

## Culture Shock in American Narratives of Berber Captivity: Attitudes from Algeria

Abdelkrim DEKHAKHENA\*

<sup>1</sup> 8 May 1945 Guelma University (Algeria)  
dekhakhena.abdelkrim@univ-guelma.dz

Received: 22/09/2023

Accepted: 02/11/2023

Published: 28/12/2023

### **Abstract:**

*The purpose of this article is to investigate cultural shock in American narratives of Berber captivity in Algeria. As a young and rising country, the United States of America began to cruise the Mediterranean area to build its economy and restart commercial links with Mediterranean ports. However, because the United States had no treaties with any of the North African governments, North African pirate ships began targeting American trade ships. From this perspective, the purpose of this research is to shed light on the experiences of American prisoners in Algeria and to attempt to comprehend the predicament of the families on a personal level for the captives. Cut off from their culture, the captives were completely at a loss because their host culture included different standards of cultural understanding such as religion, food, clothing, gender roles, and traditions. The captives refused to adapt to the host culture by rejecting these norms because, according to them, they threatened their identity.*

**Keywords:** Berber captivity, American narratives, culture shock, Algeria, religion, orientalism

---

\* Corresponding author : Abdelkrim DEKHAKHENA,  
e-mail: dekhakhena.abdelkrim@univ-guelma.dz

## 1. Introduction

Piracy in the Mediterranean was a centuries-old practice in which both Christian powers in Europe and Islamic powers in North Africa and the Levant raided each other's ships and coastal communities to purchase slaves.<sup>1</sup> The enslavement of American sailors and the United States' increasing hostilities with the countries of the Barbary Coast represent America's first major encounter and interaction with the Muslim world. Barbarian captivity became the lens through which early Americans gained their first understanding of Islam and the Muslim population of the Barbary Coast. According to Paul Baepler, the first account of barbarian captivity by an American captive was passed down by Joshua Gee, a ship captain turned tobacco merchant seized by Algerian pirates just three years after Mary Rowlandson's deliverance of Indian captivity and publishing her account of captivity, "The Sovereignty and Goodness of God," in 1682. Another captivity account appears in Cotton Mather's sermon, *The Glory of Goodness* (1703).<sup>2</sup> Among the barbarian states that held American slaves, Algeria emerged as the most powerful, where these accounts of captivity occurred.

According to Othman bin Sharif's *The Image of Algeria in the Early Anglo-American Writing* (1984), sea captivity in Algeria reached its zenith during the first half of the seventeenth century when Algerian pirate ships, actually active in the Mediterranean, reached out to the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>3</sup> Algeria became powerful and synonymous with piracy and enslavement. Consequently, a large number of prisoners left accounts of their experiences and their lives in the land of the Berbers.<sup>4</sup> Practically speaking, they all follow the same pattern: capture by pirates, persecution within slavery, followed by their freedom. They provided valuable information about the Algerian pirate the conditions of the Christian captives<sup>5</sup> who were converted into slavery in Algiers and the conditions of their return to freedom, as the entire novel permeates generally the social organization and the economy of the country.<sup>6</sup>

How was the experience of the American prisoners in Algeria, where they lived for a long time in a different society, with some of them having a stereotyped image of the North African society? Much has already been written about the ethnographic point of view from which narratives of captivity and travel have been composed. However, so far little attention has been devoted to the impact of cultural crisis or culture shock on the combinations of ethnographic elements in these captivity narratives.

Culture shock, as the common experience of people encountering another culture in different contexts, has received different definitions. For Peter Adler, culture shock is “a form of anxiety that results from the loss of generally perceived and understood signs and symbols of social communication.”<sup>7</sup> This anxiety is accompanied by four main mechanisms: repression, regression, isolation, and rejection, whose basis is a sense of perplexing insecurity due to the removal of familiar cultural guidelines. George M. Foster (1962) goes further than Adler by comparing culture shock to “mental illness”. He claims that, just like a mentally ill victim of culture shock, “usually they don’t know he has it.”<sup>8</sup>

For this paper, culture shock will be considered one of the four stages of acculturation. The first stage is a period of excitement and ecstasy on a personal and national level. America was still in ecstasy over the founding of its nation when its citizens were taken captive. The second stage of acculturation, culture shock, emerges when individual captives and America are overwhelmed by another culture whose differences threaten to destroy newly acquired and fragile identities. The democratic image of the nation and self that America was in the process of celebrating was suddenly endangered without being able to defend it militarily and diplomatically. The other two stages of acculturation, cultural stress, and cultural adaptation, are not important in this research because it is primarily concerned with the influence and turn that the novels under study received as a result of

culture shock in the face of a strikingly different culture. The social gulf between American culture and Algerian culture was too great at the time of contact for American captives writing under conditions of slavery to write objectively about the host culture.

## **2. Culture Shock: Definitions and Origins**

There is inevitably disagreement and debate over who conceived the concept of culture shock and when, exactly, it occurred. Dutton (2011) <sup>9</sup> has written a highly researched paper tracing the concept's origins to pre-Oberg. In fact, he notes several papers dating back to 1929 that used the term specifically about the immigrant experience. He notes that early researchers compared it to shell shock, but Oberg was the first to look into the concept in depth. Furthermore, he explains why Oberg was interested in the subject given that he was the son of Finnish immigrants to Canada and worked as an anthropologist in Alaska, Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, and Uganda.<sup>10</sup>

Oberg (1960) was the first to have used the term. In a brief and largely anecdotal article, he mentions at least six aspects of culture shock. These include: (1) Strain due to the effort required to make necessary psychological adaptations (2) A sense of loss and feelings of deprivation regarding, profession, and possessions (3) Being rejected by or rejecting members of the new culture (4) confusion in roles, role expectations, values, feelings, and self-identity. (5) Surprise, anxiety, even disgust and indignation after becoming aware of cultural differences (6) Feelings of impotence due to not being able to cope with the new environment According to Oberg (1966), culture shock is caused by anxiety about our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse, which are as important as the language we speak and accept. These cues include when to shake hands, what to say when interacting with people when giving tips, how to give orders, and when to accept and when not to accept. All of us depend on our own peace of mind and its efficacy for hundreds of these cues, which we are not consciously aware of.<sup>11</sup>

Culture shock is a complex phenomenon defined as the experience an individual may have when moving to a new and different cultural environment. As a result of traveling or moving to a new social and cultural environment, we lose all signs, symbols, and cues familiar to us in social contact. Whether people are forced to live in a foreign culture or do so voluntarily, they often face the anxiety and confusion of interacting with the local population and facing different standards and values.<sup>12</sup> There are four main causes of stress known as culture shock:

1. The clash of internal cultures: related to behaviors, values, and worldviews
2. Communication failure: new language; gestures have new meanings; Different social habits and values influence behavior.
3. Loss of cues or reinforcements: food, climate, music, clothing...
4. Identity crisis: we lose our cultural pattern of interpretation.

Edward T. Hall, in his book *The Silent Language* (1959), analyzes the situation of any American moving from one society to another and adopting new cultural norms.

When an American moves abroad, he or she suffers from a condition known as “culture shock.” Culture shock is simply the removal or distortion of many of the familiar cues one encounters at home and their replacement with other, bizarre ones. A great deal of what happens in the organization and use of space provides important clues regarding the specific signals responsible for culture shock.<sup>13</sup>

He claims that “our senses are bombarded with strange language, various smells, and gestures, as well as a host of signs and symbols. However, the fact that those who have been in a foreign country for some time talking about these things provides the newcomer with a warning.”<sup>14</sup> What happens to American prisoners is called ‘culture shock’. To understand this “culture shock,” one has to consider how it has been defined by cultural anthropologists such as Edward Hall.<sup>15</sup>

The latter defines it as “the way of life of a people, consisting of the total of its learned behavior patterns, attitudes, and material things.”<sup>16</sup> Culture is not one thing but many things, for there is not a single basic unit or elemental particle isolated from all cultures.<sup>17</sup>

### **3. Clash of Civilizations/Cultures**

As cultural anthropologists have emphasized, man is bound by culture. In this regard, Hall wrote: “The only thing that is absolutely clear is that man is bound so long as he remains ignorant of the nature of the hidden paths that culture affords him.”<sup>18</sup> However, Hall argues that although man is limited by culture, “man did not develop culture as a means to stifle himself but as a means to move, live, breathe, and develop his own uniqueness. To exploit it, he needs to know more about it.”<sup>19</sup> Thus, culture creates links between human beings and helps their interaction with others.<sup>20</sup> Navigating through other cultures is another issue because it often leads to culture shock, which Peter Adler defines as “a form of anxiety that results from the loss of commonly understood signs and symbols of social communication. [...] Confused, afraid, and alienated from the things he knows and understands.”<sup>21</sup>

This study shows that this culture shock appears in the misconception of the cultural aspects in Algeria, where the prisoners were imprisoned. Whereas, the American sailors at that time were confused and afraid because of their prior information about the region, which they received from European sailors, and because they called them “Christians,” a title that was very common at the time and reflected the nature of the historical conflict in the region. When the Algerians captured the *Maria* on July 25, 1785, and captured its crew, the chief told them that he would one day be a prisoner like them and that he would treat them well. He offered them bread, honey, and coffee, saying, “As soon as I make peace with your father, the King of Britain, the Dey of Algiers will release you immediately.”<sup>22</sup> Neither side was aware of the other; the Americans’ information about the region came from the Europeans to the extent that they called the

North African region “the Berber coast” and its inhabitants “the Berbers.” The Algerians were also unfamiliar with the United States, so they thought the sailors were subordinate to the British king.

Meanwhile, food and drink were offered to them, but the anxiety was making them sleepless because they did not know their fate and were afraid that they would be sold in the countryside and end up in a cut-off place that no one knew and spend their lives in slavery. All of these perceptions of slavery are a reflection of the Americans’ perceptions of slavery, which they practiced and which was linked to agriculture, where they bought black Africans and forced them to live a lifetime of agricultural labor, lacking the slightest degree of freedom. However, slavery in Algeria was a different matter; the captives were used in many fields to benefit from them until they were redeemed. In addition, these slaves and captives enjoyed a space of freedom to work on their own time, collect money, and engage in their trade, which might enable them to redeem themselves if they collected sufficient funds. At the same time, they were free to practice their religion and eat their own food, and even wine was available to them.<sup>23</sup> This does not mean that slavery or captivity in Algeria was a good thing, rather it was of a high degree of bad, but it is different from the state of slavery in America, so the image of slavery in the minds of American prisoners was worse than the reality they will face in Algeria.

Separated from their original culture, the captives encountered a different culture that involved unusual standards of cultural understanding such as religion, food, clothing, gender roles, and customs and traditions. The cultural differences between the captives and their Algerian masters were so huge that no captive seems to have passed the first stage of culture shock that Hall details in the following quote: “In the case of cross-cultural relations, the first thing a person will learn about another society is the existence of a certain formal set of behaviors. It is pointed out immediately or is too obvious to miss.

However, in many cases, the newcomer does not go beyond that first step.”<sup>24</sup>

Two novels in captivity, James Linder Cathcart’s (1899) *The Captives: Eleven Years a Prisoner in Algiers* and John Foss’s (1798) *A Journal, of the Captivity and Sufferings of John Foss; several years a prisoner at Algiers: together with some account of the treatment of Christian slaves when sick:– and observations of the manners and customs of the Algerines*,<sup>25</sup> both focusing on families in Algeria, will be used to document the events of American families in Algeria and the way their families reflect the trauma culture they were exposed to. The accounts of the Cathcart and Voss families emphasized the suffering they experienced, but it was not dismissed as a divine affliction. According to Don Cathcart and Voss, suffering in the new political context is closely linked to the issue of identity and the culture shock that results from forcefully crossing borders into another culture.

The *self* and thus *the nation*, as Friedrich Hegel theorizes, are the result of a life-and-death struggle between the “self” and the “other”, ending in the mutual recognition of the protagonists. In anthropological terms, it is indicated by cultural signs such as ways of eating, fashion and dress, religious beliefs, customs, and morals. As for culture shock, it is believed to be a type of anxiety resulting from the loss of perceived and understandable social communication cues and symbols,<sup>26</sup> or arising when cultural intersectionality feels the impact of images of confrontational cultural differences on its self-image and security. Theoretically, it manifests itself in complaints about local customs, traditions, and morals that the cultural intersection of his or her home community addresses in his/her quest to find a way out of his predicament.<sup>27</sup>

One of the first signs of this culture shock was the supremacy that the American captives claimed over their masters. This paper is mainly concerned with the cultural encounter in families’ narratives. An anthropological framework will be adopted, in which the two will be compared. In his book *Silent Language* (1959), Hall says “What I

am dealing with here are the different ways in which societies and their components are organized or organized.”<sup>28</sup> This study will be inspired by Edward Hall’s book, *The Silent Language* refers to the culture that underlies the language expressed. According to him, culture determines behavior in our lives, even though we are not consciously aware of the elaborate pattern of behavior that describes our handling of time, our spatial relationships, and our attitudes toward work, play, and learning. In addition to what we say in our verbal language, we are constantly communicating our true feelings in our silent language— The language of behavior. Sometimes this is interpreted correctly by other nationalities, but more often it is not.”<sup>29</sup>

In a sermon he wrote to commemorate the deliverance of many barbarian captives, Cotton Mather, who also helped spread novels of Indian captivity, included accounts of the plight of captives in Africa. Narratives of barbarian captivity predictably emphasized Christian abuse and brutality against non-Christians. In an earlier sermon addressed to the suffering colonists in Morocco, Mather called the kidnapers “the beasts of Africa” and linked them to “the forces of darkness” (Pastoral Letter 10). Mather’s demonization of Moroccans as demonic figures placed them in a metaphysical category separate from the colonizers, indicating a fundamental division between the two continents as well as setting a boundary between civilization and barbarism.<sup>30</sup>

Fighting the barbarian forces was to fight the eternal battle against the earthly confusion caused by the agents of Satan. Like many Puritan texts, Mather’s accounts emphasize the powerful role of society in this battle, both captive society—noting that even when the American colonists were slaves, they established an organized religious hierarchy with their masters and helpers—and faithful colonists in New England. According to Mather, the captive community inspired the world through its resistance to Islam and decadence, and the community in Boston returned to daily prayer and raised money to buy back their brethren. What Mather did not

mention, and perhaps did not realize, was that a large number of English, Irish, and other Europeans also sailed under the flag of North Africa, leading them to live profitable lives and, in the process, revealing important naval technology that greatly enhanced the ability of pirates to take captives.

Interestingly, *The Algerine Spy in Pennsylvania* or *Letters Written by a Citizen of Algiers on the Affairs of the United States of America*, from the end of 1783 to the Convention meeting, is Marco's alternate title for his epistolary novel. The emphasis on time appears to draw attention. The protracted discussion that preceded the assembly of the Constitutional Convention took place in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, from May 14 to September 17, 1787. To assure the foundation of a "true constitutional republic," state delegates had to agree on a series of changes to the Articles of Confederation. Even though the convention was critical to the survival of the states as a whole, the only state that declined to send delegates was Rhode Island. Scholars emphasize that it was "usually financial distress and domestic instability within the states (particularly the Shays Rebellion in Massachusetts) that led to that meeting," but it was also crucial in terms of "international security."<sup>31</sup>

Peter Markoe's story looks to be in the same vein as the author's, emphasizing the decisiveness of the moment and being afraid that inattention may cloud many Americans' perceptions of the coming risks to their "nation." His story is based on a collection of letters purportedly sent by Muhammad, whose objective was to spy on US affairs. He provides Algiers updates ranging from social criticism and philosophical views to logistical evaluations. The complaints cited are an indirect self-examination by the author, who employs "entirely imaginary Algeria as a screen for problems like slavery and tyranny" and simply refuses to acknowledge that they have anything to do with his country.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, Mehemet's venomous condemnation of southern culture, the system of slavery, social hypocrisy, aristocratic arrogance, and the divide in their status is meant to be perceived through the eyes of an

outsider, achieving a degree of unaffected neutrality. He highlights the social ills of defining American society as “a company in which the absent was insulted, the stranger was humiliated, the dog was petted, and where the monkey shouldered more grief than an outgoing child feels”; a society located far below its country of origin (Algeria) where “silence is wisdom, and conservatism is a virtue.”<sup>33</sup> While the novel’s beginning portrays Algerian society in a little more favorable light, the rest of it maintains the traditional American tone, with its hatred for everything that opposes and suppresses democracy and freedom. The assumption of the barbarian state as another villain, a source of dread that could only be handled by a cohesive interstate strategy, represented an early and fascinating departure from the old view of the Orient. This “orient” appears to be unique.<sup>34</sup>

The stories of barbarian captivity that flooded American bookstores from the late 1880s to the 1850s aided in the formation of ethnically and stereotypically Arab and Turkish stereotypes in the imaginations of early American readers. These reports also gave Americans some of their first encounters with Islam. In contrast to the evolution of Arab and Turkish archetypes, the Berber captivity narratives did not convey a universal understanding of Islam. How these authors disagreed on Islam indicates a lot about how religion played a role in early American culture. Berber literature has also concentrated largely on the perceived failure of the Berber states and their assumption that this failure was caused by Turkish authoritarianism. This tendency demonstrates how early Americans considered themselves the contemporary global race and felt they were actually establishing a new civilization after gaining independence from Great Britain.

Colin Ward states in his book *The Psychology of Culture Shock* (2005) that effective interactions between cultures are often hampered by the fact that participants are unaware of the precise, culturally specific rules and regulations that govern social encounters.<sup>35</sup> The captives were shocked and confused because they

were bound by culture. So, instead of trying to understand the culture of their hosts, they reacted very strongly against it, especially in their circumstances as ‘slaves’, or prisoners. The experiences of captivity echo what Samuel Huntington stated in *The Clash of Civilizations* (1993): It is expected that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world would not be ideological or economic. The major schisms between mankind and the leading cause of conflict will be cultural in nature. Nation-states will continue to be the most dominant actors in global affairs, but big conflicts will arise between nations and groupings of various cultures. World politics will be dominated by the conflict of civilizations. The fault lines between civilizations will be the future war lines.<sup>36</sup>

Huntington’s thesis is centered on the clash between “Western” and “Islamic” civilizations, recognizing the “bloody frontier” between Islamic and non-Islamic civilizations. Americans were able to present their country as righteous and honorable by depicting North Africa as barbaric. Thus, the way Americans perceived barbaric powers enabled the nascent republic to establish itself as a free nation. The concept of American identity as superior to that of savage nations enabled America to claim the mission of civilization. Although America did not continue to colonize North Africa, it did acquire European notions of imperial expansion.

Captivity stories, in addition to exemplifying the issues that Americans face, provide a story of American fortitude, tenacity, and even success. They are continually investigating the cultural shifts, divides, and contrasts brought about by captives’ cultural crossings. The narrators present the host culture as inferior and foreign by narrating a separate tale based on various cultural values (food, clothes, religion, gender roles, and customs and traditions):

Contact between culturally diverse individuals is as old as recorded history. People brought up in one culture have always visited other societies to trade, learn from, or exert influence in foreign lands. Most societies have seen visitors from abroad, welcoming them if their motives are considered benevolent, or

resisting newcomers if they come to conquer, pillage, or exploit.<sup>37</sup>

Thomas Jefferson declared in the Declaration of Independence (1776) in which the Americans attempted to cast off the yoke of the British “Leviathan”: “We take these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that their Creator has endowed them with a certain inalienable right; that among them are life, liberty, and pursuit behind happiness.”<sup>38</sup> The fact that you are a free and equal being does not give you the right to live in barbaric captivity. As previously stated, a huge number of Americans were abducted by Algerian Barbary pirates and “enslaved” in Algiers during the eighteenth century, when they suffered greatly. Crossing cultures, it is commonly suggested, include travelers engaging in various combinations of languages, rituals, and institutions, producing identities as discursive practices. The detainees’ problem stems from their feeling abused in terms of their sense of identification, who they are and their discourse of their dignity as citizens. Their imprisonment and cross-cultural experiences compelled them to reconsider their identities and civilizations. The Americans view freedom as an individual and natural idea that allows every human being in a free society to pursue his or her will.<sup>39</sup>

#### **4. Culture shock in customs and traditions**

Under the influence of the ideas of the Enlightenment, the Americans built their nation, discarding what they had inherited from the British to give birth to their “Imagined Society”.<sup>40</sup> This society was built thanks to the initiative of people who believed in the concept of freedom based on an independent human subject capable of acting consciously.<sup>41</sup> Biscayne-Lawrence argues that “the new nation was a product of the same Enlightenment liberalism that Jürgen Habermas found so essential to the development of what he called the “bourgeois” or liberal public sphere.”<sup>42</sup> According to Alexander Hamilton, “Enlightenment in its simplest sense was the creation of a

new framework of ideas about man, society, and nature, which challenged the current concept rooted in the traditional view of the world, which is dominated by Christianity.”<sup>43</sup> Empirical observation, reason, and science are the main themes of the Enlightenment project.

The Age of Reason was in the second half of the eighteenth century. This contrasting picture of America as a chosen land and Algeria as a dark place appears in their attitude toward religion. Mircea Eliade argues in *The Sacred and the Profane* (1957):

Modern nonreligious man assumes a new existential situation; he regards himself solely as the subject and agent of history, and he refuses all appeals to transcendence. In other words, he accepts no model for humanity outside the human condition as can be seen in the various historical situations. Man makes himself, and he only makes himself completely in proportion as he desacralizes himself and the world. The sacred is the primary obstacle to his freedom. He will become himself only when he is totally domesticated. He will not be truly free until he has killed the last god.<sup>44</sup>

Instead of a God-assured society, “Americans spoke of reason; instead of considering sin to be inherent in man, they linked their belief in human perfection and believed that education could be a human character.”<sup>45</sup> The “Algerians” are seen as primitive people, committed to fulfilling a religious ideal and trying to imitate mythical models. They believe that everything is ordained by God. In this way, they show a belief in the ability of human beings to eliminate misery and ultimately create happiness. This is the view put forward by Shaler William in *Sketches of Algiers* (1984), when he wrote the following about Algiers: “The fate of every man is indelibly imprinted on his forehead by the hand of God.”<sup>46</sup> In turn, Mercia Eliade wrote that the religious makes himself by approaching the divine models. In such assertions, one can understand that the American captives considered themselves superior to the Algerians. They see themselves as agents of history, while the Algerians are seen as passive victims of their own cultural systems.<sup>47</sup>

This spirit of American exceptionalism is evident in the captive account of John Foss, who believes that the US government and its citizens are exemplary models for the rest of the world to emulate. Slaves, though they were masters, cried, “The American people must be the best in the world to be human and generous with their enslaved countrymen.”<sup>48</sup> Foss’s perceptions of Americans, after his experience with the inhabitants of Algeria, set back the stereotypes that preachers in the United States had been establishing for generations. The prisoners see themselves as defenders of a democratic model.<sup>49</sup> An American in Tripoli observes: “How wonderful it was to see the Stars and Stripes extending the hand of retributive justice to the barbarians and saving the unfortunate European nation, though far but friendly, from slavery.”<sup>50</sup> In the land of the Berbers, white captives found themselves in contexts that required a revision of the discourses of knowledge and identity of the white community.

Like Voss and Cathcart, J. Leander links his imprisonment with the imprisonment of the American nation: “I was convinced that the honor of our country is bound up with our salvation.”<sup>51</sup> At the time, the United States lacked direct diplomatic means to negotiate the release of prisoners. The United States was very sensitive to the families of its citizens because it had just gained its independence from Britain. Her inability to protect her citizens was a disgrace. In this sense, Cathcart writes: Why have you left us, victims of arbitrary power and barbaric tyranny, in a strange land far from all our prayers, miserable exiles from the country for which we fought, forgotten by our contemporaries—who formerly used to move us on all our expeditions with stories of freedom? In *The Silent Language of Culture*, Hall comments on the idea of time by saying that Americans don’t just tell time; they look to the future. They are preoccupied with change and want to know how to overcome resistance to it. According to him, time is treated like a substance, and it is somewhat immoral for it to do two things at the same time. He further asserts that “there are those who have a psychological tendency who say that we are

obsessed with time. [...] We have emphasized this aspect of culture and developed it to a point unparalleled anywhere in the world, except perhaps in Switzerland and Northern Germany.<sup>52</sup>

The concept of time as looking forward is most powerfully expressed in captivity novels. The way time is estimated or dealt with was marked by the difference between so-called civilized America and “lower” Algeria. According to Colin Ward, people from complex cultures pay attention to time, which is seen as “money spent, saved, or wasted in unfortunate circumstances.”<sup>53</sup> Hall provides a brief definition of time in the Western world, specifically in America, where Americans tend to think of time as something fixed in nature from which they cannot escape. By contrast, in other cultures, time is less valuable than a commodity.<sup>54</sup> When meeting people from more and more complex cultures, Americans tend to view “Algerians” as rude and lazy because of their flexible approach to time.<sup>55</sup>

In captivity, the Algerians are shown as idle, without any regard for time; the Turks were not only tyrannical compared to the Arabs and Moors but were also portrayed as lazy and complete. Commenting on the inhabitants of the capital, Algiers, Stevens wrote Both men and women spend a large part of their time slouching, men drinking coffee and smoking, women dressing, bathing, and talking on the sofa, visiting relatives’ graves, and walking in their gardens.<sup>56</sup>

### **5. Culture shock in religion, gender roles, food and clothing**

The accounts of the captives depict their suffering as Christians within Islamic slavery. The concept of suffering is well-repeated in the novels. Maria Martin’s account of captivity is an example:

My stability began to recover after some time, and I sparkled with a desire to convince the world that I was capable of suffering what no man had ever suffered. What must the suffering be of a female locked up in a cell so damp, so dark, so horrible, without a bed or straw, whose limbs were laden as she, without refreshments but dry, moldy bread, without a drop of broth, without a consoling friend, who, under these

afflictions, trusts in her recovery to the efforts of nature alone?<sup>57</sup>

Through their accounts, the captives made a kind of comparison between their Christian teachings and the harsh treatment they experienced in their captivity. In the Bible, imprisonment is described as a possible means of reforming criminals so that they can be brought back into society as upright citizens.<sup>58</sup> The captives consider their captors to be tyrants for imprisoning them without accusing them of any wrongdoing. The concept of suffering is repeated in all accounts as a reference to the suffering of Jesus Christ. The humanity of the captives and the brutality of the masters are illustrated by contrast. In fact, Americans view themselves as God-fearing, while Muslims are seen as fanatics.<sup>59</sup> Americans not only praise themselves as blessed human beings but also build their own values and social norms as ideals for other nations to follow.

In captivity accounts, all things Eastern contributed to the gradual dehumanization of barbarian forces and their pirates. In opposition, the captives praise Christian America, the land of freedom that existed as the founding fathers claimed. In this sense, Voss says:

Our country has provided us with enough clothes that are decent and comfortable. This was happy news for us because from the time of our captivity to this day, we have had a miserable, rare life worth having without a property to live on. The generosity of the United States to us, its enslaved compatriots, was of inestimable value. I was most appreciative of being unexpected. No nation in Christendom has done anything like this to its subjects in our case.<sup>60</sup>

William Schaller describes the “Algerian” women as solitary women who “bloom haphazardly in the desert, from the complaints of their husbands about the extravagance of dress.”<sup>61</sup> Through his observations of the treatment of women in “Algerian” society, he not only highlights early Americans’ view of “Algerians,” but also suggests a great deal about how these authors’ narratives and their

contemporary American audience viewed the place and role of women in their society. Families' narratives challenged Barbarian mores by portraying white bodies as belonging to their black masters.

In Susanna Rawson's play, "Slaves in Algiers, or the Struggle for Freedom" (1794), Zoriana, who offered to help Olivia escape tyranny within captivity, says: "Don't be troubled by sweet Olivia, I am a Christian in my heart and I love a Christian slave, and I conveyed to him enough money and jewels to redeem himself and several others."<sup>62</sup> Zoriana demanded freedom for herself and Olivia from the land of captivity because she was Christian and American at heart, according to Rawson. He conceived of Christianity as the religion of freedom and liberty and Islam as the religion of tyranny and oppression. Miles wrote in her 2004 essay, "Slaves in Algeria, Captives in Iraq," that Algerian slaves learned freedom from Americans. She asserts that Rebecca and Olivia have indoctrinated the Muslim women around them with subversive beliefs based on their beliefs. Ben Hassan's daughter, Fitna, says it was Rebecca who taught her that women were never shaped to be contemptible slaves to a man.<sup>63</sup>

Sex/gender and gender role inversion are key aspects of family narratives of cultural shock. According to Mohaja Kahf's 1999 study *Western Representations of Muslim Women*, Berber tales portray Muslim women as victims. This entails "liberating" them from their "pagan" and "barbarian" communities. As a literary genre, stories of barbarian captivity demonstrate how Muslim women are 'altruistic' creatures. Yasmine Zain contends, in the tradition of Edward Said and Mohaja Kahf, that the politics of representation of Muslim women are tied to the material and intellectual circumstances that characterize the connection between the West and Muslim cultures. Muslim women have limited clout in society and may secretly rally the people to regain their rights, which have been denied to them.<sup>64</sup>

During his brief visit to Medina, Tyler creates a gloomy image of the people as "cruel bandits" or "savage Arabs" living in everlasting agony. However, the most bigoted and racist depiction is

that of “Muhammad the Saint,” who has been revealed to be “a mere idiot.” The separation of Islam and Christianity is one of the most obvious causes of the prisoners’ culture shock. Its significance arises from its important position in the cultural baggage that prisoners brought with them.

Islam is the distinctive element that their culture associates with Eastern countries. Said believes that “lies” and “falsehoods” about Islam and the Muslim world are regularly disseminated in the media under the guise of “objectivity”, “liberalism”, “freedom”, “democracy”, and “progress”. According to him, the West viewed Islam and Muslims in an inventive framework full of passion and defensive prejudice. He feels that Americans portray Islam as a danger to the Western democratic order.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, he represents the “Algerians” as ignorant barbarians and very poorly educated, using nicknames such as “ignorant doctors” and “savage people”. He adds that the “Algerians” are of course inferior to the Americans, as they behave in an uncivilized manner and have backward morals, such as “squatting on the ground” or “eating with their fingers”. As is the case with Orientalist texts that depict the character of the Arabs as associated with violence, deceit, and deception.

In Orientalism, Said claims that Orientalists believe that “there are cultures and nations whose position lies in the East and whose lives and customs have a cruel truth greater than anything that can be said of them in the West.”<sup>66</sup> Tyler presents “Algerian” culture as a poor culture that reflects the backward and primitive life in the state of Algiers. Algerian food is portrayed as inferior in quality and quantity to American food. Their main course consists only of some olives, vinegar, and coarse bread.

As an essential social phenomenon, food is a vital aspect of culture and a method of forming, influencing, and making statements about one’s identity. Thus, Americans developed their identity against the “Algerians” by utilizing food as a source of identity. Dressing is another cultural practice in Algeria that has shocked American

inmates. Clothing is directly associated with identity and status. This relationship is established near the beginning of the captivity novels. The majority of the hostages complain of being stripped naked as soon as Algerian pirates board them. Taking away their European or Western dress is regarded as insulting in terms of who and what they are. Because these European garments have been replaced with Algerian attire, there is a sensation of cultural shock. These represent a forced identity, a form of self-alienation. Algerian clothes represent estrangement from oneself and identity.<sup>2</sup>

## **6. Conclusion**

This paper discussed the concept of culture shock concerning human disorientation in regions of cultural interaction, particularly when crossing from one culture to another, which occurs under difficult circumstances. It is concluded that accounts of American barbarian captivity were not only the outcome of an early American Orientalist view of North Africa, but also of culture shock caused by encounters with two radically different cultures during wartime. Even under normal circumstances, contact with cultures other than one's own entails a whole psychological process of acculturation, which some people manage to do successfully by accepting differences and adapting to foreign ways of life, while others, who may be unable to cross cultures, fail to do so.

Cathcart and Tyler's works provide a stereotyped impression of other cultures, valuing judgments in favor of the cultures of origin. Cathcart, for example, is the sole hostage who has suffered a culture shock but eventually manages to overcome it to become a man of importance in the same culture that enslaved him. Voss, a sailor with no educational background, was more subject to the normative social and cultural prejudices he had grown up with in his society. In this work, a significant variety of cultural episodes connected to clothes, cuisine, religion, and traditions are negotiated differently by the authors under investigation depending on the degree of culture shock. The hatred between the two religions in the narratives is helping to

promote the anti-Islamic West in the United States, as the prisoners have already internalized all of their other countrymen's biases about Islam as a culture and religion. Algeria is an opportunity to elevate the anxiety they express, verifying the classic clash between Islam and Christianity that led to the eventual battle.

- **Endnotes:**

---

- <sup>1</sup> For more information on the history and size of the piracy enterprise in the Mediterranean, see:  
Gillian Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).
- <sup>2</sup> Paul Baepler. *The Barbary Captivity Narrative in American Culture*. *Early American Literature*, 2004, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2004), pp. 217-246, p 24.
- <sup>3</sup> The prisoners of the United States of America constituted a very small percentage compared to the number of European prisoners, because the United States did not engage in the Mediterranean trade as an independent country until late, specifically in the late eighteenth century.
- <sup>4</sup> Benchérif, Osman. *The Image of Algeria in Anglo-American Writings, 1785-1962*, Maryland, Maryland University Press, 1984, p 23.
- <sup>5</sup> Every prisoner from the other side of the Mediterranean is called a Christian, regardless of his religion or race.
- <sup>6</sup> Benchérif, p 23.
- <sup>7</sup> Adler, Peter. "Culture Shock and the Cross-Cultural Learning Experience", in *Reading in Intercultural Education*, vol.2, 1972, p.08.
- <sup>8</sup> Foster, George M. *Traditional Cultures and The Impact of Technological Change*, New York: Harner and Bros, 1962, p. 87.
- <sup>9</sup> Dutton, E. (2011). *The Significance of British Columbia to the Origins of the Concept of "Culture Shock"*. *BC Studies*, 171, 111-129.
- <sup>10</sup> Furnham, A. (2011). *Culture Shock: Literature Review, Personal Statement and Relevance for the South Pacific*. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, 4, 87-94. <https://doi.org/10.1375/prp.4.2.87>
- <sup>11</sup> Oberg, K. (1966). *Culture Shock: Adjustment to New Cultural Environments*. *Practical Anthropology*, 7, 177-182, p 179. <https://doi.org/10.1177/009182966000700405>
- <sup>12</sup> Ward, C.
- <sup>13</sup> Hall, Edward Twitchell. *The Silent Language*. New York, Anchor Books Edition, 1973, p. 199.

- <sup>14</sup> Ibid. p. 192.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid. p. 42.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid. p. 42.
- <sup>17</sup> Hall, p. 192.
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 144.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 212.
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 213.
- <sup>21</sup> Adler, Peter. "Culture Shock and the Cross-Cultural Learning Experience", in *Reading in Intercultural Education*, vol. 2, 1972, p. 08.
- <sup>22</sup> Cathcart, Memoirs of the Prisoner of the Day, the American Consul in Morocco, translated by: Al-Arabi, Ismail, Diwan of University Publications, Algeria, 1981, p. 1.
- <sup>23</sup> Sears, E., Christine, A Different Kind of Slavery: American Captives in Barbary, 1776-1830, University of Delaware PhD Dissertation, 2007, p 74.
- <sup>24</sup> Hall, Edward Twitchell. *The Silent Language*. New York, Anchor Books Edition, 1973, p. 128.
- <sup>25</sup> These stories, which were riddled with misconceptions, preconceptions, and clichés, formed the West's initial image of Muslim corsairs.
- <sup>26</sup> Adler, Peter. Culture Shock and The Cross-Cultural Learning Experience, in *Reading in Intercultural Education*, vol. 2, 1972, p. 08.
- <sup>27</sup> Bouteldja Riche and Sabrina Zerar, Culture Shock and Transculturalism in John Foss's and James Cathcart's Barbary Captivity Narratives. *Academic Journal of Science*, 08(01):1-14 (2018).
- <sup>28</sup> Hall, p. 64.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 15
- <sup>30</sup> Paul Baepler. *The Barbary Captivity Narrative in American Culture*. *Early American Literature*, 2004, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2004), pp. 217-246.
- <sup>31</sup> Vile, J. r. (2005). *The Constitutional Convention of 1787: a comprehensive encyclopedia of America's founding*. California: ABCCLIO. p. 279
- <sup>32</sup> Andrew S. G. (2014). *Commerce and Sentiment in Tales of Barbary Encounter: Cathcart, Barlow, Markoe, Tyler, and Rowson*. *European Journal of American Studies*. 01May2016, p 7.  
<http://ejas.revues.org/10358>;DOI:10.4000/ejas.10358
- <sup>33</sup> Markoe, Peter, 1752-1792. and Pritchard, William., 2007, *The Algerine spy in Pennsylvania: or, Letters written by a native of Algiers on the affairs of the United States of America, from the close of the year 1783 to the meeting of the Convention*. [One line in Latin from Ovid], Oxford Text Archive, <http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12024/N16001>.

*Culture Shock in American Narratives of Berber Captivity:  
Attitudes from Algeria*

---

- <sup>34</sup> D. Houamdi. "The Algerine in the Early American Literature: Context and Pretext". *Revue Lettres et Langues* Vol 01 N°15 Juin 2019 108-121. P 117.
- <sup>35</sup> Collen, Ward and al (ed). *The Psychology of Culture Shock*. Philadelphia, Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005, p. 02.
- <sup>36</sup> Samuel P, Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations?* *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 Summer 1993, May15th, 2013.  
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19930601faessay5188/samuel-phuntington/the-clashof-civilizations.htm>
- <sup>37</sup> Collen, Ward and al (ed). *The Psychology of Culture Shock*, Philadelphia, Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005, p. 04.
- <sup>38</sup> Jefferson Thomas, United States Information Agency (1987).
- <sup>39</sup> America –The Arsenal of Sovereignty. [online] available:  
[http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/2014/marragordon\\_arsenalofsovereignty.pdf](http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/2014/marragordon_arsenalofsovereignty.pdf)
- <sup>40</sup> Peskin, A. Lawrence. *Captives and Countrymen, Barbary Slavery and the American Public, 1785-1816*. United States of America: acid-free paper, 2009, p. 03.
- <sup>41</sup> Peskin, p. 03.
- <sup>42</sup> Peskin, p. 03.
- <sup>43</sup> Hamilton Thomas, cited in *The Enlightenment and the Development of Social Theory*. [online] available:  
[Http&q=The+Enlightenment+and+the+development+of+social+theory&gbv=2&oq=The+Enlightenment+and+the+development+of+social+theory&gs\\_l=heirloomhp.12..0i19.4359.4359.0.18406.1.1.0.0.0.1700.1700.8-1.1.0....0...1ac.2.34.heirloom-hp..0.1.1699.RTY5YmmRbr8 05](http://www.enlightenmentandthedevelopmentofsocialtheory.com)
- <sup>44</sup> Eliade Mircea, *The Sacred and the Profane, The Nature of Religion* California, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987, p 203.
- <sup>45</sup> Beloff cited in *The Enlightenment and the Development Of Social Theory*, [online] available:  
[http&q=The+Enlightenment+and+the+development+of+social+theory&gbv=2&oq=The+Enlightenment+and+the+development+of+social+theory&gs\\_l=heirloomhp.12..0i19.4359.4359.0.18406.1.1.0.0.0.1700.1700.81.1.0....0...1ac.2.34.heirloomhp..0.1.1699.RTY5YmmRbr8 05](http://www.enlightenmentandthedevelopmentofsocialtheory.com)
- <sup>46</sup> Shaler William, *Sketches of Algiers*, Boston: Cambridge University Press, 1984, p 204.
- <sup>47</sup> Eliade Mircea, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* California, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987, p100.
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid

- <sup>49</sup> Peskin, p, 201.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid. p. 202
- <sup>51</sup> Cathcart, J. Leander (1899). *The Captives, Eleven Years a Prisoner in Algiers* in Baepler, Paul. *White slaves, African Masters*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1999, p. 144.
- <sup>52</sup> Hall, Edward Twitchell, *The Silent Language* New York, Anchor Books Edition, 1973, p. 31.
- <sup>53</sup> Collen, Ward and al (ed), *The Psychology of Culture Shock*. Philadelphia, Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005, p 10.
- <sup>54</sup> Hall, Edward Twitchell. *The Silent Language*, New York: Anchor Books Edition, 1973, p 28.
- <sup>55</sup> Collen, Ward and al (ed), *The Psychology of Culture Shock* Philadelphia, Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005, p 13.
- <sup>56</sup> Miranda, Paul. (2012). *Captive in Barbary the Stereotyping of Arabs, Turks, and Islam in Early American Society*. A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in History with Distinction Spring 2012. [online] available: <http://udspace.udel.edu/handle/19716/11552>
- <sup>57</sup> Martin, Maria (1807) *History of the Captivity and Sufferings of Maria Martin* in Baepler, Paul. *White slaves, African Masters*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1999, p 156.
- <sup>58</sup> Marshall, Christopher (2004) *From New Zealand Prison, Prisoners and the Bible*. [online] <http://www.restorativejustice.org/10fulltext/marshall-christopherprison-prisoners-and-thebible>
- <sup>59</sup> Ibid
- <sup>60</sup> John Foss. (1798). *Journal of Captivity and Sufferings* in Baepler, Paul *White Slaves, African Masters*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1999, p 92.
- <sup>61</sup> Shaler William, *Sketches of Algiers* Boston, Cambridge University Press, 1984, p 62.
- <sup>62</sup> Tyler Royall, *The Algerine Captive or Life and Adventures of Doctor Updike Underhill*, Hartford, CT, Peter B. Gleason and Go, 1816, [online] available: [http://www.archive.org/details/Algerine\\_captive00tylerch](http://www.archive.org/details/Algerine_captive00tylerch)
- <sup>63</sup> Rowson Susana. H (1794), *Slaves in Algiers, or a Struggle for Freedom*. Acton, Massachusetts, Coppley, 2000, p 125.
- <sup>64</sup> Myles, G. Anne (2004), *Slaves in Algiers, Captives in Iraq*, <http://www.commonplace.org:vol-5/no-01/Myles/index.shtml>

<sup>65</sup> Tyler Royall. *The Algerine Captive, or Life and Adventures of Doctor Updike Underhill*, [online] available: <http://www.abebooks.co.uk/book-search/title/the-algeriancaptive/author/tylor-royal-craincaleb-sortby/23>

<sup>66</sup> Said Edward. (2003). *Orientalism* London, Penguin Book ltd, p 05 (65).

## - References

- Adler, Peter. (1972). "Culture Shock and the Cross-Cultural Learning Experience", in *Reading in Intercultural Education*, (2).
- Andrew, S. G. (2014). Commerce and Sentiment in Tales of Barbary Encounter: Cathcart, Barlow, Markoe, Tyler, and Rowson. *European Journal of American Studies*. <http://ejas.revues.org/10358>;DOI:10.4000/ejas.10358
- Baepler, Paul. (2004). The Barbary Captivity Narrative in American Culture. *Early American Literature*, 39(2): 217-246.
- Benchérif, Osman. (1984). *The Image of Algeria in Anglo-American Writings, 1785-1962*. Maryland, Maryland University Press.
- Cathcart, J. Leander. (1999). The Captives, Eleven Years a Prisoner in Algiers. In Baepler, Paul. *White Slaves, African Masters*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- Cathcart, James. (1981). *Memoirs of the Prisoner of the Day, the American Consul in Morocco*, translated by: Al-Arabi, Ismail, Office of University Publications, Algeria.
- Collen, Ward and al (ed). (2005). *The Psychology of Culture Shock*. Philadelphia, Taylor & Francis e-Library.
- Dutton, E. (2011). The Significance of British Columbia to the Origins of the Concept of "Culture Shock". *BC Studies*, 171, 111-129.
- Foss, John. (1999). Journal of Captivity and Sufferings. In Baepler, Paul. *White Slaves, African Masters*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- Foster, George M. (1962). *Traditional Cultures and The Impact of Technological Change*, New York: Harner and Bros,
- Furnham, A. (2011). Culture Shock: Literature Review, Personal Statement and Relevance for the South Pacific. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology* (4): 87-94. <https://doi.org/10.1375/prp.4.2.87>

- Hall, Edward Twitchell. (1973). *The Silent Language*. New York, Anchor Books Edition.
- Houamdi. D. (2019, Juin). The Algerine in the Early American Literature: Context and Pretext. *Revue Lettres et Langues*, 01(15): 108-121.
- Huntington, Samuel P. (1993, Summer). The Clash of Civilizations? Foreign Affairs, 72(3).  
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19930601faessay5188/samuel-phuntington/the-clashofcivilizations.htm>.
- Jefferson, Thomas. (1987). "The Declaration of Independence (1776)". United States Information Agency. <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration>
- Marra, Mike and James Gordon. (2014). America –The Arsenal of Sovereignty. [online] available:  
[http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/2014/marragordon\\_arsenalofsovereignty.pdf](http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/2014/marragordon_arsenalofsovereignty.pdf)
- Marshall, Christopher. (2004). From New Zealand Prison, Prisoners and the Bible. [online] <http://www.restorativejustice.org/10fulltext/marshall-christopherprison-prisoners-and-thebible>
- Martin, Maria. (1999). History of The Captivity and Sufferings of Maria Martin. In Baeppler, Paul. *White Slaves, African Masters*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- Miranda, Paul. (2012). Captive in Barbary the Stereotyping of Arabs, Turks, and Islam in Early American Society. A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in History with Distinction Spring 2012. [online] available: <http://udspace.udel.edu/handle/19716/11552>
- Mircea, Eliade. (1987). *The Sacred and the Profane, The Nature of Religion*. California, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Myles, G. Anne (2004). Slaves in Algiers, Captives in Iraq: The Strange Career of the Barbary Captivity Narrative. *Commonplace, The Journal of Early American Life* 5(1). <http://www.commonplace.org:vol-5/no-01/Myles/index.shtml>
- Oberg, K. (1966). Culture Shock: Adjustment to New Cultural Environments. *Practical Anthropology*, 7, 177-182.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/009182966000700405>

*Culture Shock in American Narratives of Berber Captivity:  
Attitudes from Algeria*

---

- Peskin, A. Lawrence. (2009). *Captives and Countrymen, Barbary Slavery and the American Public, 1785-1816*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Illustrated edition (March 23, 2009).
- Pritchard, William and Markoe, Peter. (2007). The Algerine spy in Pennsylvania: or, Letters written by a native of Algiers on the affairs of the United States of America, from the close of the year 1783 to the meeting of the Convention. Oxford Text Archive, <https://ota.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repository/xmlui/handle/20.500.12024/N16001>
- Riche, Bouteldja and Sabrina Zerar. (2018). Culture Shock and Transculturalism in John Foss's and James Cathcart's Barbary Captivity Narratives. *Academic Journal of Science*, 08(01):1–14.
- Rowson, Susana. H. (2000). *Slaves in Algiers, or a Struggle for Freedom*. Acton, Massachusetts, Copley.
- Tyler, Royall. (1816). *The Algerine Captive or Life and Adventures of Doctor Updike Underhill*. Hartford, CT, Peter B. Gleason and Go. [online] available: [https://ia802308.us.archive.org/18/items/algerinecaptive00tylerich/algerinecaptive00tylerich\\_bw.pdf](https://ia802308.us.archive.org/18/items/algerinecaptive00tylerich/algerinecaptive00tylerich_bw.pdf)
- Said, Edward. (2003). *Orientalism*. London, Penguin Book Ltd.
- Sears, E., Christine. (2007). A Different Kind of Slavery: American Captives in Barbary, 1776-1830, PhD Dissertation, University of Delaware.
- Shaler, William. (1984). *Sketches of Algiers*. Boston, Cambridge University Press.
- May, Tim & Jason Powell (eds.). (2008). The Enlightenment and the Development of Social Theory. In *Situating Social Theory*. McGraw Hill. The UK. [online] available: <https://studylib.net/doc/8784623/1-the-enlightenment-and-the-development-of-social-theory>
- Vile, J. R. (2005). *The Constitutional Convention of 1787: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia of America's Founding*. California: ABCCLIO.
- Weiss, Gillian. (2011). *Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. Stanford : Stanford University Press.