the savage Barbarians; their fairs and markets fuller of our men than ours are of horses and cattle? Christians there bought, sold, cauterized, seared as we do beasts', only in order to assert that he 'will not aggravate those grievances, which are already too great, by inserting reports [of] how they are aggravated by some of our nation, who should rather, with every true-hearted Christian endeavour to ease them, not adding more affliction to such heavy bonds'.

But that is exactly what he proceeds to do, instancing the case of 'that illustrious peer, the oracle of justice in our land' who, it would appear, has failed to perform 'what he is said to have promised at Plymouth with tearful eyes – . . . to the mournful wives and children of those oppressed captives, that when he returned to the Court, he would become their advocate unto the majesty of the king'. The exhortation, 'Remember him, O my God, concerning this, who is so vigilant in doing justice at home that he is not so dormant in extending mercy to those who suffer extreme misery abroad', and going on to concede that there is some merit in the argument of the populace that 'our wants will not suffer us to succour them in theirs', that 'our wants who are at liberty restrains us from relieving our brothers who are in barbarous captivity', he poses the question, 'What wants?'.

It is his enumeration of the absence of these 'wants' at home that shows the nature of Christian culpability.

> Want of charity? Want of the bowels of mercy? Want of Christian compassion? Want of feeling our brethren's wants, and consequently of true Christianity? These, these are the wants that hinder us. How much has been lavishly expended in pomps, in plays, in sybaritical feasts, in chameleon suits and Proteus fashions, besides other vanities, and yet there is no complaining of want? How many souls might have been ransomed from that Hell on earth, Barbary, with half these expenses? Yet herein do men only complain of want. Of all others, let us beware of this want of compassion toward our lamentable captived brethren; of whose insupportable bondage, if we have no feeling, we ourselves are in thraldom.

This observation is perhaps an opportune moment for brief comments upon the complex nature of reactions to Islam; of which, one example to show that conventional and simplistic responses in the present about the past simply will not do. While the document detailing the visit of the Moroccan Ambassador in 1682 conventionally refers to Muhammad as a 'false prophet', the author also notes that the people are 'strict observers of the laws' of their religion, and that they volunteer to him the view that 'Christ

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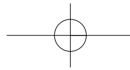


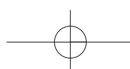
was a great prophet, born to be a Saviour of the word, but not incarnate'. Furthermore, not only does he tell his English readers that 'their churchmen are not covetous, or lovers of money or riches'; he also comments favourably on the care with which these men, in their capacity as judges in local affairs, attempt to find the truth in such disputes, as a basis for appropriate sentencing: 'They are just in their words and promises; for which reason there is small use of bills, bonds, or obligations among them (which is the reason why there is scarcely one rich scrivener, either in Morocco, Fez, or Susa); for the breach of promise is held an unrecoverable disgrace amongst them' – surely a sideways glance at unedifying practices at home! His conclusion: 'I am sure they surpass many Christians in righteousness and just dealing towards men'. It is a neat and by no means slight dilemma for Christians: how to come to terms with the integrity of a community whose behaviour is preferable to that of your own when the theological foundation of the actions of that community is regularly excoriated: from where, perhaps the shocked reactions on the part of readers when confronted with the contrast stated so vividly by Nabil Matar: 'Triumphant in America, the English found themselves humbled in North Africa and the Levant; conquerors in Virginia, they were slaves in Algiers' (Matar, *Turks, Moors & Englishmen*, p. 14).

This brings me, eventually, back to brief comments on some aspects of Linda Colley's *Captives*, referred to earlier on; particularly those having to do with North Africa. I have noted that Colley nowhere directly addresses the phenomenon of Europeans (especially English) who had 'turned Turke' even though she mentions instances, such as when, 'during the siege of 1680, Irish Catholic soldiers and officers defending one of Tangier's forts on behalf of the King of England were obliged to call out instructions to each other in the Gaelic language, so as to avoid being understood by some English Protestant renegades who were serving with the Moroccan forces outside the gates' (p. 39). It is her resort to generalised and over-arching assertion that puzzles. Two instances: firstly, the claim that the travellers' tales of the early modern period were 'A mode of writing rather than a genre' (p. 13); from which there follows a lengthy and complex disquisition on the 'truth' of the tales:

> no matter how they strived, it was impossible for these or other captivity narratives to prove the truth of all the experiences they laid claim to. The events in question had taken place too far away, amongst people who were unlikely ever to be available as witnesses, and whose perspectives on what had happened would anyway have been very different. (p. 91)

That assertion ignores the evidence that travellers' tales were, in those times, second only to sermons as popular reading. Furthermore, in the denial of travel writing as a genre, it also simply bypasses the rich and varied range of critical debate on travellers' tales in the recent past.[73]

Secondly, the contentions that in 'a period when English commercial and imperial ambitions in the Mediterranean and North Africa became threat-



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ened by, but also dependent upon local Islamic powers' (pp. 17–18), 'To most Britons, it is clear, Barbary corsairing and captive-taking were simply monstrous acts of terrorism' (p. 46). While the first quotation here does not seem to recognise that it was the English who were the threat (rather than the other way round), the second panders to the terminology of the present, without any attempt to seek to offer evidence for either of the assertions. Where is the proof that 'To most Britons', or that 'it is clear' that 'corsairing and captive-taking' were ever referred to as 'acts of terrorism', monstrous or otherwise? Especially when Colley later admits, quite correctly, on the accumulation of evidence, that 'it is the variety of Barbary captivity experiences, more even than the contemporary bias or the paucity of indigenous information, that makes reconstructing them so challenging' (p. 58). Despite that admission, she nevertheless seems to me to be barking up a familiar tree: that of the automatic distrust of the veracity of documentation from the 'other' (Other?) side. But even if that had been available, what would it have proved? Would the 'truth' have had any purchase on the views readers of the time have held about 'Barbary'? Surely of much greater interest is that of seeking to account for the variety of tales, and of their interpretations, from within the ranks of the contesting Europeans themselves, and of the history of some of the beliefs and representations.

If it is felt that perhaps a too critical response has been made to those parts of Linda Colley's volume which deal with North Africa, it is because one of the most striking features of the stories forged by critics of the past two centuries is that while there is no doubt that, in many cases, the originals were read, it is to be doubted that the conclusions drawn could be traced back to those texts. Whereas the rhetoric of tales told by early modern tellers is generally free of the rhetoric that marks English colonial (and later, imperial) discourse,[74] that of those who follow them is suffused with the language not now of an England on the threshold of becoming a colonial power, but of a Great Britain that is the dominant imperial one. That is until the past half-century, which was marked, in turn, by the difficulties of coming to terms with the loss of that imperial hegemony and notably the mentalities associated with that diminished status in the world. Neither that rhetoric nor the political and cultural assumptions upon which those representations are based have yet been shaken off: neither in popular culture, nor in politics.

Institute of English Studies, University of London KENNETH PARKER

Notes

1 Andrew Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier: A history of the sixteenth-century Ibero-African frontier* (Chicago & London, Chicago University Press, 1978), p. 78.

2 *Historical Memoirs of Barbary, as connected with the plunder of the seas, including a sketch of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis, an account of the various attacks made*

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upon them by several states of Europe, consideration of their present means of defence, and the original treaties entered into with them by Charles II (London, Gale and Fenner, 1816).

3 Charles Sumner, *White Slavery in the Barbary States: A lecture before the Boston Mercantile Library Association, February 17, 1847* (Boston, William Ticknor and Company, 1847), p. 5.

4 J. R. Jones, *Charles II: Royal Politician* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1987); John Miller, *Charles II* (London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1991); Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992); Ronald Hutton, *Charles II, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989; 1991); Timothy Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy* (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1995); Christopher Hibbert, *Charles I* (London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1968; Penguin, 2001); Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell: Our Chief of Men* (London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1973; Methuen, 1985; Mandarin, 1989); *Charles II: His Life and Times* (London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1979; 1993); Christopher Falkus, *The Life and Times of Charles II* (London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1972).

5 See, for instance, Kenneth. R. Andrews, *Ships, Money, and Politics: Seafaring and Naval Enterprise in the Reign of Charles I* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991); Nabil Matar, 'The Barbary Corsairs and the Civil War', *The Seventeenth Century*, 16 (2001), 239–58.

6 R. L. Playfair, *The Scourge of Christendom: Annals of British Relations with Algiers Prior to the French Conquest* (London, Smith Elder, 1884).

7 Given the restricted focus of this paper to English encounters with 'Barbary', examples of the Scottish, Welsh and Irish presence in that region in this period preceding political union between England and Scotland (1688) will be cited only in those instances in which the contributions of the latter bear directly upon the former.

8 C. M. Senior, *A Nation of Pirates: English piracy in its heyday* (Newton Abbott, David & Charles, 1976), p. 43.

9 Janice E. Thompson, *Merenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns: State-building and extra-territorial violence in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton N. J., Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 44; Peter Earle, *Corsairs of Malta and Barbary* (London, Sidgwick & Jackson, 1970), pp. 30–1.

10 Andrew Barker, *A true and certain report of the beginning, proceedings, ouerthrowes, and now present estate of Captain Ward and Danseker, the two late famous pirates – from their first setting forth to this present time. As also, the firing of 25 sail of Tunis men of war, together with the deaths of divers of Wards captains. Published by Andrew Barker, master of a ship, who was taken by the confederates of Ward, and by them some time detained in prison.* London. Printed by William Hall, and are to be sold by John Helme at his shop in S. Dunstans Churchyard, 1609.

11 *Newes from the Sea, of the two notorious pyrats Ward the englishman and Danseker the dutchman. With a true relation of the most piracies by them committed unto the 6th. of April 1609*. Printed at London for N. Butter and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the [t.p. in British Library copy cropped].

12 Robert Daborn, *A Christian turn'd Turke: or, the Tragicall liues and deaths of the two famous pyrates, Ward and Danseker. As it hath beene publickly acted,*

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Written by Robert Daborn, Gentleman. London. Printed for William Berrenger, and are to be sold at the great North-door of Pauls, 1612.

13 William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and painefull peregrinations of a long nineteen yeares Trauayles, from Scotland to the most famous kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Africa* . . ., 1614. (Further editions in English in 1616, 1632, 1640, 1682, 1692. The extract, in slightly modernised form, is from the 1632 edition 'Imprinted at London by Nicholas Okes, and are to be sold by Thomas Fussell and Humphrey Mosly at their shop in Paul's Church Yard, at the Ball, and the White Lyon'.)

14 *A True Relation, of the lives and deaths of the two most famous English Pyrats, Purser and Clinton, who lived in the Reigne of Queene Elizabeth. Together with the particular actions of their Takings, and undertakings. With other pleasant passages which passed before their surprisall worth the observing*. London. Printed by Io. [John] Okes, 1639.

15 *The Poems of James VI of Scotland*, 2 vols, edited by James Craigie, (Edinburgh, William Blackwood & Sons, 1955). See also Andrew Hess, 'The Battle of Lepanto and its Place in Mediterranean History', *Past and Present*, 57 (1972), 53–73; Hugh Bicheno, *Crescent and Cross: The Battle of Lepanto* (London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2003).

16 Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600–1850* (London, Jonathan Cape, 2002).

17 *A Proclamation restrayning the carrying of munitions to Algeeres and Tunis*. Imprinted at London by Bonham Norton and John Bill, 1623.

18 *A Letter from the King of Morocco to His Majesty the King of England, Charles I, for the reducing of Sally, Argiers, &c. the first of which was taken by the assistance of the English forces, with an account of the execution of the pyrats, and the number of Christian captives sent to His Majesty*. London. Printed for Rowland Reynolds in the Strand. 1680.

19 Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, Columbia University Press, 199), pp. 20–1.

20 David Delison Hebb, *Piracy and the English Government, 1616–1642* (Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1994.)

21 J. E. G. de Montmorency, 'Piracy and the Barbary Corsairs', *Law Quarterly Review*, 35 (1919), 133–42, quoted in Hebb, *op. cit*., p. 12.

22 S. Lane-Poole, with additions by Lieut. J. D. J. Kelley, U.S. Navy, *The Barbary Corsairs* (London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1890).

23 Sir Geoffrey Fisher, *The Barbary Legend: War, Trade and Piracy in North Africa, 1415 –1830* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1957).

24 Joseph Morgan, *A Compleat History of the Piratical States of Barbary; viz. Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Morocco. Containing the origin, revolutions, and present state of these kingdoms, their forces, revenues, policy, and commerce . . . By a gentleman who resided there many years in a public character*. London. Printed for T. Griffiths, at the Dunciad, in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1750.

25 A. M. Broadley, *Tunis Past and Present*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, W. Blackwood & Sons, 1882).

26 J. S. Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean. A study of the use and influence of British power in the Straits, 1603 – 1713*, 2 vols (London, Longman, Green, 1904).

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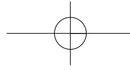
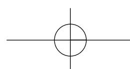


27 Stephen Clissold, *The Barbary Slaves* (London, Paul Elek, 1977).
28 William Spencer, *Algiers in the Age of the Corsairs* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1976).
29 Lois Potter, 'Pirates and "turning Turk" in Renaissance drama', in Jean-Pierre Maquelot & Michele Willems (eds), *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time (*Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 124–40.
30 Barbara Fuchs, 'Faithless Empire: Pirates, Renegades and the English Nation', *ELH*, 67 (2000), 45–69.
31 Claire Jowitt, *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics, 1589–1642* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2003); especially 'Pirates, Renegades and Masculine Unruliness in Early Seventeenth Century Drama', pp. 141–90.
32 John Button, *Algiers Voyage. In a iornall or briefe reportary of all occurents hapning in the fleet of ships sent out by the king his most excellent Maiestie, as well against the pirates of Algiers, as others, . . . Vnder the command of Sir Robert Mansel Knight, Vice-Admirall of England, and Admirall of that Fleet and a Councell of Warre appointed by his Maiestie. The accidents of euery particular moneth (since the first setting out) being in this discovery, expressed by one that went along in the voyage*. Imprinted MDCXX1 [1621]
33 Edmund Waller, *Works,* edited by G. Thorn Dury, 2 vols (London, George Routledge & Sons, 1905), I, 271.
34 Edmond Cason, *A relation of the whole proceedings concerning the redemption of the captives in Argiers and Tunis. With the translates and copies of the letters from the Bashaw, Duana, Mufty, Caddee and Shoudes unto both the honourable Houses of Parliament. As also the letters from Edmund Cason Esq., Agent for the Parliament there, to the Honourable the Committee for the Navy. Together with a list of the captives names redeemed, and the prices they cost there in the market. Published by special authority*. London. Printed by F. L. for Laurence Blaikelock, living at Temple Bar. 1647 [1646].
35 Roslyn L. Knutson, 'Elizabethan Documents, Captivity Narratives, and the Market for Foreign History Plays', *English Literary Renaissance*, 26 (1996), 78.
36 *Newes from Sally: of a Strange Delivery of Foure English Captives from the slavery of the Turkes*, 1642.
37 Henry Robinson, *Libertas, or Reliefe to the English-Captives in Algiers. Briefly discoursing how such as are in slavery may be soone set at liberty, others preserved therein, and the Great Turke reduc'd to renue and keepe the peace inviolate, to the greater enlargement of trade and priviledges than ever the English nation hitherto enjoy'd in Turkie. Presented to the serious consideration of the Honourable Court of Parliament*. By Henry Robsinson, Gent.. London. Printed by Rich. Cotes for John Sweeting, and are to be sold at his shop, at the signe of the Angel, in Popeshead Alley, 1642.
38 *The case of many hundreds of Poor English-Captives in Algier, together with some remedies to prevent their increase, humbly presented to both Houses of Parliament*, 1680.
39 *By the King. A licence for a collection throughout England and Wales, towards the redeeming of poore English men captives under Muely Abdawelly King of Morocco*. London. William Jones, 1631.
40 John Dunton, *A True Iovrnall of the Sally Fleet, vvith the proceedings of the voyage. Published by Iohn Dunton, London Mariner, Master of the Admirall called the*



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leopard. Whereto is annexed a List of Sally Captives names, and the places where they dwell, and a Description of the three Townes in a Card. Printed by Iohn Dawson for Thomas Nicholes, and are to be sold at the signe of the bible in Popeshead alley. 1637.

41 Thomas Phelps, *A True Account of the Captivity of Thomas Phelps, at Machaness in Barbary, and of his strange escape in the company of Edward Baxter and others, as also of the burning [of] two of the great pirate-ships belonging to that kingdom, in the river of Mamora, upon the thirteenth day of June 1685.* London. Printed by H. Hills, Jun. For Christopher Hindmarsh, at the Golden-Ball over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. 1685.

42 Francis Brooks, *Barbarian Cruelty. Being a true history of the distressed condition of the Christian captives under the tyranny of Muley Ishmael Emperor of Morocco and King of Fez and Macuqeness in Barbary. In which is likewise given particular account of his late wars with the Algerines; the manner of his pirates taking the Christians and others; his breach of faith with Christian Princes; a description of his castles and guards, and the places where he keeps his women, his slaves, and his Negroes. With a particular relation of the dangerous escape of the author, and two Englishmen more, from thence, after a miserable slavery of ten years.* London. Printed for J. Salusbury at the Rising-Sun in Cornhill, and H. Newman at the King's Arms in the Poultry. 1693.

43 Thomas Saunders, *A True Discription and breefe Discourse of a most lamentable voiage, made latelie to Tripolie in Barbarie, in a ship named the Iesvs: wherein is not only shevved the great miserie, that then happened [to] the auchtor hereof and his whole companie, as well the Marchants as the Marriners in that Voiage, according to the cursed custome of those barbarous and cruell Tyrants, in their terrible vsage of Christian captiues: but also, the great vnfaithfullnesse of those heathenish Infidels, in not regarding their promise. Together with the most wonderfull iudgement of God, vpon the king of Tripolie and his sonne, and a great number of his people, being all the Tormentors of those English captives. Set foorth by Thomas Savnders, one of those Captives there at the same time.* Imprinted at London, by Richard Jones, for Edward White, dwelling at the Signe of the Gun, by the little North doore of St. Paules, the 15 of Aprill. 1587.

44 Richard Hasleton, *Strange and Wonderfull things [that] happened to Richard Hasleton, born at Braintree in Essex, in his ten years travels to many foreign countries. Penned as he delivered it from his own mouth.* London. Printed by A[bel] I[effes] for William Barley, and are to be sold at his shop in Gratious [Gracechurch] street, near Leaden hall. 1595.

45 John Rawlins, *The Famous and Wonderfull 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 slaughter of about 40 of the Turks and Moors, brought the ship into Plymouth, the 13th. February last; with the captain (a renegado) and 5 Turks more, besides the redemption of 24 men and one boy, from Turkish slavery*. London. Printed for Nathaniel Butter, dwelling at the Pied Bull, at St. Austen's Gate. 1622.

46 Frances Knight, *A Relation of Seaven Yeares Slaverie vnder the Turkes of Argeire, suffered by an English Captive Merchant. Wherein is also conteined all memorable passages, Fights, and accidents, which happened in that Citie, and at Sea with their Shippes and Gallies during that time. Together with a Description of the sufferings*

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of the miserable Captives under that mercilesse Tyrannie . . Whereto is added a Second Booke conteining a Discription of Argiere, with Its originall, Manner of Government, Increase, and present flourishing estate . . . London. Printed by T. Cotes, for M. S Junior, and are to be sold by Tho. Nicholes, in Popes Head Ally. 1640.

47 [R. D.], *A True Relation of the Adventures of Mr. R. D., an English Merchant, taken by the Turks of Argier in 1666.* London. Printed by Philip Brooksby, near the Hospitall-gate in West-Smithfield. 1672.

48 *The Adventures of (Mr. T. S.) an English Merchant, Taken Prisoner by the Turks of Argiers, And carried into the Inland Countries of Africa: With a Description of the Kingdom of Argiers, of all the Towns and Places of Note thereabouts. Whereunto is added a Relation of the Chief Commodities of the Countrey, and of the Actions and Manners of the people. Written, first by the Author, and fitted for the Publick view by A. Roberts. Whereunto is annex'd an Observation of the Tide, and of how to turn a Ship out of the Straights Mouth, the Wind being Westerly; by Richard Norris.* London. Printed, and are to be Sold by Moses Pitt at the White Hart in Little Britain, 1670.

49 Daniel J. Vitkus (ed.), *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption. Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2001).

50 Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (eds), *Travel Knowledge. European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2001).

51 Richard Blome, *A Description of the Island of Jamaica, with the isles and territories in America to which the English are related . . . together with the present state of Algiers*. London. Printed by J. B. for Dorman Newman, at the King's Arms in the Poultry, 1678.

52 George Wilkins, *Three Miseries of Barbary. Plague. Famine. Ciuille warre. With a relation of the death of Mahamet the late Emperour, and a briefe report of the now present wars between the three brothers*. Printed by W. I. for Henry Gosson, and are to be sold in pater noster rowe at the signe of the Sunne, 1608.

53 *Late Newes out of Barbary. A letter written of late from a Merchant there, to a Gentle[man] not long since imployed into that country from His Majesty, containing some strange particulars of this new saintish King's proceedings; as they have been credibly related from such as were eye-witnesses.* Imprinted at London for Arthur Johnson, 1613.

54 Percy Kirke, *The Last Account from Fez, in a Letter from one of the Embassy to a Person of Honour in London, containing a relation of Colonel Kirk's reception at Mequinez, by the Emperour, with several passages in relation to the afairs of Tangier.* London. Printed for Walter Davis in Amen-Corner [n.d.: 1683?].

55 *Articles of Peace between The Most serene and Mighty Prince Charles II . . . and the Most Excellent Signors, Mahomet Bashaw, the Duan of the Noble City of Tunis, Hahe Mustapha Dei, Morat Bei, and the rest of the souldiers in the kingdom of Tunis, concluded by Sir John Lawson knight, the fifth of October 1662. Published by His Majesties Command*. Printed by the assigns of John Bill and Christopher Barker, printers to the Kings Most Excellent majesty. 1677.

56 *The Arrivall and intertainements of the Embassadorr, Alkaid Jaurar Ben Abdella, with his Associate, Mr Robert Blake. From the High and Mighty Prince, Muley Mahammed Sheque, Emperor of Morocco, King of fesse, and Suss. With the Ambassadors good and applauded commendations of his royall and noble entertainments in the Court and the City. Also a discription of some Rites, Customes, and Lawes of*

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those African Nations. Likewise, God's exceeding mercy, and our Kings especiall grace and favour manifested in the happy Redemption of three hundred and two of his Majesties poore subjects, who has beene long in miserable slavery in Salley in Barbary. London. Printed for I. Okes dwelling in little Saint Bartholmewes. 1637; J. R. Powell (ed.), *The Letters of Robert Blake together with supplementary documents*, 2 vols (London, Navy Records Society, No. 57, 1937).

57 *An Heroick Poem to the King, Upon the Arrival of the Morocco and Bantam Embassadors, to His Majesty of Great Britain, in the Year 1682*, London. Printed for Francis Hicks, Bookseller in Cambridge, 1682.

58 Nabil Matar, 'Wives, Captive Husbands, and Turks: The First Women Petitioners in Caroline England', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 23 (1997), 111–28.

59 *By the Protector. A Proclamation Giving Encouragemjent to such as shall transplant themselves to Jamaica. October 1655*.; in Matar, *Turks, Moors & Englishmen*, *infra*., p. 11.

60 *Treaty of Peace betwixt Charles II King of England and the Bassa and Divan of Algier. Made the 3rd. of May, 1662*. (Article 6)

61 *Articles of Peace between his Sacred Majesty, Charles II, King of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland, &c. and the City and Kingdom of Algiers, concluded by Thomas Allen Esquire, Admirall of his said Majesty of Great Brittain's ships in the Mediterranean Seas, &c.* London. Printed by Thomas Mabb, dwelling on St. Paul's Wharff, 1664.

62 *Articles of Charles II, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, &c. and the Most Illustrious Lords, the Bashaw, Dey, Aga, Divan, and Governours of the City and Kingdom of Tripoli. Concluded by . . . Sir Edward Spragge*, 1677; *Articles of Peace and Commerce between the Most Serene and mighty Prince Charles II, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, &c. and the Most Illustrious Lords, the Bashaw, Dey, Aga, Divan, and Governours of the City and Kingdom of Tripoli. Concluded by Sir John Narborough, Knight, Admirall of His Majesties Fleet in the Mediterranean Seas, the First day of May, 1676. Published by His Majesties Command.* London. Printed by the assigns of John Bill and Christopher Barker, Printers to the Kings Most Excellent Majesty. 1677.

63 *A True and perfect relation of the happy success and victory obtained against the Turks of Argiers at Bugia, by His Majesties fleet in the Mediterranean under the command of Sir Edw. Spragge. As it is contained in a letter from the said Admiral, of the eleventh May, 1671.* In the Savoy. London, 1671; *Particular narrative of the burning in the port of Tripoli Four Men of War belonging to those corsairs by Sir John Narborough . . . Together with his taking afterwards Five Barks laden with coin, and of his farther action on that coast. Published by Authority.* At the Savoy. Printed by Thomas Newcomb 1676.

64 Christopher Hill, *God's Englishman* (London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1970; Pelican, 1972; Peregrine, 1988; Penguin, 1990; Penguin Classic, 2000).

65 *Apostacy Punished. A new poem on the deserved death of Jonas Rowland, the renegado, later executed in Morocco*. London. T. H. for the author, 1682.

66 Edward Kellet, *A Return from Argier. A sermon preached at Min[e]head in the County of Somerset the 16 of March, 1627, at the re-admission of a relapsed Christian into our Church* . . . London. Printed by T. H. for I. P. and are to be sold by Richard Thrale, dwelling in Paul's Church-yard at the signe of the cross-Keyes, 1628.

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67 Henry Byram, *A Return from Algiers. A Sermon preached at Min[e]head in the County of Somerset the 16 of March, at the re-admission of a relapsed Christian into our Church* . . . . London. Printed by T. H. for I. P. and are to be sold by Richard Thrale, dwelling in Paul's Church-yard at the signe of the cross Keyes, 1628.

68 Meredith Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turke. A Sermon preached at the Hospitall of Saint Katherin, adionying unto her Majesties Town on 2 October, 1586 . . . By Meredith Hanmer, D. of Diuinitie*, Printed by Richard Waldegraue directly below Temple-barr, [t.p. in BL cropped: 1586?].

69 Thomas Warmstry, *The Baptized Turke, or the happy conversion of Rigep Dandulo, the onely son of a Silk Merchant on the isle of Tzio, from the delusions of that great impostor Mahomet, into the Christian Religion by Mr. Gunnning at Exceter-house Chappell the 8th. of November, 1657. Drawn up by Tho. Warmstry, D. D.*, London. Printed for J.Williams, J. Garthwait at St. Paul's Church-yard, and Henry Marsh at the Princes Arms at the lower end of Chancery-lane in the inner-Temple . . . in Fleetstreet, 1658.

70 Margo Todd, 'Puritans, Pirates, and the Drama of Reconciliation', *The Seventeenth Century*, 11 (1997), 37–56.

71 William Gouge, *A Recovery from Apostacy. Set out in a Sermon [on Luke vx. 32] preached . . . at the recovery of a penitent Renegado into the Church, Octob. 21, 1638,* London, G. Miller for J. Kirton & T. Warren, 1639.

72 Charles Fitz-Geffrey, *Compassion towards captives, cheifly towards our brethren who are in miserable bondage in Barbary. Urged and pressed in 3 sermons on Hebrews 13.3. Preached in Plymouth in October 1636, by Charles Fitz-Geffrey. Whereunto are annexed an Epistle of St. Cyprian concerning the redemption of the brethren from the bondage of the Barbarians, and a passage concerning the benefits of compassion, extracted out of St. Ambrose, his second Book of Offices, Chapter 28* . . . Oxford. Leonard Lichfield for Edward Frost, 1637.

73 See, for instance, Jenny Mezciems, '"'Tis not to deceive the Reader": Moral and literary determinants in some early travel narratives', in *The Art of Travel: Essays on Travel Writing,* ed. Phillip Dodd (London, 1982), pp. 2–19; Mary B. Campell, *The Witness and the Other World* (Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University Press, 1985); Caren Kaplan, *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (Durham N. C., Duke University Press, 1996); Syed Manzurul Islam, *The Ethics of Travel: From Marco Polo to Kafka* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1996); Chris Rojek & John Urry (eds), *Touring Cultures* (London, Routledge, 1997); James Duncan & Derek Gregory (eds), *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London, Routledge, 1999).

74 Kenneth Parker (ed.), *Early Modern Tales of Orient* (London, Routledge, 1999), pp. 28–9.

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