COUNTING EUROPEAN SLAVES ON THE BARBARY COAST*

> 8 February 1661 At noon to the Exchange . . . [where] I met with many sea-commanders; and among others, Captain Cuttle, and Curtis, and Mootham; and I went to the Fleece tavern to drink and there we spent till 4 a-clock telling stories of Algier and the manner of the life of Slaves there; and truly, Captain Mootham and Mr. Dawes (who have been both slaves there) did make me full acquainted with their condition there. As, how they eat nothing but bread and water. . . . How they are beat upon the soles of the feet and bellies at the Liberty of their *Padron*. How they are all night called into their master's *Bagnard* [*bagno*], and there they lie.[1]

As Samuel Pepys discovered during his afternoon at the Fleece, for men like Mootham and Dawes enslavement was not just something that white Europeans did to other peoples, in particular to black Africans. Even the English, already among the more aggressive slave runners by Pepys's time, could be and were enslaved by the Muslim corsairs operating out of Tunis, Algiers and Morocco, and in numbers that were not that inconsiderable: during the 1670s, when the English share of the Atlantic slave trade still averaged around only 1,500 Africans annually, the Algerian and Salé rovers were enslaving hundreds of seamen and merchants a year from British ships alone.[2] A generation earlier their slaving galleys had sailed by the dozens up the Channel and even into the Thames estuary, plundering both local shipping and coastal towns, such that 'for villages in England and Wales, as well as the Irish coast, to be raided and their inhabitants carried away to slavery was no uncommon thing'.[3]

* Special thanks to Donald Davis, Robert Forster, Gillian Weiss and Stephen Whitman, who all read and commented on early drafts of this work.

[1] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 10 vols. (Berkeley, 1970–83), iii (1661), 33–4.

[2] The Algerians supposedly took 353 British ships between 1672 and 1682; at an average haul of around eight to twelve captives per ship (see below), this translated into between 280 and 420 British slaves annually: see Philemon de La Motte, *Voyage pour la redemption des captifs aux royaumes d'Alger et de Tunis* (Paris, 1721), trans. into English (by Joseph Morgan?) as *Several Voyages to Barbary* (London, 1736), 99; Joseph Morgan, *A Complete History of Algiers* (London, 1731; repr. New York, 1970), v. Morgan claimed that between July 1677 and October 1680, 160 British ships were taken, with a loss equal to 400 to 600 slaves annually.

[3] W. Laird Clowes, *The Royal Navy: A History from the Earliest Times to the Present*, 5 vols. (London, 1897–8), ii, 22–3 and 49; Paul Lovejoy, 'The Volume of the Atlantic

(*cont. on p. 88*)

Considering the amount of serious scholarship that has gone into calculating the Atlantic slave trade, it is striking that we have only the vaguest idea of the magnitude of the slave traffic in white Europeans that was taking place in and around the Mediterranean basin at just the same time. Well over a generation ago Philip Curtin recognized that having a reliable reckoning of how many Africans were enslaved was an essential foundation for the entire field of slave studies in the Americas. With his *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*, Curtin laid out the initial calculations that have contextualized debate on the topic ever since and have provided the basis for subsequent detailing of precisely which and how many Africans were taken on the Middle Passage.[4] By contrast, despite Fernand Braudel's observations half a century ago on the central place of piracy and the slave trade in the sixteenth-century Mediterranean social economy, there is still no broad, analogous census of Mediterranean slaving.[5] Instead, scholars have generally restricted themselves to deep, focused studies, often based on single runs of archival sources and in consequence usually detailing only a particular slave type, nationality, condition or time-frame, rather than the entire trade.[6] Such case studies have been vital for illuminating the experience and the dynamics of Mediterranean slavery, but they have contributed

(n. 3 cont.)

Slave Trade: A Synthesis', *Jl African Hist.*, xxiii (1982), 478–82; Morgan, *Complete History*, v. In 1617, a Salé raider was captured in the Thames; in 1631, the Algerians took 237 Irish from the town of Baltimore, in Munster; in 1640, sixty Algerian sail were sighted off the south coast of England; in 1645, a corsair raid hauled off 240 slaves from the coast of Cornwall; as late as 1654, their galleys were spotted in the Bristol Channel: see Salvatore Bono, *Corsari barbareschi* (Turin, 1964), 178, citing the *Gazette de France*.

[4] Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, 1969), esp. 95–126. For a recent survey of ongoing efforts to plot the course of the Atlantic trade, see Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440–1870* (New York, 1997), 861–2.

[5] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds, 2 vols. (New York, 1972), i, 886–7. Systematic attempts to estimate slave populations have been few and of mostly limited scope: see, for example, Federico Cresti, 'Quelques reflexions sur la population et la structure sociale d'Alger à la periode Turque (XVI^{e}-XIX^{e} siècles)', *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, xxxiv (1986); J. Mathiex, 'Trafic et prix de l'homme en Méditerranée aux XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles', *Annales E.S.C.*, ix (1954); Lucette Valensi, 'Esclaves chrétiens et esclaves noirs à Tunis au XVIII^{e} siècle', *ibid.*, xxii (1967).

[6] Bartolomé Bennassar and Lucile Bennassar, *Les Chrétiens d'Allah: l'histoire extraordinaire des renégats, XVI^{e}–XVII^{e} siècles* (Paris, 1989); Leïla Blili, 'Course et captivité des femmes dans la régence de Tunis aux XVI^{e} et XVII^{e} siècles', in María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López Nadal (eds.), *Captius i esclaus a l'antiguitat i al món modern* (Naples, 1996); Giuseppe Bonaffini, *La Sicilia e i Barbareschi: Incursioni corsare*

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only tangentially to laying out the real extent and global impact of this phenomenon. Indeed, by approaching it in this piecemeal fashion, they have contributed to an already diffused impression that Barbary slaving was nothing like the massive and systematic Atlantic phenomenon, as detailed by Curtain, Paul Lovejoy and many others, but was rather a somewhat marginal spin-off of the business of corsair piracy: something that happened to at most some few thousand unfortunate individuals from each of the various Christian nations during the three centuries between 1500 and 1800.[7]

It may in fact be just the supposition that Mediterranean-based slaving was a pretty minor affair that explains why so few modern scholars have even speculated about making an estimate of the traffic. Yet in its heyday Europeans took the threat of corsair slaving a good deal more seriously. Diplomatic reports, popular broadsheets and simple word of mouth circulated throughout Europe, telling and retelling of Christians taken by the hundreds and by the thousands, on the high seas or during coastal sorties, and hauled off in chains to a life-in-death of hard labour in Morocco, Algiers, Tunis or Tripoli. Certainly the resulting 'corsair hysteria' that gripped much of Europe during these centuries was fuelled in good part by fear and fantasy, but there were also some hard figures to back it up. The corsairs captured Christian ships at enormous rates, a matter of importance to merchants and insurers, generating much suggestive data. One reads, for example, that between November 1593 and August 1594, the Tunisian corsairs brought in around twenty-eight prizes with 1,722 captives; that between 1628 and 1634 the Algerians managed to capture eighty merchants vessels from the French alone (taking 986 captives in the process); that the rovers of Tripoli, although running one of the smaller slaving fleets, still succeeded in bringing in seventy-five Christian ships with 1,085 captives between 1677 and 1685.[8]

(n. 6 cont.)
e riscatto degli schiavi (1570–1606) (Palermo, 1983); Ellen Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age* (Madison, 1983); Wipertus H. Rudt de Collenberg, *Esclavage et rançons des chrétiens en méditerranée (1570–1600), d'après les Litterae Hortatoriae de l'Archivio Segreto Vaticano* (Paris, 1987).

[7] *White Slaves, African Masters: An Anthology of American Barbary Captivity Narratives*, ed. Paul Baepler (Chicago, 1999), 3.

[8] Robert Ricard, 'Ibero-Africana: Le Père Jérome Gratien de la Mère de Dieu et sa captivité à Tunis (1593–1595)', *Revue africaine*, lxxxix (1945), 196–7; Pierre Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie et des ses Corsaires* (Paris, 1649), 320; C. R. Pennell (ed.), *Piracy*

(cont. on p. 90)

Such accounts are, of course, hugely incomplete: there survive no prize or slave registers in the cities of Barbary (probably none ever existed).[9] Other records list the number of ships taken in a specific period, and, although they omit a count of the captives, they are nevertheless suggestive of some very large numbers: Britain's Royal Navy admitted losing 466 English and Scottish ships to Algerian corsairs between 1609 and 1616; the Trinitarian father Pierre Dan claimed that these same rovers had seized 936 vessels of France, Holland, Germany, England and Spain between 1613 and 1621; and John Morgan wrote that 'I have by me a List, printed in London in 1682', that inventoried 160 'Ships and Vessels belonging to Subjects of these [British] Realms' that the Algerians had taken or destroyed between July 1677 and October 1680.[10]

If even ten men were captured with each vessel (the average rate appears to be around eight to twelve), the corsairs still obviously enslaved tens of thousands of men at sea. Their slave raids on land could prove even more productive, however, or at least more spectacular (see Table 1). Some of their coastal slaving expeditions entered into legend among those living on the north Mediterranean shores, as almost annual events of terror: the 7,000 captives that the Algerians took in the Bay of Naples in 1544, for example; the 6,000 snapped up when they sacked Vieste in Calabria in 1554; the 4,000 men, women and children seized in Granada in 1566 (after which they said it was 'raining Christians in Algiers'). The take shrank somewhat in the seventeenth century, in part because the Turkish fleet was no longer taking part, but also because many coastal dwellers had simply packed up and fled for good. Still, the Barbary rovers kept coming ashore, sometimes by the thousands, in raids like those that captured 1,200 men and women in Madeira in 1617; almost 400 in Iceland in 1627; and 700 in Calabria in 1636, another thousand there in 1639, and yet another 4,000 in 1644.[11]

(n. 8 cont.)
and Diplomacy in Seventeenth-Century North Africa: The Journal of Thomas Baker, English Consul in Tripoli, 1677–1685 (London, 1989), 46, tab. 4.

[9] Taoufik Bachrouch, 'Rachet et libération des esclaves chrétiens à Tunis au XVII[e] siècle', *Revue tunisienne de sciences sociales*, xi (1975), 128.

[10] Laird Clowes, *The Royal Navy*, ii, 22. Henri-David Grammont, 'Relations entre la France & la régence d'Alger au XVII[e] siècle', 12 pts, *Revue africaine*, xxiii (1879), xxviii (1884), xxix (1885); reference at xxiii, 137–8. Morgan, *Complete History*, v.

[11] See Bono, *Corsair barbareschi*, 138–78; A. Guglielmotti, *Storia della marina pontificia*, 10 vols. (Rome, 1886–93), iv, 125; Grammont, 'Relations', *Revue africaine*, xxviii, 208–9; Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, i, 881–2.

TABLE 1

SIGNIFICANT EXAMPLES OF CORSAIR SLAVING ACTIVITY 1510–1798*

	Raid†	Captives taken	Source
1510	Otranto	More than 100 villagers	Mafrici, 57
1516	Coast of Puglia	'Many hundreds'	Bono, 139
1531	Coast near Genoa	130	Calvini, 31
1534	Cetara, near Amalfi	300	Mafrici, 78
1535	Port Mahon in Minorca	6,000	Morgan, 282
1535	Barbarossa fleeing Tunis	7,000	Morgan, 283
1543	Vicinity of San Remo, in Liguria	300	Borzacchiello, 9
1544	Elba	'Most of the inhabitants'	Morgan, 292
1544	Agropoli, below Salerno	100	Mafrici, 79
1544	Ischia and Bay of Naples	7,000	Bono, 145
1546	Laigueglia, near Alassio	250	Borzacchiello, 9
1551	Reggio Calabria	400	Morgan, 469
1551	Goza, in Malta	6,300 out of 7,000	Morgan, 469
1551	Augusta, in Sicily	400	Bono, 148
1554	Vieste, in Calabria	6,000	Bono, 150
1557	Recco, in Liguria	54	Borzacchiello, 9
1558	Coast of Sorrento and Massa	1,493	Mafrici, 82
1558	Cirella, in Calabria	76	Bono, 152
1558	Spanish army defeated near Algiers	6,500	Morgan, 401
1560	Spanish attack on Jerba fails	10,000	Morgan, 490
1563	Coast near Genoa	270	Borzacchiellio, 9
1566	Granada	4,000	Braudel, i, 881
1570–1606	138 raids on Sicilian coast and shipping	—	Bonaffini, 52
1574	Turkish capture of Tunis	'Thousands'	Morgan, 500
1578	Quartu Sant'Elena, in Sardinia	200	Bono, 168
1580	Policastro, in Calabria	200	Morgan, 566
1582	Alicante	500	Morgan, 576–7
1582	Oristano, in Sardegna	700	Morgan, 576–7
1582	Monticello, in Corsica	400	Morgan, 576–7
1582	Sori, near Genoa	130	Morgan, 576–7
1582	Near Barcelona	50	Morgan, 576-7
1585	Canaries	300	Morgan, 588
1587	Faringola, in Corsica	240	Morgan, 592
1588	Calvi, near Genoa	100	Borzacchiello, 9

	Raid†	Captives taken	Source
1588	Coast of Lazio	150	Bono, 171
1593–4	28 ships taken by Tunis in 10 months	1,722	Ricard, 196
1605–32	Algerians take 600 ships	Est. 4,800–7,200	Dan, 320
1609–1616	466 British ships taken	Est. 3,300–5,600	Laird Clowes, 22
1609–19	By Algerians	8,000	Gramaye, 140
1613	Porto Santo in Canaries	700	Grammont, xxiii, 138
1613	Terseros, in Galicia	900	Grammont, xxiii, 138
1613–21	Algerians take 936 ships and boats	Est. 7,500–11,000	Grammont, xxiii, 138
1617	Madeira	1,200	Dan, 312
1617	7 ships from British Grand Banks fishing fleet	—	Laird Clowes, 50
1619	San Marco near Palermo	400–500	Grammont, xxiii, 138
1620	Manfredonia, in Gargano	200	Mafrici, 65
1623	Joint Tunisian/Algerian land/sea raid	623	Bachrouch, 140
1624	Perasto, in Dalmatia	450	Salvago, ii
1625	27 English ships near Plymouth	200	Laird Clowes, 23
1627	Iceland	*c.*400; or 800	Helgason, 276; Dan, 313
1628–34	Algerians take *c.*80 French ships	1,331	Dan, 320
1631	Baltimore, in Ireland	237	Dan, 313
1637	Ceriale and Borghetto, near Genoa	238 and 140	Bono, 174
1637	Colpe, in Spain	315	Knight, 9
1637	French bastion near Algiers captured	'At least 600'	Morgan, 665
1637	'Ocostra' (Ogliastro?), in Calabria	115	Knight, 19
1638	Nicotera, in Calabria	'A great Number'	Morgan, 666
1644	Rocca Imperiale, in Calabria	200	Bono, 163
1644	Mondragone, Squillace, Pouille, and Calabria	4,000	Plantet, i, 145
1645	Coast of Cornwall	240	Bono, 178
1668–78	By Tripolitans	2,450	Fontenay, 22
1669–71	By Tunis, in 16 months	510 French sailors	Bachrouch, 144
1672–82	Algerians take 353 English ships	Est. 2,800–4,200	De La Motte, 99
1673	Torchiarolo, in Puglia	50	Mafrici, 66
1677–80	Algerians take 160 British ships in 40 months	Est. 1,300–1,900	Morgan, v

	Raid†	Captives taken	Source
1677–85	Tripolitans take 75 ships	1,085	Pennell, 46
1685–6	By Algerians in 18 months	664 sailors	Fontenay, 19
1690	Tunisians take 2 French ships	270	Plantet, i, 434
1711	Squinzano, in Puglia	44	Mafrici, 67
1712–20	Algerians take 74 ships	1,668	De La Motte, 98
1714–16	Raids near Lecce	80	Mafrici, 67
1714–27	Algerians take 36 English merchant ships	393	De La Motte, 142–4
1741	Tunisians conquer Tabarca	Around 800	Valensi, 1282
1771	Greek population of Tunis enslaved	200	CPF/SRC–7, fo. 509
1785–93	Algerians take 13 American ships	130	Foss, 160–1
1786–96	By Tunisians	776 Neapolitans and Sicilians	Valensi, 1277
1798	Isle of San Pietro, near Sardegna	900	Bono, 183
1815	Isle of Sant'Antioco, Sardinia	150	Bono, 185

* Sources: Taoufik Bachrouch, 'Rachet et libération des esclaves chrétiens à Tunis au XVII[e] siècle', *Revue tunisienne de sciences sociales*, xi (1975). Giuseppe Bonaffini, *La Sicilia e i Barbareschi: incursioni corsare e riscatto degli schiavi (1570–1606)* (Palermo, 1983). Salvatore Bono, *I Corsari barbareschi* (Turin, 1964). Antonio Borzacchiello, 'Carità: Decumano Massimo', in *Corsari 'turchi' e barbareschi: prigionieri, schiavi, riscatti. Atti del 2. convegno di studi, Ceriale, 3 giugno 1989* (Ceriale, 1992). Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds, 2 vols. (New York, 1972). Nilo Calvini, 'Opere sanremasche per la redensione degli schiavi e cenni sull'attività del Magistrato di Genova e dei Trinitari di Torino', in *Corsari 'turchi' e barbareschi.* Pierre Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie et ses Corsaires* (Paris, 1649). Michel Fontenay, 'Le Maghreb barbaresque et l'esclavage méditerranéen aux XVI[e]–XVII[e] siècles', *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, xliii (1991). John Foss, *Journal of Captivity* (Newport, RI, n.d.). Jean-Baptiste Gramaye, *Diarium rerum Argelae gestarum ab anno M.DC.XIX* (Cologne, 1623), trans. as *Alger, XVI[e]–XVII[e] siècle: journal de Jean-Baptiste Gramaye, évêque d'Afrique*, ed. and trans. Abd El Hadi Den Mansour (Paris, 1998). Henri-David Grammont, 'Relations entre la France & la régence d'Alger au XVII[e] siècle', 12 pts, *Revue africaine*, xxiii (1879), xxviii (1884), xxix (1885). Borsteinn Helgason, 'Historical Narrative as Collective Therapy: The Case of the Turkish Raid in Iceland', *Scandinavian Jl Hist.*, xxii (1997). Francis Knight, *A Relation of Seaven Yeares Slaverie under the Turks of Argeire* (London, 1640, STC no. 15048). W. Laird Clowes, *The Royal Navy: A History from the Earliest Times to the Present*, 5 vols. (London, 1897–8), ii. Philemon de La Motte, *Voyage pour la redemption des captifs aux royaumes d'Alger et de Tunis* (Paris, 1721); English trans. (Joseph Morgan?), *Several Voyages to Barbary* (London, 1736). Mirella Mafrici, *Mezzogiorno e pirateria nell'età moderna (secoli XVI–XVIII)* (Naples, 1995). Joseph Morgan, *A Complete History of Algiers* (London, 1731; repr. New York, 1970). *Piracy and Diplomacy in Seventeenth-Century North Africa: The Journal of Thomas Baker, English Consul in Tripoli, 1677–1685*, ed. C. J. Pennell (London, 1989). *Correspondance des beys de Tunis et des consuls de France avec la Cour, 1577–1830*, ed. Eugene Plantet (Paris, 1893). Robert Ricard, 'Ibero-Africana: Le Père Jérome Gratien de la Mère de Dieu et sa captivité à Tunis (1593–1595)', *Revue africaine*, lxxxix (1945). Giovanni

Battista Salvago, *'Africa overo Barberia': relazione al doge di Venezia sulle Reggenze di Algeri e di Tunisi del Dragomanno Gio. Batta Salvago (1625)*, ed. Alberto Sacerdoti (Padua, 1937). Lucette Valensi, 'Esclaves chrétiens et esclaves noirs à Tunis au XVIII[e] siècle', *Annales E.S.C.*, xxii (1967). CPF/SRC: Congregazione 'De Propaganda Fide', Rome, Scritture riferite nei congressi.

[†] Coastal raids listed here are primarily those involving Italy and the great islands of the central Mediterranean, especially when they provide some numerical estimate; many more raids, perhaps most of them, were described only as netting 'hundreds', 'many hundreds', or 'thousands' of Christians.

Impressive as these big expeditions against Christian shipping and coastlands may have been, it is a safe bet that for each spectacular attack there were dozens, perhaps hundreds of much smaller sorties, played out by a score of corsairs in a tartan or felucca against a handful of poor fishermen caught too far out at sea or a couple of village women snapped up while out working in the fields.[12] Thomas Baker, Pepys's contemporary and Britain's consul in Tripoli in the 1680s, called such activities 'Christian stealing', which gives a good impression of the level on which many of these cut-rate corsairs operated, especially by the later 1600s.[13] Such minor thuggery may not have made the diplomatic reports, yet it was these small as much as the great predations 'which doe much offend the Christians, in taking their ships, Tartanes, and Satties, and other small vessels, making all the Christians that they take slaves'.[14] Relentless and almost unstoppable, this petty piracy probably cost Christendom more in slaves and booty over the long run than all the spectacular coups taken together; Braudel, as he so often did, summed up this balance of attrition both neatly and evocatively:

> Besides the great predators, lesser scavengers prowled the seas. . . . These were humble men with humble ambitions: to capture a fisherman perhaps or rob a granary, kidnap a few harvesters. . . . Such minor carnivores did not always inflict the least damage, nor amass the smallest fortunes in the end.[15]

While the Dutch diplomat Thomas Hees was negotiating a treaty with the *dey* of Algiers in the winter of 1685–6, he noted just

[12] See Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Naples, Santa Casa della Redenzione dei Cattivi (hereafter ASN, SCRC), busta 14, nos. 581 and 582 (both of 7 Jan. 1678/9); nos. 1458–61 (all of 30 June 1697), for examples.

[13] Pennell (ed.), *Piracy and Diplomacy*, 120, 124; Baker also referred to the corsairs as going 'man-stealing' or setting out 'to Fish for Dutchmen'.

[14] So said William Davies, *True Relation of the Travailes and Most Miserable Captivitie of William Davies, Barber-Surgion of London* (London, 1614, STC no. 6365), sig. B2[v].

[15] Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, i, 871.

this sort of a steady trickle of prizes in his diary: Portuguese caravels, Dutch *fluyts*, Genoese and English brigs — eleven vessels with over three hundred fresh slaves all captured and brought in over the space of just four weeks, in what was really the off-season for corsairing.[16] The Sicilian archives also provide good evidence about these small-scale raids on land: the hundreds of ransom requests sent to Palermo by Sicilian slaves and their relatives indicate that the island was attacked no fewer than 136 times between 1570 and 1606, sometimes in sorties that penetrated ten or even twenty miles inland. Yet only two or three of these raids seemed important enough at the time to merit a mention in contemporary chronicles; the rest only come to light at all because they figured in the private tragedy recounted by some unlucky petitioner.[17] Moreover, in the little stories they told, these slaves often alluded to others who were taken with them — fellow fishermen or villages who for some reason never appeared in the official records and so ended up unknown and uncounted among the victims of corsair slaving.[18]

For those who had to deal with them, the Barbary regencies seemed to be the 'flail of the Christian world . . . the terror of Europe . . . the pinnacle of cruelty in all its forms and the asylum of impiety': serious charges that some observers backed up with equally serious figures.[19] Emanuel d'Aranda, a Flemish gentleman-soldier who survived enslavement in the 1640s, called Algiers the place 'where the miseries of Slavery have consum'd the lives of six hundred thousand Christians, since the year 1536, at which time *Cheredin Barberossa* brought it under his own power'.[20] And if Algiers was generally the most active, it was by

[16] Thomas Hees, 'Journal d'un voyage à Alger (1675–76)', ed. and trans. G.-H. Bousquet and G. W. Bousquet-Mirandolle, *Revue africaine*, ci (1957), 104–24.

[17] Bonaffini, *La Sicilia e i Barbareschi*, 35–52, esp. 43 (n. 15), for one of the larger raids, netting eighty slaves from Gela in 1582; noted in G. E. di Blasi, *Storia cronologica de' Vicerè, Luogotenenti e Presidenti del Regno di Sicilia*, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1974), ii, 227.

[18] Bonaffini, *La Sicilia e i Barbareschi*, 42–56. For similar allusions to unnamed companions, see Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Venice (hereafter ASV), Collegio, risposte di dentro, filza 27, 23 Jan. 1636 (*more Veneto*); ASN, SCRC, busta 14, files 639 and 640 (17 Aug. 1678).

[19] Jean-Baptiste Gramaye, *Diarium rerum Argelae gestarum ab anno M.DC.XIX* (Cologne, 1623), trans. as *Alger, XVI^e–XVII^e siècle: journal de Jean-Baptiste Gramaye, évêque d'Afrique*, ed. and trans. Abd El Hadi Den Mansour (Paris, 1998), 287. Translations are my own except where otherwise stated.

[20] Now more commonly spelled Kheir-ed-din Barbarossa (?–1546). Emanuel d'Aranda, *The History of Algiers and its Slavery* (London, 1666), 106–7. This is an English trans. of *Relation de la captivité du sieur E. d'A. mené esclave à Alger en l'an 1640 et mis en liberté l'an 1642* (Brussels, 1656).

no means the only city in the Maghreb that flourished on the business of enslaving Europeans: towns from Salé to Tripoli, the whole length of Barbary, all took their share in the trade, leading d'Aranda's contemporary, Pierre Dan, to conclude that, for the years 1530 to 1640, 'it would not be stretching the truth to say that they have put a million [Christians] in chains'.[21]

Even when set next to the ten to twelve million black Africans shipped as slaves to the Americas over four centuries, these claims about what a hundred years of Mediterranean slaving accomplished do not dwindle into complete insignificance. Nor is this to deny or downplay the well-known Christian enslavement of Moors and Turks going on at the same time. Certainly, the Spanish, Tuscans and Maltese were all eager participants in the enslavement of their Muslim foes, largely to work them as galley slaves. Among Christian states, however, the practice was never as pervasive or as massive as in Barbary and died out sooner: there were in any case far fewer Islamic merchant ships on which to prey in the western Mediterranean, and, among European nations, only the Spanish ever seem to have tried mounting slave raids into Muslim territories. Despite attempts to label the two forms of Mediterranean slavery as pernicious mirror images of each other, most students of the period still agree that, at least after 1571, corsair slaving was 'a prevalently Muslim phenomenon'.[22]

Nevertheless, if Dan and d'Aranda were right, and Barbary corsair slaving was indeed so significant, it may be necessary to rethink our present-day understanding of just what slavery itself meant to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europeans. The problem, of course, is how much faith can be placed in such estimates? Neither man supplied much rationale for his figures, and there is not much documentation that directly supports them — certainly nothing like the sustained runs of shipping records and censuses that have been available to Curtin and those who followed him. North African sources on corsair slaving activ-

[21] Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie*, 317.

[22] See Salvatore Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo: Cristiani e musulmani fra guerra, schiavitù e commercio* (Turin, 1993), esp. 191–201; Michel Fontenay, 'Le Maghreb barbaresque et l'esclavage méditerranéen aux XVI^{e}–XVII^{e} siècles', *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, xliv (1991); Ciro Manca, 'Problemi aperti sul commercio e sul riscatto degli schiavi cristiani nel Mediterraneo dopo Lepanto', *Africa*, xxix (1974); Ciro Manca, *Il modello di sviluppo economico delle città maritime barbaresche dopo Lepanto* (Naples, 1982), esp. chs. 3–5; Mathiex, 'Trafic et prix de l'homme'.

ities turn out to be very thin — 'cruelly deficient' — while those in Europe are scattered widely, through national and local archives or various religious orders and confraternities.[23] What material there is turns out to be more anecdotal than serial in nature and, although often highly suggestive, it by no means allows one to tally up with any hope of accuracy all those enslaved by Barbary corsairs, in piratical attacks of all shapes and sizes.

Still, the problem can still be tackled more obliquely. Many Europeans besides Dan and d'Aranda offered slave population estimates for specific Barbary Coast cities between the late sixteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. Such counts are fairly numerous (there are over forty complete and dozens of partial estimates for Algiers alone), even if many were arrived at in such mysterious ways as to be of rather uncertain value (see Table 2). The record they make also has its share of gaps: estimates for Tunis and Tripoli are patchier than those for Algiers — about fifteen for each city during these centuries — while for many smaller port and inland towns, there may be only one or two available counts for the whole period (see Table 3).[24] Moreover, between 1500 and 1578 there are essentially no figures available at all — not such a problem for Tunis and Tripoli, which were variably under European control for much of that time, but significant for Algiers, whose corsairs carried out some spectacular slave raids between 1518 and 1560, under the leadership of Kheir-ed-din Barbarossa and Turgut Re'is. Often these plundering campaigns — really full-scale naval expeditions — brought home thousands of captives at a time, taken from Christian fleets and from the coasts of Valencia and Granada, the Balearics, Campania, Calabria and Sicily. So many prisoners flooded into the slave market of Algiers, it was once said, that one could 'swap a Christian for an onion', but unfortunately no hard figures have

[23] On records in Tunis, see Blili, 'Course et captivité', 259; Bachrouch, 'Rachet et libération des esclaves', 121, claiming that, 'The archives of the *Dar du Bey* do not [for the seventeenth century] . . . possess one single document relative to slaving society or to the conditions of servitude'. For Algiers, see Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa*, xviii.

[24] See Congregazione 'De Propaganda Fide', Rome (hereafter CPF), Scritture Riferite nei Congressi (hereafter SRC), 'Barbaria' busta 3 (1691–1707), fo. 23, 28 Mar. 1691; ASV, Provveditori sopra Ospedali e Luoghi Pii (hereafter ASV, POLP), busta 99, *Terminazioni*, 13 Sept. 1713; Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City, Gonfalone, busta 8, filza 14 and filza 65, fo. 343.

TABLE 2

SLAVE COUNTS IN ALGIERS 1578–1805*

	Slave count	Source
1578–81	25,000	Haëdo in Cresti, 159
1587	20,000	Lanfreducci and Bosio, 473
1598	Around 32,000	Magini in Gramaye, 139
1619	'More than 35,000'	Gramaye, 138
1619	'More than 50,000'	Estimate by clergy of Algiers, in Gramaye, 139
1621–7	20,000	Braudel, i, 885
1621	18,000–20,000	Grammont, 136
1621	8,000 Christians	Mascarenhas, 74
1625	25,000	Salvago, 86
1631	'More than 20,000'	Serefin de Freytas, in Friedman, 617 (n. 4)
1634	25,000	Dan, 318
1637	60,000	Knight, 51
1640	30,000–40,000 'of all nations'	D'Aranda, 99
1640	40,000	José de Tamayo in Gramaye, 140
1650	8,000	Bono, 220
1656	35,000	Felipe Palermo in Friedman, 617 (n. 4)
1660	35,000	Davity in Cresti, 159
1662	12,000	Auvry in Cresti, 159
1664	'More than 40,000'	Du Val in Cresti, 159
1669	14,000–15,000, including 100 women, 300–400 children	Mafrici, 98
1675	10,000–12,000 'Christians'	D'Arvieux, vi, 225
1678	20,000–30,000	De Fercourt in Cresti,159
1681	5,000 'or a few more'	CPF/SRC–1, fo. 503
1682	17,000	Barbarella
1683	35,000–40,000	Manesson Mallet in Cresti, 159
1687	10,000	Bombard, ii, 73
1691	36,000 'of all nationalities'	Plantet, 251
1693	'More than 4,000'	CPF/SRC–3, fo. 144
1693–4	'More than 10,000'	CPF/SRC–1, fo. 54
1695	35,000 Christians 'in the Kingdom'	Pétis de la Croix, 21
1698	'2,800 Christiani'	CPF/SRC–3, fo. 377
1701	'More than 20,000 Christians'	CPF/SRC–3, fo. 408
1701	'Not more than 3,000 Christians'	CPF/SRC–3, fo. 414
1719	4,000	Gueudeville in Cresti, 159
1721	Fewer than 5,000, mostly schismatics and heretics	CPF/SRC-4, fo. 491
1729	9,000–10,000	Fau in Cresti, 159
1729	'More than 5,000'	Vander Aa in Cresti, 159
1734	'Exceeding 4,000'	CPF/SRC–5, fo. 516
1738	'Around 2,000'	Shaw in Cresti, 159
1749	7,000 'faithful'	Bombard, ii, 429

	Slave count	Source
1749	6,000–7,000 Catholics, by 'the most common opinion'	CPF/SRC–6, fo. 210
1763	3,000	CPF/SRC–7, fo. 122
1773	2,000, Catholics?	CPF/SRC–7, fo. 591
1774	1,900 Catholics	CPF/SRC–7, fo. 653
1779	3,000	Emerit, 159
1785	1,800 Spanish, Portuguese, Italians, plus 100 Greek Orthodox	Bombard, ii, 584
1787	1,800–2,000	Venture de Paradis, 258
1788	800	Von Rehbinder and Raynal in Cresti, 159
1789	500	Venture de Paradis, 154
1796	700	Alasia in Cresti, 159
1801	500	Vicherat in Cresti, 159
1805	1,200	Joussouy in Cresti, 159

* Sources: Emanual d'Aranda, *The History of Algiers and its Slavery* (London, 1666), trans. of *Relation de la captivité et liberté du sieur E. d'A. mené esclave à Alger en l'an 1640 et mis en liberté l'an 1642* (Brussels, 1656). Laurent d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1735). F. Bombard, 'Les Vicaires Apostoliques de Tunis et d'Alger (1645–1827)', 6 pts, *Revue tunisienne*, i–ii (1894–5). Bono, *I Corsari barbareschi*. Braudel, *The Mediterranean*. Federico Cresti, 'Quelques reflexions sur la population et la structure sociale d'Alger à la periode Turque (XVI^{e}–XIX^{e} siècles)', *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, xxxiv (1986). Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie*. 'Les Aventures de Thédenat, esclave et ministre d'un bey d'Afrique (XVIII^{e} siècle)', ed. Marcel Emerit, 2 pts, *Revue africaine* xcii (1948). Ellen Friedman, 'Christian Captives at "Hard Labor" in Algiers, 16th–18th Centuries', *Internat. Jl African Hist. Studies*, xiii (1980). Gramaye, *Alger, XVI^{e}–XVII^{e} siècle*, ed. Mansour. Grammont, 'Relations'. Diego de Haëdo, *Topografia e historia general de Argel* (Valladolid, 1612), French trans. as 'Topographie et histoire générale d'Alger' by Dr Monnereau, A. Brubrugger and Henri-David Grammont, 17 pts, *Revue africaine*, xiv (1870), xv (1871), xxiv (1880), xxv (1881). Knight, *A Relation*. François Lanfreducci and Jean Othon Bosio, 'Costa e discorsi di Barbaria (1 Settembre 1587)', *Revue africaine*, lxvi (1925). Mafrici, *Mezzogiorno e pirateria*. João Mascarenhas, *Récit de captivité (1621–1626)*, ed. and trans. Paul Teyssier (Paris, 1993). François Pétis de la Croix, 'Un Mémoire sur Alger par Pétis de la Croix (1695)', ed. M. Emerit, *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, xi (1953). *Correspondance*, ed. Plantet. Salvago, *'Africa overo Barbaria'*. Michel Venture de Paradis, *Tunis et Alger au XVIII^{e} siècle*, ed. Joseph Cuoq (Paris, 1983). Barbarella: report by Antonio Tedaldi Barbarella in Museo Correr, Venice, Carte Mocenigo, busta 515, fo. 77. CPF/SRC: Congregazione 'De Propaganda Fide', Rome, Scritture riferite nei congressi; appended nos. –1, –2, –3, etc., indicate *busta* 1, 2, 3, etc., in the subseries 'Barbaria'.

ever turned up to translate this extraordinary situation into anything like an actual slave count.[25]

In any case, even what estimates there are have been greeted with suspicion by many present-day historians, who have especially tended to dismiss the larger, rounder slave counts, like many

[25] Paul Deslandres, *L'Ordre des Trinitaires pour le Rachet des Captifs*, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1903), i, 391, citing Grammont.

TABLE 3

SLAVE COUNTS FOR TUNIS AND TRIPOLI 1535–1810*

	Slave count	Source
1535	†22,000	Morgan, 308
1553	450 Christians	HCRT
1564	4,025 Christians	HCRT
1572	2,200 Christians	HCRT
1584	700 Christians	HCRT
1594	†1,600 Christians	Ricard, 194
1613	240 Christians	HCRT
1625	†'Fewer than 10,000'	Salvago, 86
1625	400–500	Salvago, 86
1634	†7,000	Dan, 319
1634	400–500	Dan, 319
1635	500 Christians	HCRT
1649	650 Christians	HCRT
1651	†6,000	Bombard, i, 388
1654	†8,000	San Lorenzo, 12
1658	'1,000 and more Christians'	CPF/SOCG–Tri, fo. 88
1659	'2,500 Christians'	CPF/SOCG–Tri, fo. 90
*c.*1660	†6,000–12,000	Valensi, 1277
1660	1,150 Christians	HCRT
1664	†4,000 Christian slaves	CPF/SOCG–Tun, fo. 65
1665	1,500	CPF/SOCG–Tri, fo. 95
1667	†'Up to 6,000 Christian slaves'	CPF/SOCG–Tun, fo. 124
1669	1,370	CPF/SRC–1, fo. 166
1670	†5,000–6,000 'souls'	CPF/SRC–1, fo. 176
1671	1,559	Bono, 220
1672	1,658 Christians	HCRT
1674	2,000 Christians	HCRT
1675	2,130 Christians	HCRT
1676	1,275 Christians	HCRT
1679	700 'our people' plus 1,000 'schismatic Greeks'	CPF/SRC–1, fo. 457
1680	†2,000 'Christians' and '300 schismatics & heretics'	CPF/SRC–1, fo. 478
1681	†2,200 in Tunis and ports	CPF/SRC–1, fo. 583
1681	1,200 took Easter confession	CPF/SRC–1, fo. 455
1681	'A few more than 1,000'	CPF/SRC–1, fo. 503
1686	1,500–2,000	Mafrici, 99
1686	†7,000–8,000	Mafrici, 97
1689	'Barely 500'	CPF/SRC–2, fo. 378
1691	270	Mafrici, 99
1704	194	Mafrici, 99
1721	†5,000 Catholics	CPF/SRC–4, fo. 491
1722	†3,000	CPF/SRC–4, fo. 485
1752	† 'Around 1,400'	Poiron, 17
1765	30 Catholics	CPF/SRC–7, fo. 274
1766	25 Catholics	CPF/SRC–7, fo. 299
1767	30 Catholics	CPF/SRC–7, fo. 364
1767	†267 Catholics and 'a few schismatic Greeks'	CPF/SRC–7, fo. 281
1771	†483 Catholics	CPF/SRC–7, fo. 560

	Slave count	Source
1773	†320 Catholics and 280 Greeks	CPF/SRC–7, fo. 585
1774	†240 Catholics	CPF/SRC–7, fo. 653
1780	†2,000	Valensi, 1276
1786	†'Not more than 200'	Venture de Paradis, 69
1797	†At least 1,500	Valensi, 1278
1810	†2,000 Neapolitans	MacGill, 77

† Indicates slave counts for Tunis; all others are for Tripoli.

* Sources: Bombard, 'Les Vicaires Apostoliques'. Bono, *I Corsari barbareschi.* Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie.* Thomas MacGill, *Account of Tunis* (London, 1811). Mafrici, *Mezzogiorno e pirateria.* Morgan, *Complete History.* M. Poiron, *Mémoires concernant l'état présent du royaume de Tunis*, ed. J. Serres (Paris, 1925). Ricard, 'Ibero-Africana'. Salvago, *'Africa overo Barbaria'.* Francesco di San Lorenzo, *Breve relatione, del calamitoso stato, crudeltà, e bestiali attioni, con le quali son trattati da' barbari li cristiani fatti schiavi, e tutto quello, ch'è passato nel viaggio della redentione de' fedeli di Christo nella città di Tunisi l'anno 1653* (Rome, 1654). Valensi, 'Esclaves chrétiens'. Venture de Paradis, *Tunis et Alger au XVIII^e siècle.* CPF/SOCG: Congregazione 'De Propaganda Fide', Scritture originali riferite nelle Congregazioni generali; 'Tri' and 'Tun' indicate the respective *buste* in this series for Tripoli and Tunis. CPF/SRC: *ibid.*, Scritture riferite nei congressi. HCRT: Anon., 'Histoire chronologique du royaume de Tripoly de Barbarie' (1685), Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, 12199–12200, fo. 61^v.

of those from Algiers and Tunis, as merely the guesswork of untrained, Eurocentric dilettantes. Certainly the figures can offer some wild variations: as in the space of just six years, between 1634 and 1640, when a ransoming priest and two slaves put the slave population of Algiers variously at 27,000, 60,000, and 30,000–40,000.[26] Modern scholars have expressed doubts about figures from slaves, seen as tending to the 'natural exaggeration of men who had been deprived of their freedom', but suspicion has especially fallen on estimates from the Trinitarians and Mercedarians, the priests of the redemptive orders who even at the time were accused of 'spread[ing] about a thousand Fables, in order to enhance the *Merit* of those services they do the Public, in passing over to *Barbary* to redeem Captives'.[27] There is no doubt some truth to the suspicion — occasionally voiced even by some members of those same orders — that these ransoming fathers had a vested interest in exaggerating their slave counts, as a (for them) excusable means of instilling a sense of urgency

[26] Francis Knight, *A Relation of Seaven Yeares Slaverie under the Turks of Argeire*, (London, 1640, STC no. 15048), 51; Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie*, 318–19; D'Aranda, *History of Algiers*, 99.

[27] Morgan, *Complete History*, iii; Norman Bennett, 'Christian and Negro Slavery in Eighteenth-Century North Africa', *Jl African Hist.*, i (1960), 67.

in and thus opening the purses of their pious contributors back home.[28]

Of course, one should not undervalue how very difficult it must have been to make an accurate slave count in Barbary during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially when dealing with the many slaves who belonged to private masters. Even modern-day census takers would find it challenging to come up with a precise count of these thousands of individuals, many without any genuine identification or even a last name, who were regularly bought and resold, rented out to work in another town, or sent out to labour in one of the many small farm plots all around the city. Early modern estimators tried to come to grips at least with this last category of worker by finding out just how many of these plots — known by the slaves as *masseries* or *giardini*; called *fahs* by the Algerians — there were. Jean-Baptiste Gramaye did as well as anyone at this, by managing to get a look 'at the account books of the Pasha', and thus came up with a precise total of 14,698 such plots; others, from the time of Diego de Haëdo in the 1580s up into the early 1700s, reported that they numbered anywhere between 10,000 and 18,000.[29] Then it was simply a matter of multiplying the number of *masseries* by the average number of slaves that supposedly worked on each, which observers such as Giovanni di S. Bonaventura rather obscurely claimed 'are two or four or even six Christians, or at least one'.[30]

[28] Deslandres, *L'Ordre des Trinitaires*, i, 436–7, felt that Trinitarians were especially prone to exaggerate — he said by a factor of ten — the total number of slaves they had ransomed. See also 'Un Mémoire sur Alger par Pétis de la Croix (1695)', ed. Marcel Emerit, *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, xi (1953), 21 (n. 29); Valensi, 'Esclaves chrétiens et esclaves noirs', 1276–8 and notes; Mirella Mafrici, *Mezzogiorno e pirateria nell'età moderna (secoli XVI-XVIII)* (Naples, 1995), 95–100.

[29] Gramaye, *Alger, XVI^e–XVII^e siècle*, ed. Mansour, 138 and n. 6. A century later Joseph Morgan claimed that the number of these 'Garden-houses . . . upon Register, is said to be 18,000': De La Motte, *Several Voyages*, trans. Morgan, 13 and note. See also Diego de Haëdo, *Topografia e historia general de Argel* (Valladolid, 1612), French trans. by Dr Monnereau, A. Brubrugger and Henri-David Grammont as 'Topographie et histoire générale d'Alger', 17 pts, *Revue africaine*, xiv (1870), xv (1871), xxiv (1880), xxv (1881); reference at xiv, 414–33; Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie*, 318–19; CPF, SRC, 'Barbaria' busta 3, fo. 408, 7 Sept. 1701 ('10,000 *Giardini*'); Knight, *Relation of Seaven Yeares Slaverie*, 51 ('16,000 Gardens').

[30] CPF, SRC, 'Barbaria' busta 3, fo. 408, 7 Sept. 1701; D'Aranda, *History of Algiers*, 15, 18; R. Chastelet des Boys, 'L'Odyssée: ou, Diversité d'aventures, rencontres et voyages en Europe, Asie, et Afrique', 8 pts, *Revue africaine*, x–xiv (1866–70); reference at xii, 27–8; Knight, *Relation of Seaven Yeares Slaverie*, 14–15; Francesco di S. Lorenzo. *Breve relatione, del calamitoso stato, crudeltà, e bestiali attioni, con le quali son trattati da' barbari li cristiani fatti schiavi, e tutto quello, ch'è passato nel viaggio della redentione de' fedeli di Christo nella città di Tunisi l'anno 1653* (Roma, 1654), for a glimpse of this sort of farm labour.

Counts reached by this approach, which the historian Michel Fontenay has rather drily termed 'passablement impressionniste', were both impressively large and hopelessly vague: the implication was that there were anywhere between about 20,000 and 60,000 slaves engaged just in this one type of labour, a result that seems to have struck even most of those who used this method as more suggestive than concrete.[31]

If slaves belonging to private individuals were notoriously hard to count, estimators were probably on safer ground when dealing with those known as 'public slaves' in cities like Algiers and Tunis. These unfortunates, belonging either to the local ruler, or *dey*; the governing council, called the *divan*; or individual corsairing captains, known as *re'is*, were intended for work as galley slaves or for heavy construction work around the city. They were typically locked down every night in one of the local *bagnos* — the 'baths', as the barracks-like slave pens were known — and tallied each morning by the *guardian bagno*, so they could be accounted for and allocated to worksites about town or to departing galleys.[32] When would-be estimators got hold of the resulting tally lists, they could at least come up with fairly secure counts of these particular slaves at one moment in time. In consequence, there are relatively hard figures available for this sector — indicating, for instance, that 4,000 Christians were held in the sixteen *bagnos* of Tunis in 1664; that in 1696, 'the Christians in the four *bagnos* [of Algiers] do not exceed in all the number of 1,600'; that twenty years later there were 'upwards of 2,000' slaves kept in just the one *Beilik Bagno* in that city, and so on.[33] The counts could also be constructed more specifically, depending on the interests of the observer (or his readers): the French consuls in Tunis and Algiers were assiduous in reporting back home the number of Frenchmen held in the *bagnos* of those cities, for example, and Rome's missionaries stationed in the prisons themselves occasionally wrote back to inform the papacy of the

[31] Fontenay, 'Le Maghreb barbaresque', 15 and nn. 25, 26.

[32] Such lists are alluded to in *Correspondance des beys de Tunis et des consuls de France avec la Cour, 1577–1830*, ed. Eugene Plantet (Paris, 1893), 251 (27 Apr. 1670) and 317 (1683), and in Jean-Michel Venture de Paradis, 'Notes sur Alger', Bibliothèque de Paris, Paris, MSS fr. n.a. 9134, pubd as *Tunis et Alger au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Joseph Cuoq (Paris, 1983), 157–8.

[33] CPF, Scritture Originali Riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali (hereafter SORCG), vol. 254, 'Tunisi', fo. 64, 13 Mar. 1664; CPF, SRC, 'Barbaria' busta 3, fo. 305, 6 Sept. 1696; De La Motte, *Several Voyages*, trans. Morgan, 59.

number of public slaves coming to Easter mass and confession in the *bagnos*.[34] The specificity of these counts has sometimes caused problems for modern-day scholars — in particular the confusion generated by the occasional missionaries who sent back to Rome counts of those they called 'Christian slaves' when they were really referring to 'Catholic slaves'. Their estimates, as a result, were only partial tallies of those in the *bagnos*, with an often not inconsiderable population of 'schismatics and heretics' (that is, the Orthodox and Protestant slaves) left out of a consequently much reduced slave count.[35]

These figures for the *bagnos* seem to have formed the core of many a global slave count. Dan, for one, underscored that of his estimated 25,000 Christian captives in Algiers, 'more than two or three thousand are ordinarily locked up in the *Bagnes*, or Prisons of the City', but there are many other examples. The slave priest Jerónimo Gracián, for instance, calculated in the early 1590s that there were 1,600 Christian slaves in Tunis, of whom around six hundred were held in the *bagnos*; likewise Father Niccolò da Sciò, prefect of the missionary church in Tripoli, noted in 1701 that when masses were sung in the chapels of the local *bagnos*, the five hundred slaves held there were joined by 'three hundred and more [slaves] of private owners', for a total of at least eight hundred.[36]

On the other hand, slave counts in the *bagnos* had to be made with some care, simply because the number of these 'public slaves' could fluctuate sharply, from year to year or even month to month.[37] Disease and redemptions, as we shall see, could cause significant, short-term reductions, but numbers in the *bagnos* could also fall or rise abruptly when the galleys, which demanded the muscle of thousands of slave oarsmen, went out or returned

[34] Grammont, 'Relations', *Revue africaine*, xxiii, 234, 318; *Correspondance des Beys et des Consuls*, ed. Plantet, 251; CPF, SRC, 'Barbaria' busta 1 (1638–82), fo. 455, 1682.

[35] This tendency emerged in CPF, SRC, 'Barbaria' busta 1, fo. 478, 25 Aug. 1680, fo. 502, 18 May 1681; busta 2, fo. 455; busta 3, fo. 305, 6 Sept 1696. On the resulting confusion, see Mafrici, *Mezzogiorno e pirateria*, 97–8 and nn. 17–18.

[36] Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie*, 319–20; Ricard, 'Ibero-Africana', 194; CPF, SRC, 'Barbaria' busta 3, fo. 418, 20 Nov. 1701.

[37] See CPF, SRC, 'Barbaria' busta 3, fos. 408 and 414, where Fra Giovanni di San Bonaventura, writing to Rome on 7 Sept. 1701, reported 'they say that there are more than 20,000 Christians' in Algiers. In fact, as Lorance, the apostolic vicar, noted the next day, there were only 3,000, thanks to a major redemption and the plague.

from the *corso*.[38] By the same token (and probably more confusing to the estimators), large blocs of slaves forever came and went with arriving or departing viceroys or other imperial officers, who customarily travelled accompanied by their own considerable servile retinues. It was also difficult to keep track of all the various *deys*, pashas and *re'is* who regularly moved slaves about from city to city, as they gave, sold or rented whole squads of captives to one another.[39]

If such caveats are kept in mind, counts by the missionary and the ransoming fathers are far from useless and probably not nearly as exaggerated or capricious as many have assumed. They do, in fact, compare fairly well with estimates that by their very nature needed to be as reliable as possible: those provided by resident consuls and merchant agents who were periodically commissioned by their home state to find out, prior to a ransoming venture, just how many of their fellow citizens were being held as slaves. These estimates (they could be called government reports) were usually restricted to a specific nationality and a particular corsairing town: the French and the English relied on their consuls, while most others, like the Sicilians, the Venetians and the Papacy, had to depend on the information-gathering abilities of their own magistracies or quasi-governmental confraternities.[40] Occasionally, however, such agents might offer a more sweeping view of both the individual Barbary regencies and all the slaves there: François Lanfreducci and Jean Othon Bosio produced such a survey for the Knights of Malta in 1587, as did the dragoman and merchant Gianbattista Salvago for Venice in 1625; another

[38] See *ibid.*, 'Barbaria' busta 1, fo. 455, dated 1682; busta 3, fo. 31, 9 May 1691, in which Fra Maurizio da Lucca observes that 'of us Catholic Christians there are few slaves, for [reason of] the ships being in the Levant'.

[39] On the *dey* of Tripoli sending slaves as a gift to the sultan in Constantinople, see CPF, SRC, 'Barbaria', busta 1, fos. 259–260, 'Breve relatione della ribellione successa in Tripoli di Barbaria', dated 30 Nov. 1672. On the *dey* of Algiers, see *Catalogo de' schiavi riscattati nel anno 1660 nella città d'Algieri dal sacro . . . ordine della Madonna della Mercede* (Rome, 1661), 6; Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie*, 395. On corsairs swapping groups of slaves, see Louis Marott, *A Narrative of the Adventures of Lewis Marott, Pilot-Royal of the Galleys of France*, anon. trans. (London, 1677), 13.

[40] See 'Correspondance des Consuls d'Alger', ed. Henri-David Grammont, 11 pts, *Revue africaine*, xxxi–xxxiii (1887–9); reference at xxxi, 164–212. Grammont, 'Relations', *Revue africaine*, xxiii, 134–9. Giuseppe Bonaffini, *Sicilia e Tunisia nel secolo XVII* (Palermo, 1984). Giuseppe Bonaffini, *La Sicilia e i Barbareschi*, 21–34. Giorgio Cappovin, *Tripoli e Venezia nel secolo XVIII* (Verbania, 1942). ASV, POLP, busta 98, 'Parti et ordini concernenti alla liberatione de' poveri schiavi'. Sergio Pagano, *L'Archivio dell'Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone* (Vatican City, 1990), esp. 29–32.

Venetian, the ex-slave Antonio Tedaldi Barbarella, submitted a shorter but also detailed report to the Venetian Senate in 1682, breaking down his total slave count by nationality.[41] Such estimates are unfortunately by no means as common as those from missionary and redemptive fathers or ex-slaves, but nor are they significantly out of line with the clerical counts; differing by no more than 10 or 20 per cent, they tend to lend some credence to the efforts of the religious 'non-professionals'.[42]

Taking these various estimates together can overcome some of their individual weaknesses, making it possible at least to compare slave populations in the various Barbary regencies and chart how they changed over time. In Algiers, for example, counts fluctuated from 20,000 to 40,000 Christian slaves between 1580 and 1680; it would be reasonable, if not somewhat conservative, to set a running average for the city at 25,000.[43] After the 1680s, though, reports coming from Algiers told of many fewer slaves in the city, generally only around 2,000 to 10,000. Contemporaries ascribed the drop to both diplomatic and structural causes: more determined reprisals by Europe's great powers persuaded many Barbary regents to think twice about giving their subjects free reign for plundering and slaving; this was, moreover, just at the time when a general move in the Mediterranean from rowed galleys to sailing vessels was reducing much of the demand for slave labour in any case.[44] Still, slaving more strictly for ransom remained highly profitable, and both the corsairs and their rulers stubbornly resisted the efforts of the European powers to suppress their activities completely.[45] Although the slave population

[41] François Lanfreducci and Jean Othon Bosio, 'Costa e discorsi di Barbaria (1 Settembre 1587)', *Revue africaine*, lxvi (1925); Giovanni Battista Salvago, *'Africa overo Barbaria': Relazione al doge di Venezia sulle Reggenze di Algeri e di Tunisi del Dragomanno Gio. Batta Salvago (1625)*, ed. Alberto Sacerdoti (Padua, 1937); Biblioteca Museo Correr, Venice (hereafter VMC), Carte Mocenigo, busta 515, fo. 77.

[42] Compare, for example, the estimates that Salvago made in 1625 — 25,000 slaves in Algiers and 'fewer than 10,000' in Tunis — with those of Dan from ten years later — 25,000 slaves in Algiers, with 7,000 slaves in Tunis and the surrounding *masseries*. Salvago, *'Africa overo Barbaria'*, 88–9; Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie*, 318–19.

[43] A figure that is accepted by virtually all modern historians of Mediterranean slavery. See Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo*, 193–4; Lucien Golvin, 'Alger à la periode ottomane (rythmes de vie)', *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, xxxiv (1986), 167.

[44] See Morgan, *Complete History*, 516–17; John B. Wolf, *The Barbary Coast: Algiers under the Turks, 1500 to 1830* (New York, 1979), 223–67; Du Chastelet des Boys, *L'Odyssée*, 357.

[45] Norman Bennett, 'Christian and Negro Slavery', 79–81; Bachrouch, 'Rachet et liberation', esp. 128–35.

reported in Algiers had been driven down to barely five hundred by the 1790s, the numbers flared again briefly during the disorders of the Napoleonic Wars; they then collapsed for good in the years leading up to the French capture of the city in 1830.[46]

Slave demographics elsewhere in the Maghreb followed much this same course, although always on a smaller scale, since no town in Barbary had invested quite so much in slaving as Algiers. Much more populous overall, seventeenth-century Tunis typically had only around a third or a quarter as many slaves as Algiers, perhaps not so much a sign that the corsairs of that city had any great aversion to slaving — they regularly pillaged the coasts and shipping of southern Italy, Sicily and Sardinia for captives — but that there was less need for slave labour in Tunis, where there was little industry and only moderate agricultural activity.[47] Other Barbary Coast ports, generally poor and underpopulated, were in an altogether different league than either Algiers or Tunis when it came to slaves.[48] Tripoli, the largest of them and a particular adversary of the Venetians, was never reported to have had more than 2,500 Christian slaves, and 1,500 seems more typical during the seventeenth century. A handful of slaves might be found in some of the subject towns, usually for work about the port or in shipbuilding: 'eight or ten' in the Tripolitan port of Susa; two or three hundred in the Tunisian towns of Porto Farina and Biserte; a score or fewer in the Algerian port of Bône and in Constantine, and so on.[49]

[46] Over 1,600 in 1816, there remained only 122 Christian slaves in Algiers at the time of its conquest: Federico Cresti, 'Quelques reflexions', 158–60.

[47] Bonaffini, *La Sicilia e i Barbareschi*, 35–52; Jean Pignon, 'L'Esclavage en Tunisie de 1590 à 1620', *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, xxiv (1976), 145. On the need for slave labour in Algiers see Ellen Friedman, 'Christian Captives at "Hard Labor" in Algiers, 16th–18th Centuries', *Internat. Jl African Hist. Studies*, xiii (1980), 629–30.

[48] Including Salé and Fez in Morocco. Although clearly of significance in the trade in European slaves, these centres have largely been left out of the present survey, both because they lay in the independent kingdom of Morocco, which followed a different historical and political path than the Barbary regencies further east, and because their slaving activity was generally directed at Atlantic shipping alone. See Thomas Phelps, *A True Account of the Captivity of Thomas Phelps at Machaness in Barbary, and of his Strange Escape* (London, 1685); Francis Brooks, *Barbarian Cruelty* (London, 1693).

[49] 'Les Aventures de Thédenat, esclave et ministre d'un bey d'Afrique (XVIII[e] siècle)', *Revue africaine*, xcii (1948), 184 (n. 6). CPF, SRC, 'Barbaria' busta 1, fos. 165–6, 12 June 1669, fo. 322, 20 Aug. 1675, fo. 503, 18 May 1681; busta 2 (1683–90), fo. 309, 22 Aug. 1687, fo. 346, 26 Dec. 1687. F. Bombard, 'Les Vicaires Apostoliques de Tunis et d'Alger (1645–1827)', 6 pts, *Revue tunisienne*, i–ii (1894–5); reference at i (1894), 388.

Although all these slave counts fluctuated in the short term, there are enough of them and they are consistent enough over the long run to at least produce a workable global estimate of slave populations in Barbary for the century 1580–1680 — 'The Time I take to be', John Morgan later commented, 'when those Corsairs were in their *Zenith*'.[50] Even when keeping to the low side of the range of available estimates — as scholars have customarily done when dealing with slavery in the Maghreb — the averages soon add up: around 27,000 in Algiers, 6,000 in Tunis, and perhaps 2,000 in Tripoli and the smaller centres combined. The resulting 35,000 is very near the figure that Pierre Dan came up with in 1634:

> As to the slaves of both sexes that are in Barbary today, there are a quantity of them from all the Christian nations, such as France, Italy, Spain, England, Germany, Flanders, Holland, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Russia, and so forth. The number of these poor captives reaches about thirty-six thousand, according to the enumeration that I have carried out on the spot and to the records that have been furnished and sent to me by the Christian consuls who live in the Corsair cities.[51]

Although offering an average white slave count for Barbary for any given moment between 1580 and 1680, this figure says nothing (or not much) about the total number of slaves taken, which is the real point of this inquiry. To accomplish this, in the lack of any comprehensive registers of captives, it is necessary to turn the question around and work in terms of what might be called the demand side of the Mediterranean slave traffic. Since, despite regional fluctuations, the Christian slave population in the Barbary regencies really does seem to have stayed fairly close to an average of 35,000 during this century, one can at least ask how many slaves would have had to be taken continuously to maintain such a level. While enslaved in Barbary, Christian men (and the slaves were at least 90 per cent men) were rigorously denied access to either local or slave women.[52] It can therefore be assumed that they were incapable of reproducing themselves, so that whatever attrition their numbers may have suffered would have necessarily

[50] Morgan, *Complete History*, 670.

[51] Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie*, 318–19; Dan's calculation also included 1,500 slaves in the Moroccan city of Salé.

[52] On percentages of female slaves, see Blili, 'Course et captivité des femmes', 259–63; Bono, *Corsari barbareschi*, 236–7. On seclusion of women, see Laurent d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1735), 285.

had to have been made up for through new captures.[53] In fact, it turns out to be rather easier to estimate the impact of the various causes of decline in slave population (and thereby arrive at a figure for compensatory captures) than it is to count up captured slaves directly.

The most obvious way that a given slave population might decline was that the slaves died. This the slaves in Barbary did for the same reasons as slaves in the New World or anywhere else: from abuse, disease, overwork, lack of food, and despair. As a Neapolitan captive wrote home from Tunis: 'we are mistreated, beaten with sticks, starved and called faithless dogs, [such] that I would willingly die and God alone knows what will happen'.[54] The mass of 'public slaves' were treated with particular harshness and neglect. During their time ashore they were herded together every evening into the often overcrowded and filthy *bagnos* and given only rotten black bread 'that the dogs themselves would not eat', and whatever else they could scrounge or steal.[55] Their work while ashore typically consisted of labouring on large-scale public works, in particular, quarrying and dragging enormous stones to repair the city walls or the harbour mole (which, in Algiers, was constantly falling apart). When rowing the galleys out at sea, half-naked and exposed to the direct sun, they were not infrequently left so desperately short of drinking water that they drank sea water or died on their benches in the sun; never allowed to lie down to sleep, many of them had fallen into 'continuall extasies' before their voyage was half over.[56]

So-called private slaves might be much better treated, even coddled in their masters' household.[57] A few lived very well indeed, even running businesses and owning slaves of their own, but more typically a private slave was either put to work out on his master's *masserie* or set to selling water about town, required to turn over to his master a certain sum every week, on pain of

[53] Slaves could also be borrowed or bought from elsewhere in the Muslim world. This practice was certainly followed, though it never reached a level approaching that of new captures: see Valensi, 'Esclaves chrétiens et esclaves noirs', 1277.

[54] ASN, SCRC, busta 7: letter from Aniello Russo, slave in Tunis, in the *bagno* of the bey, dated 22 Feb. 1651.

[55] Lorenzo, *Breve relatione*, 19; Friedman, 'Christian Captives', 624–5; Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie*, 411–13.

[56] Friedman, 'Christian Captives', 619–20; Marott, *A Narrative*, 19; Knight, *Relation of Seaven Yeares Slaverie*, 29.

[57] See De La Motte, *Several Voyages*, trans. Morgan, 47–8; Fontenay, 'La Maghreb barbaresque', 21–3.

being beaten.[58] Just as ill-fed, poorly clothed and roughly treated as any galley slave, these men too died frequently while in captivity. Michel Fontenay has shown that the 2,450 Christian slaves brought into Tripoli between 1668 and 1678 suffered what he has termed a 'normal' death rate of around 20 per cent per year.[59]

Clearly, though, what was 'normal' could vary hugely depending on circumstances. Slaves who had been sailors or fishermen by trade were typically used to hard physical labour and short rations, and their survival rate seems to have been higher: of the 989 French seamen brought to Algiers between 1628 and 1634, only 119, or 12 per cent, died.[60] On the other hand, slaves taken in corsair raids on coastal villages in Italy or Spain were often the weaker members of society: women with children or the aged, who had not managed to outrun the plunderers. These would seem to have died at a rather higher rate: of the 450 or so villagers taken in a raid on the Venetian outpost of Perasto in 1624, around a third perished within a year.[61] Still less able to withstand the rigours of life and hard labour in North Africa were those unfortunates seized and brought to Barbary from radically different climates: the nearly 400 Icelanders captured in an Algerian raid of 1627 were reduced to only seventy survivors eight years later; of around 237 Irish captives taken in a raid of 1631, only two or three were ever ransomed and returned home.[62]

Nevertheless, considering that the great majority of those enslaved by the corsairs were reasonably hearty and able to adapt to both the hard work and climate of a life in Barbary, it might still be best to assume a 'normal' death rate among slaves of only 15 rather than Fontenay's 20 per cent. Higher rates may well have prevailed among newcomers, still reeling from what Fontenay calls 'the effect of psychological shock', but once slaves had settled in, many turned out to be surprisingly resilient.[63]

[58] D'Aranda, *History of Algiers*, 14, 18, 151, 158; Friedman, 'Christian Captives', 621–2; Du Chastelet des Boys, *L'Odyssée*, 26–7.

[59] Fontenay, 'Le Maghreb barbaresque', 22–3.

[60] Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie*, 320.

[61] Salvago, *'Africa overo Barbaria'*, 96; ASV, POLP, busta 98, 'Legge' Senato Mar, 8 Mar. 1628. On the young and fleet escaping the raiders, see Guglielmotti, *Storia della marina pontificia*, iv, 220, quoted in Bono, *Corsari barbareschi*, 148.

[62] Bornsteinn Helgason, 'Historical Narrative as Collective Therapy: The Case of the Turkish Raid in Iceland', *Scandinavian Jl Hist.*, xxii (1997), 275–6.

[63] Examples of deaths due to this sort of shock are in Brooks, *Barbarian Cruelty*, 31 and 48. Brooks also noted how such 'hard Usage' caused many new slaves in Morocco to fall sick: *ibid.*, 31.

Particularly impressive in this regard were those enslaved when the Tunisians seized Tabarca in 1741: 900 or so at the beginning, they were down to 635 three years later — an average loss of barely 10 per cent per year, with over a third of these deaths occurring within the first six months of slavery. Since many Tabarcan women were allowed to remain with the captured community, the population decline among these slaves actually came to a halt at about this point and even rebounded somewhat.[64]

Even those slaves who otherwise adjusted to the mistreatment and bad rations that typified the lot of Barbary slaves were never safe from the Coast's most notorious killer — the plague. Fontenay's mortality figures for Tripoli indicate that twice as many slaves died in the single wave of plague that hit the city in 1675 as in all the rest of the decade; if he had counted deaths from *Yersinia pestis* among his 'normal' deaths, the mortality rate among Christians in Tripoli between 1668 and 1678 would have risen from 20 up to a rather chilling 46 per cent. The plague was so common in North Africa in these years that it is, in fact, difficult to place it outside of the normal demographics of Barbary Coast slavery. There were at least twenty-one significant occurrences in one or more of the major cities of the Maghreb in the seventeenth century and twelve more in the eighteenth. Algiers itself was hit at least twice a decade between 1647 and 1699, and by all indications the disease swept freely and with monotonous regularity along the North African coast.[65] It was not the least impeded by local authorities who, according to bitter (and often soon to be dead) Christian observers, 'did not avail themselves of either precaution or prevention, and they deal with those [who arrive] suspected or infected with the plague as they do with those who are healthy'.[66] Some Europeans believed that Muslims

[64] Valensi, 'Esclaves chrétiens et esclaves noirs', 1277 and 1282; Bono, *Corsari barbareschi*, 316; Bombard, 'Les Vicaires Apostoliques', ii, 429.

[65] Although accounts are less complete for sixteenth- as opposed to seventeenth-century plague outbreaks, it is significant that as early as 1624 Salvago could say that the disease came to cities like Tunis 'every third or fourth year': Salvago, *'Africa overo Barbaria'*, 94.

[66] CPF, SRC, 'Barbaria' busta 3, fo. 377, 6 May 1698, fo. 541, report from Tunis dated 9 Sept. 1707 with the complaints of Fra Basilio da Torino that 'Again we have been in some fear . . . for there having come here from Sciò three vessels of this bey, infected because of some merchandise loaded on them; and along the way there died [aboard] more than thirty persons from the plague; nonetheless, having reached Porto Farina the passengers were allowed to disembark quickly and everyone was left to come and go where he pleased, without any caution'.

in general thought that any attempt to avoid the plague through quarantine was simply pointless resistance to the will of God; true or not, the cities of North Africa were especially hard hit by the disease.[67] Even in the more moderate outbreaks around 10 per cent of a city's population perished, while a so-called 'Great Plague', known as the *Konia*, might easily carry off a third of a town's inhabitants — upwards of 30,000 to 50,000 people died in Algiers in 1620–1, 1654–7, 1665, 1691 and 1740–2; an estimated 30,000 in Tunis in 1622, 1644 and 1787–8.[68]

Malnourished and overcrowded as they generally were, coming from lands where both the disease itself and acquired immunity to it were becoming increasingly rare, Christian slaves in Barbary were certainly as susceptible to the plague as the free population, if not more so. In 1663, the head of the Christian mission in Tunis wrote that, having buried 'a good six hundred plague-ridden Christians with [my] own hands', he himself contracted the disease but managed to recover his health 'against every hope'; in 1676, the padre resident in Tunis asked for more priests to care for the sick, 'who every Day are dying like Flies'; in 1691, the head of mission of Algiers reported that eight months of plague had killed off 40,000 Turks and Moors in the city, as well as 'a little more than a thousand of my Christian sons'.[69] Rarely would the disease run its course — through the galleys, the *bagnos*, and the *masseries* outside the city — without killing off between 20 and 30 per cent of the local slave population. When plague broke out in the overcrowded slave pens in Algiers in 1662, some said that it carried off 10,000 (others claimed 20,000) of the city's 30,000 captives; in 1699, it cut the already reduced slave count in that city by a further quarter; in 1675, half the 750 slaves in Tripoli died, about the same proportion that had perished there during the plague of 1584.[70] Averaged

[67] Jacques Philippe Laugier de Tassy, *A Complete History of the Piratical States of Barbary*, trans. Joseph Morgan (London, 1750), 101: 'The Kingdom of *Algiers* has always valued itself on having omitted every Prevention to hinder the spreading of the Plague: for to have acted otherwise, would have argued an Opposition to the eternal Decrees of God, and to absolute Predestination, the Result of them'.

[68] Grammont, 'Relations', *Revue africaine*, xxiii, 136, letter from M. Guillerny, 136; on the *Konia*, see *ibid.*, xxviii, 210; Bombard, 'Les Vicaires Apostoliques', ii, 261.

[69] CPF, SORCG, vol. 254, 'Tunisi' 7 Aug. 1663; CPF, SRC, 'Barbaria' busta 1, 6 Apr. 1676; busta 3, 29 Apr. 1691.

[70] See Bombard, 'Les Vicaires Apostoliques', ii, 74; ASN, SCRC, busta 14, letter from Algiers dated 10 July 1663, from Antonio Piretta of Torre di Lauria, with claim that 'more than twenty thousand Christians' had died in the recent *Konia*. CPF, SORCG, vol. 254, 'Tunisi' 15 Mar. 1664; vol. 253, 'Tripoli' fo. 95, 12 Nov. 1665;

(cont. on p. 113)

out, the plagues that struck cities along the Barbary Coast around twice a decade in the seventeenth century would have conservatively added at least 2 per cent per year to a posited 'normal' slave death rate of 15 per cent. Although plague was rarer in Barbary during the eighteenth century, its effect on those unlucky enough to be enslaved there when it struck was as devastating as ever: of the 130 American seamen enslaved by the Algerians between 1785 and 1793, for example, thirty-six, or 28 per cent, died in captivity there, almost all of them during the plague outbreak of 1788.[71]

At around 17 per cent, death was the greatest if by no means the only form of attrition in slave populations. Some slaves escaped — by stealing a boat, stowing away on board a friendly European merchant ship, or (with much more difficulty) evading local Berber tribesmen and getting away overland.[72] Some scholars have claimed that escapes were easy and common, but there seems little beyond anecdotes to back up such assertions and certainly no reports from missionaries or consuls that even as many as 1 per cent (that is, three hundred) of the slaves in Algiers ever managed to flee in a single year.[73] Norman Bennett was probably closer to the truth when he claimed that 'such action affected a very limited number of captives and most were doomed to live in the hope of a distant ransom'.[74]

Distant or not, ransoming played a significant role in reducing slave populations. It was probably also among the best documented form of attrition, especially the great 'general redemptions', put on beginning in the 1530s by European states and by the ransoming orders of the Trinitarians and the Mercedarians acting on their behalf. Sometimes the redeemers managed to bring back a thousand slaves at a time — something the Spanish were especially good at, perhaps having learnt the business through large-scale prisoner-of-war exchanges during the

(n. 70 cont.)

L. Ch. Feraud, *Annales tripolitaines* (Tunis and Paris, 1927), 123–4, cited in Bono, *Corsari barbareschi*, 220 (n. 7); Thomas Saunders, *A True Discription and Breefe Discourse, of a Most Lamentable Voiage, Made Latelie to Tripolie in Barbarie, in a Ship Named the 'Iesus'* (London, 1587, STC no. 21778), 16.

[71] John Foss, *Journal of Captivity* (Newport, RI, n.d.), 160–1.

[72] See Salvago, *'Africa overo Barbaria'*, 93; Venture de Paradis, *Tunis et Alger*, ed. Cuoq, 105.

[73] See Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, i, 889.

[74] Bennett, 'Christian and Negro Slavery', 69–70; see Friedman, 'Christian Captives', 620.

1500s — although over the long run even the general redemptions tended to average somewhat less. Buoyed by enthusiastic state support and donations collected from all over Iberia and Latin America, the Spanish Trinitarians alone were able to carry out no fewer than seventy-two redemptions in seventy-seven years during the 1600s, liberating 15,573 slaves in the process, or an average of about 220 slaves per trip.[75]

Such efforts certainly made an impact on slave populations, and indeed by the end of the seventeenth century Rome's head missionary in Algiers could note that one reason why he counted only 2,800 slaves in the city was 'that some [slaves] are being ransomed every day, and the charity [that has] come has taken away many of them'.[76] Still, even with all the combined efforts of (and sometimes competition between) the Trinitarians and the Mercedarians, there is little sign that, on the average, year in year out, these groups redeemed more than around six hundred slaves annually — barely 2 per cent of those enslaved during the boom years of white slaving in Barbary, from 1580 to 1680. European powers like England, Holland and many of the Italian states that did not, for reasons of religion or politics, avail themselves of the ransoming expertise of the Trinitarians and Mercedarians were often far more dilatory at getting themselves organized for this difficult and expensive business; as a result they probably did not annually account for more than a few hundred additional redeemed slaves among them.[77] Indeed, lacking the skills of the redemptive fathers, agents sent by these states

[75] Deslandres, *L'Ordre des Trinitaires*, 437 and n. 1. Already by 1640, Okeley could say that 'The *Spaniards* every Year return a considerable sum of money to *Algiers* to be employed in the Redemption of such of their own country as are there in Slavery'. William Okeley, *Ebenezer: or, A Small Monument of Great Mercy* (London, 1675), 28. On redemptions by the Spanish Mercedarians, see Claude Larquié, 'Le Rachet des chrétiens en terre d'Islam au XVII[e] siècle (1660–1665)', *Bibliothèque de la revue d'histoire diplomatique*, xciv (1980); Ellen Friedman, 'Merchant Friars in North Africa: The Trade in Christian Captives', *The Maghreb Review*, xii (1987).

[76] CPF, SRC, 'Barbaria' busta 3, fo. 377, 6 May 1698. Ivone Lorance observed that the 'principle and primary cause' of this decline was that the corsairs were no longer taking as many prizes as previously. As secondary causes, he pointed to the plague and redemptions, mentioning four redemptions carried out by the Spanish, French and Portuguese in the previous two years, freeing a total of 930 slaves. Also *ibid.*, fo. 414, 8 Sept. 1701, ascribing the declining slave numbers to the plague and 'to a Collection [redemption] of Spain that has liberated a goodly number'.

[77] 'As to the English, French, Poles, Hungarians, Germans, and Belgians, not a single one of them has been, in the memory of man, taken out of captivity thanks to the charities [of redemption] . . . to the shame of their countries and of the princes who rule them'. Gramaye, *Alger, XVI[e]–XVII[e] siècle*, ed. Mansour, 291, said in 1619.

often ended up frustrated by Muslim slave owners and local rulers who were not all that eager to ransom back captives still fit for work and who would happily wear down their adversaries or even send them back home in humiliation with only a tiny portion of the long list of slaves they had come to redeem. Not surprisingly, some states let decades go by between attempts to free their citizens, leaving many to lament, as a group of Piedmontese slaves did in 1786, of being 'completely abandoned by their government'.[78] Considering the mortality rates that prevailed in Barbary, slaves like these were much more likely to die in captivity before they would ever be freed.

At best, then, ransoming efforts and escapes taken together would not seem to have added more than another 3 to 4 per cent to the 17 per cent attrition rate caused by the death of slaves in Barbary. On top of this, however, must also (and finally) be added those slaves who lowered the captive population because they had renounced their Christianity and embraced Islam. The numbers of these so-called renegades were considerable: Dan estimated that there were 9,500 in Algiers alone (about an eighth of the free population), and a total of around 14,000 in all of Barbary — something on the order of two-fifths of the number of slaves there at the time.[79] Many a captive who turned Muslim actually remained a slave for a time after his conversion: 'freed from the Oar, tho' not from his Patron's Service', as Morgan put it, since a renegade generally escaped only such truly onerous slave tasks as rowing in the galleys or working at heavy construction.[80] It was for this sort of work, however, that replacements had to be found, if the slave societies in Barbary were to keep going. What attrition of the captive population the renegades might have represented is not easy to calculate, if only because

[78] Bombard, 'Les Vicaires Apostoliques', ii, 584, writes of 'the silence and indifference of the court of Turin'. For two especially bungled ransoming expeditions that the Sicilians organized in 1599 and 1600, see Bonaffini, *La Sicilia e i Barbareschi*, chs. 5–6. See also the *Redenzione di Venezia* (Rome, 1731), which indicated that returning Venetians had spent an average of eleven years in slavery, or CPF, SRC, 'Barbaria' busta 2, fo. 437, 16 Nov. 1689, listing slaves from the Papal States in Tunis, who had apparently waited an average of nearly eighteen years for ransoming.

[79] Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie*, 341. This is a clear decline from half a century earlier: around 1580, Fra Diego de Haëdo estimated there were about 80 per cent as many renegades as slaves in Algiers alone (20,000 as against 25,000). In 1701, Fra Giovanni di S. Bonaventura claimed a ratio of only 30 per cent in Algiers — 6,000 renegades and 20,000 slaves. CPF, SRC, 'Barbaria' busta 3, fo. 408, 7 Sept. 1701.

[80] Morgan, *Complete History*, 489.

some (probably significant) proportion of these apostates had never been slaves at all, but had come to Barbary voluntarily, looking for a new and freer life and taking up a new religion along the way. The history of Barbary is full of such individuals, sometimes whole shiploads of them coming together to North Africa, to seek their fortunes: disaffected soldiers or sailors, peasants oppressed by feudal lords, merchants looking for advantage.[81] Nevertheless, probably the majority of renegades had originally been slaves, as some suggestive figures indicate: between 1609 and 1619, for example, out of 8,000 slaves the Algerians took, 1,925 adults and around 300 children, or about 28 per cent, 'turned Turk'; Dan reported that 149, or 16 per cent, of the 986 French captives brought to Algiers between 1628 and 1634 went renegade; finally, the apostolic vicar Michel Montmasson claimed in 1687 that, of the 10,000 slaves then in Algiers, 14 per cent had 'made themselves Muslims in despair'.[82]

Despite the alarmist claims from gloomy clerics like Father Alfonso Dominici that fully half the Christian slaves were apostatizing, it is unlikely that the renegades drew off anywhere near so much of the slave populations in Barbary.[83] The Muslim masters themselves were usually opposed to opportunistic conversions, although for certain categories of slaves, owners were apparently quite willing — even insistent — about allowing conversion, though this greatly reduced a slave's value for resale.[84] Anecdotal evidence indicates that it was the newly captured slaves who tended most readily to abjure, probably as those with the more tenuous religious convictions sought an easy way to improve their treatment; after the first rush, however, the move to Islam represented a fairly low, if steady, haemorrhaging of slave numbers.[85]

[81] See Bartolomé Bennassar, 'Les Chrétiens convertis à l'Islam: 'renégats' et leur intégration aux XVI^{e}–XVII^{e} siècles', *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, xliii (1991).

[82] Gramaye, *Alger, XVI^{e}–XVII^{e} siècle*, ed. Mansour, 140; Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie*, 320; Bombard, 'Les Vicaires apostoliques', ii, 73.

[83] Padre Alfonso Dominici, *Trattato delle miserie, che patiscono i fedeli christiani schiavi de' Barbari, & dell'indulgenze che i sommi Pontefici han concesse per il riscatto di quelli* (Rome, 1647), 27.

[84] 'For the Moors having them in their power, would not suffer them to change their Religion, because a Christian slave is worth much more than a Renegado; for the former are employ'd to row in the Gallies, and the latter are not'. D'Aranda, *History of Algiers*, 128. Among slaves 'favoured' for conversion were virtually all women, most children, and men skilled in any craft that was in demand in Barbary — especially writers, accountants, soldiers and shipbuilders.

[85] See the *Catalogo di cinque cento venti schiavi riscattati nel presente anno del giubileo 1675* (Rome, 1675), 6, asserting that, out of two hundred Spanish captured on their way to Italy, no fewer than fifty abjured their Christianity 'within a few days'.

This may have been a loss lamented by the mission fathers as 'a knife in the heart', but it is still doubtful that such abjurings depleted slave ranks by much more than a thousand each year — at most perhaps 4 per cent for all of Barbary.[86] This, taken together with somewhat fewer free Europeans coming voluntarily to convert, would have been about the minimum necessary if renegade numbers were to be kept replenished, since they too died off just as steadily as did the slaves, although certainly at a rather lower rate.[87]

Putting all these forms of attrition together yields a combined rate of somewhere around 24 or 25 per cent: that portion of the slave population in Barbary that would have had to be replaced each year if levels were to be kept as relatively stable as they apparently were, at least between 1580 and 1680. This would translate into roughly 8,500 new slaves annually, a rate that, over the course of the whole century, falls a bit short of Dan's 'million slaves they have put in chains', but not by much. Indeed, by extrapolating this figure beyond the limited range we have looked at here, the total soon exceeds a million. For the following century, 1680–1780, assuming that attrition rates remained about the same, even as slave populations in Barbary shrank to about a fifth of their former size, corsairs would have needed to take another 175,000 captives to maintain known Christian slave populations.[88] For the sixteenth century the situation is more complex, since both Tunis and Tripoli were under European control for much of the fifty years before 1580. Still, the Algerian corsairs appear to have amply made up for the absence of their brethren. From 1530, when Kheir-ed-din Barbarossa solidified his power there, until the culminating decade of 1560–70 that Braudel termed 'the first brilliant age of Algiers', the city's *ra'is* plundered

[86] See CPF, SRC, 'Barbaria' busta 2, fo. 298, 29 June 1687, fos. 380^{r} and 381^{v}, 8 Jan. 1689/90, that termed as 'tolerable' the apostasy of eight Catholics out of around five hundred Christians of all sects. See also *ibid.*, fo. 298, 29 June 1689, fo. 336, n.d.; busta 1, fos. 165–166, letter dated 12 June 1669.

[87] Since most (though not all) renegades were much better fed and worked far less hard than most slaves. On the idleness and ease of many renegades, see Knight, *Relation of Seaven Yeares Slaverie*, 2; on the poverty of many of them, however, see Jean Du Mont, baron de Carlscroon, *Nouveau voyage du Levant* (The Hague, 1694), English trans. as *A New Voyage to the Levant*, 2nd. edn (London, 1696), 337.

[88] That is, around 1,700 new captives a year. Based on a century-long average of around 5,000 slaves in Algiers, around 1,500 in Tunis, and not more than 1,000 in Tripoli, Salé, Biserta and elsewhere, for a total of 7,500. If death rates may have diminished somewhat, redemptions evidently increased in compensation.

the coasts of Italy and Spain almost unopposed, repeatedly filling their galleys almost to the foundering point with Christian captives.[89] Diego de Haedo estimated that there were 25,000 slaves in Algiers around 1579, and, considering how many slaves were pouring into the city in the decades before that, such a figure is very likely a valid minimum for much of the half century, 1530–80. Assuming that the attrition rate among slaves in the sixteenth century was no lower than in the seventeenth (deaths by plague may have been fewer, but in recompense there were a number of large-scale abjurations among captive Christians), the Algerian *ra'is* probably brought in as many as 300,000 European slaves in these fifty years.[90]

The result, then, is that between 1530 and 1780 there were almost certainly a million and quite possibly as many as a million and a quarter white, European Christians enslaved by the Muslims of the Barbary Coast. Such an estimate is only as good as the figures on which it is based, of course, and it is certainly unlikely that those that have been collected together here would measure up to the much more formidable shipping tallies that have been available for calculating the volume of the Atlantic slave trade. But setting a number — or in any case a range — on the Barbary Coast trade at least makes it possible to put this particular arena of slaving activity into the more general historiographical debate on the nature and extent of slave trafficking, a debate that, as Paul Lovejoy has commented, is 'far from a quibble over numbers'.[91]

In fact, even a tentative slave count in Barbary inevitably raises a host of new questions. To begin with, the estimates arrived at here make it clear that for most of the first two centuries of the modern era, nearly as many Europeans were taken forcibly to Barbary and worked as slaves as were West Africans hauled off to labour on plantations in the Americas. In the sixteenth century especially, during which time the Atlantic slave runners still only averaged around 3,200 Africans annually, the corsairs of Algiers — and later Tunis and Tripoli — were not infrequently snatching that many or more white captives on a single raiding

[89] Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, i, 880–6; Bono, *Corsari barbareschi*, 146.
[90] Morgan, *Complete History*, 408.
[91] Lovejoy, 'Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade', 474.

voyage to Sicily, the Balearics, or Valencia.[92] Hardest hit in these escalating raids were the sailors, merchants and coastal villagers of Italy and Greece and of Mediterranean Spain and France. Testimony abounds of the near paralysis of commercial shipping and the desolation of many coastal lands, which got so bad in some areas that the corsairs themselves scarcely bothered to raid there any longer:

> Everyone . . . could see with their own eyes the desolation of the Spanish, French and Italian coasts, thanks to the pertinacious infestation of these pirates: the wretched beaches, the abandoned islands, the shacks [reduced to] ashes, the fishermen in flight, and the vessels of the Barbarian rovers loitering about on the sea.[93]

Since these attacks were for the most part limited to merchant shipping and the fairly narrow coastal zones of states that were, comparatively speaking, both wealthy and populous, the economic and social damage they caused might seem at first to have been little more than visual and fleeting. Certainly their cumulative devastation fell far short of that produced by the slaving wars that were even then beginning to ravage the interior of West Africa; nor did they provoke anything like the net population decline that would later afflict the African states.[94] When the political will was there, the Spanish and French monarchies, as well as many of the smaller Italian states, could pay the price at least to minimally protect their citizens and bring some of them back from slavery. Clearly those African kingdoms caught up in the Atlantic slave trade at this time were in no analogous position, to send ransoming parties — much less punitive expeditions — to the Americas in order to free their people.[95] Yet just what

[92] Lovejoy's estimates for the sixteenth century range from an annual average of 2,100 for the first quarter of the century, to 2,200 for 1526–50, 3,100 for 1551–75, and 5,600 for 1576–1600. Lovejoy, 'Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade', 480, tab. 2.

[93] Guglielmotti, *Storia della marina pontificia*, iii, 191, quoted in Bono, *Corsair barbareschi*, 140; *ibid.*, 150. Marott also noted that the Algerians with whom he rowed in the 1660s were disappointed with their visit to Calabria, where 'there were hardly any more persons upon that Coast'. Marott, *A Narrative*, 14–15. See also Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, i, 881–4.

[94] On the depopulation of West Africa, see David Henige, 'Measuring the Immeasurable: The Atlantic Slave Trade, West African Population and the Pyrrhonian Critic', *Jl African Hist.*, xxvii (1986). For a fairly up-to-date bibliography, see Paul Lovejoy, 'The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature', *ibid*, xxx (1989).

[95] Most important, when the time came — after 1680 — the major European naval powers each in their turn aggressively set out to punish the corsair states, free their slaves and gain protection for their merchant ships. The result, of course, was that

(cont. on p. 120)

such continual efforts cost the Europeans — in terms of personal wealth, but also in such public expenditures as charitable spending, coastal fortifications and naval squadrons — is still surprisingly unclear. Even for the most robust economies of the era, such regular outlays and losses could not have been lightly borne: Pierre Dan estimated that between 1605 and 1634 the Algerians took over six hundred ships, worth 'more than twenty million [*livres*]'; just the eighty French merchant ships they captured between 1628 and 1635 were valued at 4,752,000 *livres*; likewise, ransoming 1,006 slaves from Algiers in 1768 cost the French Trinitarians 3,500,000 *livres*.[96] What paying out such sums on a steady basis over the course of several centuries actually meant to the states involved — in terms of lost investment capital, frustrated development projects or abandoned human settlements — has yet to be fully explored.[97]

On the African side of the Mediterranean, this slave trade also left profound traces, even if not as marked, in racial and cultural terms, as that produced by the Atlantic slave trade in the Americas. Even though the breeding activities of male slaves were tightly, even ferociously, controlled, the many female European captives who were taken sexually by their masters and the thousands of immigrant renegades all brought a great deal of European blood into local gene pools — well into the late 1700s observers were still noting how 'the inhabitants of Algiers have a rather white complexion'.[98] Moreover, throughout the century

(n. 95 cont.)
the *ra'is* thereafter concentrated their efforts even more on the many Italian states (and later the Americans) that had no such treaties. Wolf, *The Barbary Coast*, ch. 11; Venture de Paradis, *Tunis et Alger*, ed. Cuoq, 35.

[96] Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie*, 317 and 320; Bombard, 'Les Vicaires Apostoliques', ii, 432.

[97] Mafrici cites convincing evidence of coastal communities in the Kingdom of Naples that, once they were pillaged one or more times by corsairs, suffered permanent population declines, sometimes by as much as 80 per cent: Mafrici, *Mezzogiorno e prateria*, 95–6.

[98] Anon., *Voyage dans les états barbaresques de Maroc, Alger, Tunis et Tripoly: ou, Lettres d'un des captifs qui viennent d'être rachetés par MM. les Chanoines Réguliers de la Sainte-Trinité* (Paris, 1785), 101. See also Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, i, 884; Lucien Herault, 'Les Troubles d'Alger et la rédemption des esclaves en 1645 (d'après manuscrit marseillais)', ed. J. Billioud, *Mémoires de l'Institut Historique de Provence*, x (1933), 87–8: 'In the first half of the seventeenth century, the number of captives held itself around a fluctuating population figure of around 20,000, that, joined to the 20,000 renegades and to the numerous contingents of Albanians and Bulgarians serving in the militia, making of Algiers a white city, approaching closer [in terms of] blood and of race to the various European ports on the other bank [of the Mediterranean] than to all the other Moorish or Turkish cities'.

1580–1680, the entire business of corsairing in Barbary was dominated by none other than the renegades themselves: lists of the *ra'is* from around 1600 indicate that better than half of these corsair captains were of European origin, men who came to hold considerable economic sway in cities like Algiers and Tripoli, that were dependent on piracy for their well-being.[99] Their wealth and power made many of them dominant figures in the local culture; the slipshod (though often ferocious) Islam they practised and the bastardized lingua franca they spoke to their fellow citizens had an enduring impact on the unique creole communities that developed and flourished for several centuries in the Maghreb. Algiers in particular, with its once very high proportion of European slaves and renegades to Turks and Moors, might indeed be considered an excellent example of a creole society — one that flourished for centuries but, with the advent of colonialism and then independence, eventually failed, evaporating before a steady inflow of indigenous cultures and peoples arriving from the hinterland.[100]

Knowing the extent of Barbary Coast slavery and how much it affected whites is also crucial to any real understanding of what slavery as a concept actually meant to early modern Europeans. A number of present-day scholars have stressed how the justification of enslavement on strictly racial grounds — the so-called Curse of Noah, or Children of Ham argument — was widely popular among Atlantic slave runners and American plantation owners. Given the great numbers of whites who fell into slavery in Barbary, however, it is difficult to accept that Europeans were at all unanimous in believing that, since 'slaves were almost without exception Africans . . . the fact that Africans were black made it possible to explain their condition in racial terms'.[101]

[99] Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie*, 308–9. According to Morgan, *Complete History*, 626, three-fifths of the Algerian fleet in 1600 was captained by renegades; in 1679, nearly two-fifths of the *ra'is* in Tripoli were renegades. See Pennell, *Piracy and Diplomacy*, 106.

[100] See Morgan, *Complete History*, 532–3, for the 'Parties of *Renegadoes*, sitting publically on Mats, costly Carpets and Cushions, playing Cards and Dice, thrumming Guitars, and singing *a la Christianesca*, enebriating like Swine, till the very last Day of the Moon *Shaâban* [Ramadan], and, in their drunken Airs, ridiculing, and even reviling the *Mahometans* and their Religion'. Also Hugo Schuchardt, 'On Lingua Franca', in his *The Ethnography of Variation: Selected Writings on Pidgins and Creoles*, ed. and trans. T. L. Markey (Ann Arbor, 1979).

[101] Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (London, 1996), 12–20, 79–82. Quote from Anthony Pagden, 'The Children of Ham', review of Blackburn, *Making of New World Slavery*, in *Times Lit. Suppl.*, 2 May 1997.

Slavery in early modern Europe was just not so colour-conscious as that. Simply glancing through the scores of sermons for raising funds and for celebrating the return of captives, as well as the hundreds of letters from slaves themselves, makes it plain that Europeans of all classes spent considerable time wrestling with the religious and psychological implications of what it meant for themselves or their friends or relatives to fall into this particular sort of social death:

> At sea, on land, everywhere they are miserable Slaves, deprived of sweet liberty, far from their homeland, relatives, friends and Christian customs, under the command of someone who for nothing can beat them and with [those] beatings make them die wretchedly.[102]

Lacking the comfortable self-justification of the American slave runners and planters that their captivity could be rationalized by race, 'some fundamental difference between master and slave' — chances were that their master was a renegade, as white and European as they were themselves — these slaves could find little enough solace in racial explanations for their condition. Instead they — and their missionary guides — turned to the Books of Job and Daniel, to the Psalms, and to their own deeply rooted sense of sin and retribution to explain their fate and their sufferings in captivity to themselves. Indeed, rather than apply the racial logic of the Atlantic traffic to Barbary Coast slavery, not a few Europeans and Americans, both then and later, would raise precisely the pernicious existence of white slavery as an argument against those who would legitimize any enslavement in racial terms. As early as 1680, the Oxford don Morgan Godwyn was rebutting the notion that the capacity for enslavement was in some way linked to race, by raising what might be termed the Barbary Analogy:

> If some one of this island going for *England* should chance to be snapt up by an *Algerine*, or *Corsaire* of *Barbary*, and there to be set on Shore and Sold; Doth he thereupon become a Brute? If not, why should an *African*, (suppose of that or any other remote part) suffer a greater alteration than one of us?[103]

Knowingly or not, Godwyn was tapping into a redemptionist vein whose themes of enslavement as a vivid demonstration of

[102] Salvago, *'Africa overo Barbaria'*, 93–4. On slavery as a form of social annihilation, see Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), esp. 105–208.

[103] Morgan Godwyn, *The Negro's & Indians Advocate, Suing for the Admission into the Church* (London, 1680), 28.

God's plan of retribution and redemption were simultaneously being worked out by a succession of Jesuit and Trinitarian preachers.[104] Many divines and abolitionists would follow this path, to provide empathic proof that the capacity for enslavement was no less innate than was the desire for freedom, a misfortune to be blamed on circumstance rather than on the destiny of birth or race. In 1703, the New England preacher Cotton Mather built an entire sermon around this theme, using as his source the rather lurid (and not very reliable) narration by Francis Brooks of his enslavement in Morocco, an account that fairly crawls with the strikingly inverted imagery of black task-masters lording it up over white slaves at hard labour, as

> the poor Christians were grievously hurried and punished by those Hellish Negroes . . . and had scarce any time to take any nourishment, or eat any of their bad Bread that was allowed them, but with a great many Threats, Stripes and Blows by the Negroes, bidding them turn *Moors*.[105]

And what of the long-term effects of this slaving traffic on the peoples who were its primary target? 'This lasted for more than two centuries', Henri-David Grammont pointed out in 1879, 'and one wonders how these miserable people could withstand it and continue to live'.[106] Indeed, other scholars have noted a pervasive 'fear of the horizon' that gripped Italian coastal settlements through much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was a trauma that, oddly enough, is rather less well comprehended today than that faced by the villagers and states of West Africa in those same centuries, and, although it is beginning to attract

[104] See Lorenzo, *Breve relatione*; Enrico Capra, *Discorso d'Enrico Capra della Compagnia di Gesù in occasione degli schiavi liberati e condotti da Costantinopoli a Venezia . . . la Vigilia di Pentecoste 1727* (Venice, 1727); Giovanni Paolo Riccolui, *Discorso di Giovanni Paolo Riccolui . . . in occasione della solenne processione fatta da' M.R.R.P. della Santissima Trinità del riscatto degli schiavi . . . li 18 ottobre 1739* (Turin, 1740). See also Carolyn Prager, ' "Turkish" and Turkish Slavery: English Renaissance Perceptions of Levantine Bondage', *Centerpoint*, ii (1976); Morgan, *Complete History*, 516–17.

[105] Brooks, *Barbarian Cruelty*, 12. For an excerpt of Cotton Mather's 'The Glory of Goodness', see *White Slaves, African Masters*, ed. Baepler, 59–69 and 13–14. See also Charles Sumner, *White Slavery in the Barbary States* (Boston, 1847); Lotfi Ben Rejeb, 'America's Captive Freemen in North Africa: The Comparative Method in Abolitionist Persuasion', *Slavery and Abolition*, ix (1988). This theme of inversion was also exploited in what was arguably the first American novel, by Royall Tyler, *The Algerian Captive: or, The Life and Adventures of Doctor Updike Underhill, Six Years a Prisoner among the Algerines* (Hartford, 1810; repr. Gainesville, 1967).

[106] Grammont, 'Relations', *Revue africaine*, xxiii, 427.

scholarly attention, its true extent and impact on the coastal cultures of these regions are still largely matters of conjecture.

Unquestionably several centuries of the psychological trauma of enslavement or its threat left their mark on the culture of the Christian Mediterranean. Giuseppe Bonaffini has somewhat melodramatically dubbed the Mediterranean of this era 'The Sea of Fear', but it is indeed quite likely that, for those who had to make their living on it, the constant fear of corsair capture produced a genuine stress that could only be leavened with piety and fatalism: 'I'm forced to do this work', as one Venetian sailor put it, freshly returned from slavery and about to set off and risk his freedom again, 'I don't know any other'.[107] Surrounded by hostile seas on all sides, Italians in particular turned inland, away from such constant threats, and baroque Italy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries became a curiously self-absorbed society. 'We retired to the countryside. We lost [our] freedom and [our] love of the sea', complained one Italian essayist recently, lamenting that, in the face of continuous corsair piracy, the people who had in such short order once produced Columbus, John Cabot and Amerigo Vespucci were no longer 'a nation of navigators, although we did become a nation of bathers'.[108]

Traces of this fear, rather than the hope, of what the sea might bring lasted long after 'even the idea ha[d] been lost of these dogs that brought so much terror'. It continued just below the surface of the coastal culture of the European Mediterranean even into the first years of the twentieth century, when, as one Sicilian woman put it,

> The oldest [still] tell of a time in which the Turks arrived in Sicily every day. They came down in the thousands from their galleys and you can imagine what happened! They seized unmarried girls and children, grabbed things and money and in an instant they were [back] aboard their galleys, set sail and disappeared. . . . The next day it was the same thing, and there was always the bitter song, as you could not hear other than the lamentations and invocations of the mothers and the tears that ran like rivers through all the houses.[109]

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[107] ASV, POLP, busta 103, file titled '1792, carte pel riscatto di 50 schiavi liberati in Tunisi', fo. 44. See Marott, *A Narrative*, 67–8; Giuseppe Bonaffini, *Un mare di paura: il Mediterraneo in età moderna* (Caltanissetta, 1997).

[108] Piero Ottoni, 'Gli Italiani e il mare', *La Repubblica*, 7 Aug. 1997.

[109] Fondo Salvatore Marino, Palermo, Carte sciolte, no. 204. My thanks to Anni Governale for bringing this to my attention and providing a translation from the original Sicilian.