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Knowing the Maghreb in Stuart Scotland, Ireland and Northern England

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INTRODUCTION

On 6 August 1709, the *Dublin Intelligence* reported that Dutch negotiators in Ottoman Algiers ‘were received, treated, and dismissed by the Algerines, with more civility than could be expected from those Infidels, who delight chiefly in Rapine and Blood.’¹ The article’s byline named its source as the prestigious *London Gazette*, ‘Published by Authority’ by the Whitehall Secretary of State’s office out of well-regarded consular correspondence networks.² However, no such article appears in that publication.³ Instead, this article’s final form was a Dublin creation, reflecting an ongoing confrontation between long-standing, fearful prejudices and new diplomatic and economic realities.⁴ This disconnect was not new in English-language media: from the 1660s onwards, London papers repeatedly reported frank surprise at peaceful treatment from Algerians, Tunisians, Tripolitans, and Moroccans (hereafter Maghrebis) following the establishment of directly-negotiated peace treaties and the (moderately peaceable) colonization of English Tangier in 1662.⁵ But no London paper ever described their surprise in such stark terms, and newswriters’ wonderment declined and disappeared by the late 1670s, towards a steady assurance of cooperation and courteous treatment violated not by eternal, implacable opposition but by recognizable and negotiable diplomatic and military disputes. This change reflected both real diplomatic conditions and changes in local attitude, wrought by more frequent direct encounters and a

¹ *Dublin Intelligence* [hereafter *DI*], 06/08/1709.

² See Natasha Glaisyer, ‘“Published by Authority”: The *London Gazette*, 1665–1780’, *População e Sociedade* 32 (December 2019), 65–80; Nat Cutter, ‘Grateful Fresh Advices and Random Dark Relations: Maghrebi News and Experiences in English Expatriate Letters’, *Cultural and Social History* 19, 4 (2022): 425–44.

³ See *London Gazette* [hereafter *LG*], nos. 4559–4564.

⁴ On this fear of the Maghreb in English society, driven by the Maghreb’s historic reputation as a haven for corsairing, captivity, and forced – or willing – conversion to Islam, and shifts that took place over the seventeenth century, see Emily Kugler, *Sway of the Ottoman Empire on the English Identity in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 21, 24–5; Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 25, 43, 97, 106–7, 110, 131, 137–9, 163, 214–22, 230.

⁵ Nat Cutter, ‘Peace with Pirates? Maghrebi Maritime Combat, Diplomacy, and Trade in English Periodical News, 1622–1714’, *Humanities* 8, 4 (2019), 179: 8–12.

great deal of detailed, up-to-date information about real conditions issuing from London presses.⁶ This paper probes how similar new knowledge reached new form in English-speaking areas far from London – Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Newcastle – where global mercantile interests, early Enlightenment thinkers, and imperial ideologues began stepping forth into a burgeoning English/British Empire, bringing with them associations and imaginations of the Maghreb, Ottomans, and Islam dating back centuries. I explore the historiographies of encounters and perceptions, touch on early-modern direct encounters and local Irish and Scottish print representations, before more carefully examining early eighteenth-century periodical news.

Contemporary accounts of Muslims in Scotland and Ireland focus heavily on the post-9/11 world, and the aftermath of Scotland's 2014 Independence Referendum, with all its attendant questions about Scottish identity and internal cohesion. In both regions, permanent Muslim presence increased dramatically in the late twentieth century but remained relatively tiny (1%–2% of the population), and mostly proceeded with moderate harmony.⁷ 'Many accounts', spurred by generally positive attitudes towards migration and an SNP-style civic nationalism which subsumes race under Scottishness, 'portray Scottish Muslims as an integral part of the modern nation'; nevertheless, 'ethnic nationalism, xenophobia, Islamophobia, and racism remain present and challenge minority communities' claims to belonging.⁸ Similarly, 'Ireland's distinctive position as Western Europe's only postcolonial nation' appears an important factor in their welcoming approach to Muslim residents.⁹

Most such studies include some brief histories of premodern interactions, contrasting sporadic, often friendly individual contacts with 'Christian Europe's constructions of Islam as an Other against which to define itself', and often ignore the Stuart era altogether.¹⁰ Jane Grogan's recent study of James VI's of Scotland's epic poem *Lepanto* (1591) devotes nuanced

⁶ Cutter, 'Peace with Pirates?'; Nat Cutter, 'Turks, Moors, Deys and Kingdoms: North African Diversity in English Periodical News before 1700', *Melbourne Historical Journal* 46 (2018), 61–84.

⁷ See e.g. Stefano Bonino, *Muslims in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017); Peter Hopkins (ed.), *Scotland's Muslims* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017); Scarlet Harris, Review of *Muslims in Scotland, Race & Class* 60, 2 (2018), 114–19; Manfred Malzahn and Silke Stroh (eds.) 'Special issue: Mosques, Manses, Muirs, and 'Moors'', *Scottish Literary Review* 13, 1 (2021), v–x; Oliver Scharbrodt et al. (eds.), *Muslims in Ireland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015); José Mapril, Tuomas Martikainen and Adil Hussain Khan (eds.), *Muslims at the Margins of Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2019); Phillip Lewis, *Islamic Britain* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002).

⁸ Silke Stroh, 'Orientalism, Islamophobia, and Scottish Multiculturalism', *Scottish Literary Review* 13, 1 (2021), 69.

⁹ Scharbrodt et al., *Muslims in Ireland*, 1–10.

¹⁰ Malzahn and Stroh, 'Special issue'. An interesting exception is Bashir Mann's popular history *The Thistle and the Crescent* (Glendaruel: Argyll Press, 2008), which outlines numerous little-known interactions between Scotland and Islamic societies since the seventh century CE. His Stuart-era coverage, however, drawing primarily on the works of Nabil Matar, shifts dramatically to southern England (occasionally referencing Scottish migrants and captives, frequently subsumed under 'English' or 'British') and leans heavily on William Lithgow's travels for 'Scottish' experiences of the Maghreb (109–29, 141–53).

attention to his avoidance of standard anti-Ottoman stereotypes, presenting a narrative ‘in which the two opposing sides share more similarities than differences of world-view and experience’, where James damns his Catholic opponents by faint praise and emphasizes Muslim warriors’ bravery and piety.¹¹ Yet the recent special issue in which this article appears leaps directly in chronology to James Watt’s exploration of late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scottish writers who presented ‘civilisational hierarchies based on the different “stages” western and Muslim societies had supposedly reached in a universal history of human progress’.¹² Similarly, Vivian Ibrahim’s account of Irish-Islamic relations moves abruptly from a brief but promisingly nuanced account of the 1631 Sack of Baltimore to the peculiarly Irish outworkings of late nineteenth-century British imperial Orientalism.¹³ This paper, centring on the transitional later Stuart era, will go some way to bridging these historiographical gaps, and in so doing, advance a more truly ‘British’ history of early-modern global encounter and intercultural engagement. Simultaneously, it highlights the distinctive development of Irish, Scottish, and Northern views of the Maghreb, otherwise marginalized in studies of British-Maghrebi relations too often dominated by southern English perspectives. Contrasting with the longer process in southern England, this article pinpoints the early eighteenth century as the moment when, confronted with new information on diplomatic realities in a nascent ‘British’ empire of trade, urban elites far from the metropole interrogated and then rapidly modified older prejudices against the Maghreb to join their southern English counterparts in assured, imperialist superiority.

EARLY ENCOUNTERS WITH THE MAGHREB

Particularly from the reign of James VI and I (who as King of England outlawed privateering, drew back from cooperating with Islamic Mediterranean powers, and made peace with shared enemy, Spain) Scottish, Irish, and Northern English people were regularly captured by corsairs operating out of Maghrebi ports. Some returned home by ransom or escape, others converted to Islam or died in slavery, still others journeyed freely to serve in North African militaries and navies or simply to experience the wider world.¹⁴ Scottish traveller William Lithgow famously visited Tunis and Fez

¹¹ Jane Grogan, ‘“Fatal Turkies” and the Limits of Epic’, *Scottish Literary Review* 13, 1 (2021), 1–15.

¹² James Watt, ‘Islam and the Scottish Enlightenment’, *Scottish Literary Review* 13, 1 (2021), 17–33; Malzahn and Stroh, ‘Special issue’, vii.

¹³ Vivian Ibrahim, ‘Sailors, Merchants and Migrants’, in Oliver Scharbrodt et al. (eds.), *Muslims in Ireland*, 27–48.

¹⁴ MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World*, 49–50, 86, 126, 136–7. See also Imtiaz Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500–1677* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), for a group of black-skinned, possibly Muslim, performers in c.1500 Scotland.

in 1615–16; in 1631, corsairs carried off the entire Anglo-Irish village of Baltimore; and in 1647, a slew of captives from Baltimore, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Dundee, Hull, and Newcastle were ransomed from Algiers.¹⁵ From 1662, as trade became more regular and Maghrebi corsairing against English-protected ships gradually declined, encounters involving free elites became relatively more common. Lancelot Addison of Westmorland served as chaplain in Tangier, and subsequently wrote his famous books *West Barbary*, *The Present State of the Jews*, and *The Moors Baffled*; Admirals Sir John Lawson of Scarborough and Sir Edward Spragge of Roscommon both fought Maghrebi corsairs and negotiated treaties; and Dubliner James Chetwood became British Consul in Tunis.¹⁶ Irish soldiers dominated the large military garrison at Tangier, leading to Protestant accusations that it was a disloyal, Catholic settlement; simultaneously Andrew Rutherford (Scottish), John Fitzgerald (Irish), John Middleton (Scottish), and William O'Brien (Irish) each served as Governor, and Sir James Leslie (Scottish) served for nineteen years in the Tangier Regiment before becoming Ambassador to Morocco.¹⁷ On British soil, encounters were rarer, but not unheard of: transported from Morocco on the *Golden Horse* by Irish captain Randell MacDonnell, celebrated Moroccan ambassador Muhammad ben Haddou welcomed visiting dignitaries from York in 1682 London.¹⁸

Despite these varied encounters, histories of early-modern 'Britain' and the Maghreb frequently marginalise Scottish, Irish and Northern experiences behind more numerous and better-attested southern English encounters.¹⁹ Thus W. R. Owens can argue that 'the capture, and enslavement of Christians in Muslim North Africa loomed large in the minds and imaginations of English, Scottish, and Irish people' but recount just one brief

¹⁵ MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World*, 43, 129–30, 216, 271; Kenneth Parker, 'Reading "Barbary" in Early Modern England, 1550–1685,' *The Seventeenth Century* 19, 1 (2004), 91–2, 105. In *British Captives from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 201–86, Matar records at least 45 Scots, 214 Irish, and 18 Northerners captured or redeemed in the Maghreb.

¹⁶ See Alastair Hamilton, 'Addison, Lancelot (1632–1703), dean of Lichfield', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [hereafter ODNB] updated 23/09/2004; Jack Binns, 'Lawson, Sir John (c.1615–1665), naval officer', ODNB, updated 24/05/2008; J. D. Davies, 'Spragge, Sir Edward (c.1629–1673), naval officer', ODNB, updated 03/01/2008; Irish correspondence of James Chetwood in The National Archives, Kew [hereafter TNA], FO 335/15/4, FO 335/15/9.

¹⁷ See Karim Bejjit (ed.), *English Colonial Texts on Tangier* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014); Gabriel Glickman, 'Empire, "Popery", and the Fall of English Tangier, 1662–1684', *Journal of Modern History* 87 (2015), 247–80; John Childs, *General Percy Kirke and the Later Stuart Army* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 31–65.

¹⁸ John Gibney, 'MacDonnell, Randell', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, updated 01/10/2009, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/macdonnell-randell-a5189>.

¹⁹ MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World*; Nabil Matar, 'Islam in Britain, 1689–1750', *Journal of British Studies* 47 (2008), 284–300; Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2005); Matar, *British Captives*; C. R. Pennell, 'The Social History of British Diplomats in North Africa', in Markus Mosslang and Torsten Riette (eds.), *The Diplomat's World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 347–79; Abdelhelil Temimi and Mohammad-Salah Omri (eds.), *The Movement of People and Ideas between Britain and the Maghreb* (Zaghouan: Fondation Temimi, 2003); Nabil Matar, 'The Last Moors: Maghāriba in Early Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 14, 1 (2003), 37–58.

non-southern English anecdote, regarding a Kirkcaldy captivity redemption collection.²⁰ Going further, Kenneth Parker paints William Lithgow's travel narrative as an expression of English identity: 'the writers construct themselves not simply as being English (and that goes, as well, for the Scot, William Lithgow), but chiefly as superior to those Others whom they encounter'.²¹ Similarly, Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar record early-modern 'communities of expatriated English, Irish, and Scottish' people in the Maghreb and elsewhere, but continue, 'even so, the influence of English culture on Ottoman culture remained relatively negligible'.²² In these histories, Scots, Irish, and Northerners as such are primarily distant sailing traders or helpless captives, there to be protected or rescued by 'English' navies, 'English' consuls, and 'English' bureaucracies – or subsumed as English themselves.

Even deeper scholarly silence surrounds cultural perceptions – how persons in Scotland, Ireland, and the North experienced and understood the Maghreb and Islamic world through print, correspondence, and performance – while scholarship on English perceptions abound. What small published evidence appears is limited and conflicting, but overwhelmingly negatively-tinged. Thus MacLean and Matar record in 1590 Scottish officials disparagingly saying of Elizabeth I, 'no Christian Prince ever had in the Turk suche great estimacion', and in 1683 Scottish poet Alexander Tyler criticizing a Christian supporter of the Ottoman Siege of Vienna, 'an apostate who had vainly renounced "the Truth for a Turbant"'.²³ At one level, their emphasis is unsurprising – London was the largest city in the British Isles, the centre of government, diplomacy, and Mediterranean trade, and the single largest site for printing. However, the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed a massive expansion of cities in the North, Ireland, and Scotland: in 1662, York and Newcastle were around the third- and fifth-largest cities in England, and Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dublin were similarly large; by the mid-eighteenth century Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, and Sheffield had joined them. These cities had accelerating print cultures, increasingly broad links to global trade, and numerous individuals with personal, professional or intellectual connections to the Islamic world. Scots, Irish, and Northerners manned and owned trading ships, they swapped swashbuckling stories, they were interested in foreign cultures, and their governments aimed to keep them safe. In short, there was a market for information about the Maghreb.

THE MAGHREB IN EARLY IRISH AND SCOTTISH PRINT

Accordingly, early works about the Maghreb printed in Dublin and Edinburgh are relatively few in number, but varied and often interesting in content. There

²⁰ W. R. Owens, 'Defoe, Robinson Crusoe, and the Barbary Pirates', *English* 62, 236 (2013), 53, 55.

²¹ Parker, 'Reading Barbary', 105.

²² MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World*, 49.

²³ MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World*, 54, 147.

are several official documents reprinted from London presses: 1662 and 1682 British treaties with Algiers, a 1664 treaty at Tangier with local warlord Khidr Ghalyan, a narrative of Royal Navy success against Algiers in wartime, and a laudatory letter accompanying Muhammad ben Haddou from Sultan Mawlay Isma'il.²⁴ These sources, 'printed by command' or similar, perhaps indicate a market for news in maritime trade and diplomacy, but probably reflect more about Westminster or Whitehall's attempts to celebrate (and impress) their diplomatic and military successes.²⁵ As Tangier became a liability in 1678 and 1680, readers in Edinburgh and Dublin could read reprints of Charles II's short speeches to Parliament, and spot the King complaining of his financial straits after having 'born the Charge both of a Rebellion in Virginia, and a new War with Algiers',²⁶ and begging for financial support 'to preserve Tangier' from Moroccan sieges.²⁷ A full account of Charles' pleas and the Parliament's responses appeared in *Votes of the House of Commons*, printed in 1680 Dublin, where Anglophone Irish Catholics might learn of Parliament's disdain for their people and religion, and refusal to support the King unless he excluded his Catholic brother from succession.²⁸ A 1681 Edinburgh reprint from Tory pamphleteer John Nalson ranted against newsmongers who inconsistently criticized Charles II's government through the crisis:

Tangier was the prettiest Ball; to day Tangier is ready to be lost, and then 'tis worth the Lord knows what, the Levant Trade is ruined and lost: the next post Tangier is relieved, and the Alcaide routed; why then, 'tis not worth the thinking on, 'tis a Question whether it has done us more good or hurt; another while, Tangier is sold to the French King, for no body knows how many hundred thousand pounds.²⁹

In fact, among the most famous accounts of Tangier, George Phillips's *The present State of Tangier*, though printed in London was addressed directly to Archbishop Michael Boyle, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.³⁰

²⁴ *Articles of peace between ... Great Britain ... Algiers* (Edinburgh, 1664); *Articles of peace & commerce between ... Great Britain ... Algiers* (Edinburgh, 1682); *Articles of peace ... Tangier ... Gayland* (Edinburgh, 1666); *A true relation of the victory and happy success of a squadron of His Majesties fleet in the Mediterranean* (Dublin: Benjamin Tooke, 1670); *The King of Morocco's letter by his ambassador to the King of England* (Edinburgh, 1682).

²⁵ See Cutter, 'Peace with Pirates?', 17–19.

²⁶ *His Majesties gracious speech to both houses of Parliament on Munday the 28th of January, 1677/8* (Edinburgh: Andrew Anderson, 1678); *His Majesties gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Munday [sic] the 28th of January, 1677/8* (Edinburgh: Thomas Brown, 1678).

²⁷ *His Majesties gracious message to the Commons in Parliament January the fourth, 1680/81* (Edinburgh: Andrew Anderson, 1680); *His Majesties gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament, On Thursday the 21st of October, 1680* (Edinburgh: Andrew Anderson, 1680); *His Majesties most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament Thursday, October 21. 1680.* (Edinburgh: John Swintoun, 1680); *His Majesties most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Wednesday the 15th of December, 1680* (Edinburgh: Andrew Anderson, 1680; Dublin: Benjamin Took and John Crook, 1680).

²⁸ William Williams, *Votes of the House of Commons* (Dublin, 1680), 36–8, 65, 68–74.

²⁹ John Nalson, *The true Protestants appeal to the city and country* (Edinburgh, 1681), 2.

³⁰ George Phillips, *The Present State of Tangier* (London: for Henry Herringman, 1676).

While often shaded by domestic controversy, sometimes circumstantial information in these texts reveals a significant depth of knowledge about the Maghreb, including hints of peaceable engagement. Thus in 1655, Edinburgh readers could read an indictment for war against Spain from Oliver Cromwell, including, among numerous other grievances, a Spanish attack against three English ships trading peacefully with Morocco in 1606–7.³¹ Irish and Scottish tables of trade duties from 1657 and 1669 mentioned ‘Barbary’ as a source for ‘Aneil’ (indigo), sugar, cowhides, and goatskins traded to and from local ports; and in 1696, Edinburgh horse-lovers could delight in Jacques de Solleysel’s numerous laudatory comments on the prized Barbary horses (‘as fine a Horse as can be’), the excellent customs of keeping and training them in the Maghreb, and the best means of procuring them there.³²

Some texts reproduced old tropes of piracy, slavery, and opposition to Christendom, and others were informed by new diplomatic realities. Dubliners reading about prosecutions of the Farnley Wood Plotters in 1664 might also note a story of Sir John Lawson going with ‘11. Sail to Algiers to reduce those Pyrats to reason.’³³ In 1691, Reverend William King wove recent news of a Franco-Algerian treaty into a global French power grab, for a sermon to the Lords Justices of Ireland:

the *French King*, that he might embroil Christendom by Sea as well as by Land, has made his Pride stoop to his Interest, and condescended to buy a Peace with the *Algerines*, Covenanting with them, to assist them in their Piracies, and their enslaving Christians. A Man and his designs are known by his Friends and Confederates: Now the *French King*’s Allies are the *Bandity of Italy*, the *Pirates of Algiers*, the *Turks and Tartars of Asia*, and the *Tories of Ireland*: What a mercy of God is it, to give us a Deliverance from the Conspiracy and Designs of such Monsters!³⁴

Conversely, in 1687 Edinburgh, readers could sample an account of the Ottoman capture of Buda, and then read about cordial exchanges from the Moroccan Ambassador to the Dutch Republic, whose ‘business is to make a Complement of Friendship from his Master, and to offer an Exchange of Slaves for so many Guns’.³⁵

³¹ *A declaration of His Highnes ... setting forth ... the justice of their cause against Spain* (Edinburgh, 1655).

³² Jacques de Solleysel, *The parfait mareschal* (Edinburgh: George Mosman, 1696), *passim* especially 1:33–7, 1:209–15, 2:8–11.

³³ *An exact account of the daily proceedings of the commissioner of oyer and terminer at York* (Dublin: for Sam. Dancer, 1663).

³⁴ William King, *Europe’s delivery from France and slavery* (Dublin: for Tim. Goodwin, 1691); Cutter ‘Grateful Fresh Advices’, 425.

³⁵ *A particular account of the taking of Buda* (Edinburgh: Andrew Anderson, 1686).

These sources, brief glimpses as they are into Scottish and Irish perceptions of the Maghreb in the late Renaissance and Restoration periods, nevertheless indicate some knowledge about the Maghreb, suitable to be reproduced in a variety of contexts and genres, as well as a clear interest both from the public in hearing news relating to the Maghreb and the government in specially providing it. It was not until the early eighteenth century, however, that substantial and consistent information about the Maghreb reached these regions through periodical news.

READING AND APPEARING IN LONDON NEWS

In my research into London's periodical news, I have collected nearly 3500 news items dating from 1622–1714 which provided audiences with robust, detailed, up-to-date, and largely polemic-free coverage of Maghrebi political, military, and diplomatic affairs.³⁶ In the process, newspapers presented a region that was ethnically, politically, diplomatically, and religiously diverse, not an undifferentiated mass of disparaged 'Turks', and Maghrebi governments inclined to increasingly constructive relationships with European states and Britain, rather than unchanging loci of opposition to Christendom that needed to be confronted and destroyed. These papers diffused throughout southern England physically, by word of mouth, and by inclusion in manuscript letters and newsletters, reaching audiences of thousands.³⁷

It is worth considering briefly the extent to which this southern material directly reached Scottish, Irish, and Northern cities, before exploring locally-edited equivalents. Particularly before local prints became widespread, London (and foreign) newspapers were widely available in Dublin. Thus *The News-Letter* could print a brief 1685 report of a Venetian-Ottoman naval battle, and refer readers to greater detail elsewhere: 'The account of their Sea Fight you'll find more at large in the last *Gazette*.'³⁸ When John Dunton visited in 1696, though no local papers were in operation, their coffee-houses presented nine newspapers each week.³⁹ Even after local publications proliferated, and Dublin's *Flying Post* 'continuously Printed the best and freshest News both Foreign and Domestick ... which may certainly be depended on as truth', they (and numerous other publications) simultaneously promised to provide alternatives at their coffee-house headquarters, including 'the *Leyden* and *Harlem Gazettes* in *English*, and all other

³⁶ These articles came from fine-grained word searches and manual examination of digitized newspapers in a selection of digital databases: the London Gazette online archive, Burney Newspaper Collection, Nichols Newspaper Collection, and the British Newspaper Archive. See Cutter, 'Peace with Pirates?', 4n5.

³⁷ See Cutter, 'Turks, Moors, Deys, and Kingdoms'; Cutter, 'Peace with Pirates?'; Cutter, 'Grateful Fresh Advices'.

³⁸ *News-Letter*, 29/08/1685; *London Gazette*, 17–20/08/1685.

³⁹ Cited in Robert Munter, *The History of the Irish Newspaper* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 17.

Prints of Consequence'.⁴⁰ For the wealthy in northern England, there was the *London Gazette* for subscription, and friends in London and Edinburgh would send news and prints by mail; from 1695, the *Post Boy*, *Flying Post*, and *Post Man* organized their publishing schedules around the thrice-weekly country mail coaches from London, and thus enjoyed a much larger circulation than their London-only contemporaries.⁴¹ Furthermore, some London-based papers were reprinted in Edinburgh and in Dublin: Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe have documented Edinburgh reprints of the *London Gazette* from 1680 and 1689 (two issues), *Intelligencer/Newses* in 1661–63 (thirty-six issues), *Mercurius Politicus/Mercurius Publicus* in 1653, 1656–57, and 1660 (sixty-six issues), and a near-full run of the *Present State of Europe* from 1690–93; alongside a full Dublin run of the *Present State of Europe* from 1692–93.⁴² It was actually a selling point of Dublin's *Flying Post* to mainly comprise reprinted news.⁴³ It is likely that many news items about the Maghreb preserved from the relevant periods in London originals via such reprints, dozens in my dataset, made it directly to Irish and Scottish audiences.

From each source, it is likely that audiences paid special attention to occasions when their countrymen were explicitly implicated. As early as 1647, *Mercurius Pragmaticus* reported on new regiments being formed and sent to Ireland, to 'make tame *Geese* of the *Countrymen*', continuing,

the late Captives of *Argier* that came this week to *Westminster*, will find they had little cause to give the *Houses* thanks for a *redemption*, since it must be *lesse* grieffe to an honest heart, to be a *slave* in a *strange* Countrey, than to see his own totally *Inslaved*.⁴⁴

In 1652, *Several Proceedings in Parliament* reproduced a letter from Algiers, referencing Algerian corsairs meeting a 'small Bark from *Liverpoole*, with Calfskins and other goods bound for *Alagant*. And having brought them under command, and finding them to be English dismissed them, not doing them any wrong'; a second letter listed captives from Newcastle, Baltimore, Youghall, Kinsale, Cork, and Waterford, along with '11 *Scotchmen*', waiting for redemption in Algiers.⁴⁵ 1666 saw a French merchant ship seized in Waterford with '26000 *Barbary* Hides, a large Quantity of Gums, some Elephants Teeth, and three Chests of Ostrich feathers'.⁴⁶ In 1670, the

⁴⁰ *Flying Post*, 29/06/1702; *DI*, 04/05/1706. See Munter, *History of the Irish Newspaper*, 81.

⁴¹ Bob Clarke, *Grub Street to Fleet Street* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2004), 40, 105.

⁴² Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe, *British newspapers and Periodicals 1641–1700* (New York: MLA, 1987), 407, 422–3, 505–6.

⁴³ *Flying Post*, 06/08/1708.

⁴⁴ *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, 21–28/09/1647.

⁴⁵ *Several Proceedings in Parliament*, 19–26/02/1652, 06–13/05/1652.

⁴⁶ *LG*, 12–15/03/1666.

London Gazette reported, via Dublin, 'From *Cork* we have advice, that three Turks men of war were seen neer that place, and that it was to be feared, two or three ships belonging to that place and *Kinsale* might run some hazard by them.'⁴⁷ Through 1679–80, numerous articles, some written in *Kinsale*, reported on recruitment and transport of Scottish and Irish troops for *Tangier*; in late 1680, the *Gazette* noted 'that the Scotch Grenadiers had done considerable execution upon the Moors in their Trenches, and the Soldiers in general had behaved themselves very bravely'.⁴⁸ In 1682, *Domestic Intelligence* reported from *York* how 'several persons of Quality [from here] have been to visit the Morocco Ambassador, and to Congratulate his Arrival, having invited him to several Entertainments, some of which he has accepted'; soon after, the *Loyal Protestant, and True Domestic Intelligence* noted the Marquess of *Quinsborough* was going from *Scotland* to *Newmarket* to meet him.⁴⁹

In the early eighteenth century, as Scottish and Irish ships increased in number in the Mediterranean, enterprising individual corsairs tested treaty boundaries with England to attack them:

A Scots Ship being attacked by 2 Tripolin Rovers near Porto Hercore, the Captain, after an obstinate Resistance, wherein he lost all his Men but three, placed a burning Match near the Powder in his Ship, and betook himself to his Boat, with his 3 Men, abandoning the Ship, which the Rovers soon after boarded, and were both blown up with her, and all the Men lost.⁵⁰

Probably as a result, the same paper, *London Post*, soon printed a royal proclamation requiring 'all Masters and Owners of Ships and Vessels trading from England, Ireland, Jersey, or Guernsey, to the Mediterranean Seas, or any other parts in the way of the Algereens,' to apply for official English passes and thereby 'protect them to the Insults of those Rovers'.⁵¹ In 1701, a group of captive Scots broke free:

Twelve Scots Slaves have brought an Algerine of 20 Guns into Messina: The Ship had landed some Soldiers on the Moorish Coast near the Streights, and having 25 Men on board, thought them sufficient to secure the 12 Slaves; but the latter attacked them, killed 14 of Turks, whom they threw overboard, and brought the remaining 11 Prisoners to Messina.⁵²

⁴⁷ *LG*, 12–16/05/1670.

⁴⁸ *LG*, 21–25 October 1680.

⁴⁹ *Domestic Intelligence*, 23–26/09/1682; *Loyal Protestant*, 30/03/1682.

⁵⁰ *London Post*, 15–17/05/1700.

⁵¹ *London Post*, 10–12/06/1700.

⁵² *Flying Post*, 01–03/04/1701.

Two months later, a drunken ‘Irish Knight Baronet’ in London stabbed one of the Moroccan Ambassador’s servants and wound up in Newgate for his trouble.⁵³

However, despite their varied interest, because most reprinted issues were allocated new dates (making precise content matches difficult to discern), because numerous London reprints are likely no longer extant, and because the small definitive numbers make statistical analysis difficult, I have instead chosen to focus my attention on locally-composed newspapers, which have the advantage of greater completeness as well as hinting at local editorial interventions.

THE MAGHREB IN SCOTTISH, IRISH, AND NORTHERN PERIODICALS

The following analysis explores, both qualitatively and quantitatively, representations of the Maghreb and its people in periodical news from Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Newcastle (hereafter D/E/G/N), compared with contemporary London equivalents. Constrained by COVID-19 travel restrictions, I have been unable to consult physical materials in the UK and Ireland, and most publicly-owned news databases include very little non-southern English content. My database of news items instead comes from a mixture of commercial databases, small collections digitized by friends and colleagues abroad, and the large microfilm collection *Irish Newspapers in Dublin Libraries*.⁵⁴ From these sources, each limited and frequently incomplete, I have collected 565 Maghreb-related articles from twenty-one D/E/G/N-based titles dating between 1685–1716, but mainly 1699–1716, a corpus totalling c.45,000 words.

Location	Articles	% of Total		
Edinburgh	138	24.42%		
Glasgow	30	5.31%		
Scotland	168	29.73%		
Dublin	337	59.65%		
Ireland	337	59.65%		
Newcastle	60	10.62%		
Northern England	60	10.62%		
TOTAL	565	100.00%		

Periodical Title	Articles	% of Total	City	Country
<i>Dublin Gazette</i>	129	22.83%	Dublin	Ireland

⁵³ *New State of Europe*, 30/05–06/06/1701.

⁵⁴ <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>; <https://newspaperarchive.com/>; <https://newspapers.com/>; *Irish Newspapers in Dublin Libraries* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1950–58).

Periodical Title	Articles	% of Total	City	Country
<i>Dublin Intelligence</i>	88	15.58%	Dublin	Ireland
<i>Edinburgh Gazette</i>	68	12.04%	Edinburgh	Scotland
<i>Newcastle Courant</i>	59	10.44%	Newcastle	England
<i>Scots Courant</i>	43	7.61%	Edinburgh	Scotland
<i>Whalley's News-Letter</i>	35	6.19%	Dublin	Ireland
<i>The Flying Post</i>	30	5.31%	Dublin	Ireland
<i>The West-Country Intelligence</i>	30	5.31%	Glasgow	Scotland
<i>Edinburgh Courant</i>	24	4.25%	Edinburgh	Scotland
<i>Dublin Courant</i>	14	2.48%	Dublin	Ireland
<i>Needham's Dublin Post-Man</i>	12	2.12%	Dublin	Ireland
<i>Post Boy</i>	6	1.06%	Dublin	Ireland
<i>Whalley's Dublin Post Man</i>	6	1.06%	Dublin	Ireland
<i>Whalley's General Post Man</i>	6	1.06%	Dublin	Ireland
<i>Post Man</i>	4	0.71%	Dublin	Ireland
<i>The News-Letter</i>	3	0.53%	Dublin	Ireland
<i>Edinburgh Gazette, or Scots Post-man</i>	3	0.53%	Edinburgh	Scotland
<i>Edward Waters's Protestant Dublin Intelligence</i>	2	0.35%	Dublin	Ireland
<i>Dublin Weekly Intelligence</i>	1	0.18%	Dublin	Ireland
<i>Dublin General Post Man</i>	1	0.18%	Dublin	Ireland
<i>New-Castle Gazette</i>	1	0.18%	Newcastle	England
TOTAL	565	100.00%		

Though my southern English news corpus concludes with the Stuart dynasty on 1 August 1714, I have extended the period of coverage for this new corpus to 31 December 1716, for several reasons. First, it facilitates geographical expansion through the first Glasgow newspaper, the *Glasgow Courant/West-Country Intelligence* (11 November 1715–1 May 1716), as well as several new Dublin papers; second, it better illustrates how the War of Spanish Succession's (1701–14) pan-European effects dominated news coverage and crowded out Maghrebi material; and third, it admits fuller coverage of two major Maghreb-related events: the 1713–16 Anglo-Moroccan diplomatic crisis and the 1716 Algiers earthquakes.⁵⁵

As to its late beginning, stretching the chronological scope of 'Renaissance',⁵⁶ I argue this period represents a transitional period for D/E/G/N communities,

⁵⁵ Nabil Matar, *Mediterranean Captivity through Arab Eyes* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 117–20; A. A. Abdessemed-Foufa and D. Benouar, 'Investigation of the 1716 Algiers (Algeria) earthquake from historical sources', in Dina D'Ayala and Enrico Fodde (eds.), *Structural Analysis of Historic Construction* (London: Routledge, 2008), 275.

⁵⁶ See Andrea Thomas, 'The Renaissance', in T. M. Devine and Jenny Wormald (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 185–203; Patricia Palmer, *Language and Conquest in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

both in the availability and form of public media and international news, and shifting perceptions of the wider world. The first consistent Irish newspapers (excluding several short-lived papers dedicated to new rulers or particular significant events) appeared in the 1680s and 1690s, yet by the early eighteenth century were ‘a permanent feature in the daily life of Dublin’ (these early newspapers’ impact on people outside major cities was much more tenuous; see below).⁵⁷ Much as government-sponsored papers dominated London’s foreign news coverage from the Restoration until censorship ended in 1695, to be supplemented and increasingly supplanted by proliferating private papers, so my shorter, later period includes the emergence and dominance of the government-authorized *Dublin Intelligence* and *Dublin Gazette*, *Edinburgh Gazette* and *Edinburgh/Scots Courant*, followed by a profusion of Maghrebi news in uncensored for-profit publications.⁵⁸ The early eighteenth century witnessed an increasing awareness and interest among D/E/G/N communities of the wider world and their place in it, often presented as the first glimmerings of Enlightenment – indeed, S. J. Connolly highlights the rise of newspapers in the early eighteenth century as a sign of a ‘quickening of intellectual life’ as Irish gentry increasingly emulated their English counterparts.⁵⁹ I contend that 1699–1716 in D/E/G/N parallel what Londoners experienced through over three decades following the Restoration: a confrontation between old prejudices and diplomatic realities, and the beginnings of a consistent stream of pragmatic, detailed, and up-to-date information about the Maghreb and its people, suitable for ongoing cooperation in maritime warfare, diplomacy, and trade. Accelerated by the absence of censorship, the example and ongoing influence of London papers, and the relatively much stabler political situation between the Stuart and Maghrebi states, D/E/G/N newswriters and their readers quickly ‘caught up with’ their southern English counterparts.

Quantitative analysis: ethnicity, geography, and Maghrebi-European relations

At a statistical, aggregate level, we should expect a good deal of similarity between London papers and our equivalents simply due to format and sources. Like the vast majority of London papers through the early eighteenth century, shaped by the *London Gazette*’s example, by the fear of reimposed censorship, and by an audience with interests in trade and global power, early D/E/G/N papers focused heavily on ‘factual’ news with minimal political comment,

⁵⁷ Munter, *The History of the Irish Newspaper*, 7–14.

⁵⁸ Clarke, *Grub Street to Fleet Street*; C. Alasdair Macfarlane, ‘Pirates and Publicity’, *Humanities* 9 (2020), 14:5; R. M. Wiles, *Freshest Advices: Early Provincial Newspapers in England* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1965), 451–2.

⁵⁹ S. J. Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 71–3; Michael Brown, *The Irish Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016); Alexander Broadie, ‘The Rise (and fall?) of the Scottish Enlightenment’, in T. M. Devine and Jenny Wormald (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 370–85.

often drawing on French, Dutch, and other European prints but primarily from London papers themselves.⁶⁰ Like those, Munter reports, 'the [Dublin] newspaper was judged exclusively by the veracity and freshness of its news'.⁶¹ Moreover, nearly all the foreign communication to Dublin came through the mail-carrying packet-boat services from England, and thus brought a mediated selection of materials.⁶²

I have shown elsewhere how contemporary London papers recognized multiple fairly clearly-delineated Muslim ethnicities ('Turk', 'Moor', 'Arab', 'Negro', and 'Renegade', hereafter TMANR), distinct polities and territories, and occasionally distinctive religious practices in the Maghreb. Particularly telling were articles that represented multiple ethnicities, directly indicating diversity; those featuring 'Moors' living under Ottoman rule, identifying them as the sedentary Maghrebi-Arab population which continued under minority Ottoman rule, beneath a broader 'Turk' = 'Ottoman' and 'Moor' = 'Morocco' framework; and articles employing 'national' terms like 'Algerian', 'Tunisian', etc. which, whether used alone or paired with an ethnicity, moved from the potentially problematic negative associations of 'Turk' and 'Moor' towards a more neutral, pragmatic position.⁶³ A quantitative comparison of the 1123 London articles published between 1 January 1699 and 1 August 1714 with my D/E/G/N newspaper corpus produces somewhat mixed results.

Term	D/E/G/N	London	Diff. (% Pts.)	Ratio	Diff. (Ratio)
Turk	8.85%	6.50%	2.35%	136.14%	36.14%
Moor	14.16%	20.57%	-6.41%	68.83%	-31.17%
Arab/Negro	0.53%	0.89%	-0.36%	59.63%	-40.37%
Renegade	0.53%	0.80%	-0.27%	66.25%	-33.75%
Any TMANR	22.65%	28.32%	-5.66%	80.00%	-20.00%
Barbary/Barbarian	8.85%	7.84%	1.01%	112.93%	12.93%
Infidel	2.48%	2.14%	0.34%	115.94%	15.94%
People/ships/armies of (nation)	42.65%	28.41%	14.25%	150.16%	50.16%
Multiple TMANR	0.88%	2.23%	-1.34%	39.75%	-60.25%
TMANR and people/ ships/armies of (nation)	6.37%	8.28%	-1.91%	76.94%	-23.06%

⁶⁰ Clarke, *Grub Street to Fleet Street*, 42, 195-7; Munter, *History of the Irish Newspaper*, 14-15, 94-5.

⁶¹ Munter, *History of the Irish Newspaper*, 93.

⁶² Munter, *History of the Irish Newspaper*, 70-6.

⁶³ Cutter, 'Turks, Moors, Deys, and Kingdoms', 71-8.

Term	D/E/G/N	London	Diff. (% Pts.)	Ratio	Diff. (Ratio)
TMANR without people/ships/armies of (nation)	15.22%	20.04%	-4.81%	75.97%	-24.03%
People/ships/armies of (nation) without TMANR	36.28%	20.12%	16.16%	180.29%	80.29%
Moors outside Morocco	0.88%	1.34%	-0.45%	66.25%	-33.75%
Distinctive institutions	37.88%	41.67%	-3.80%	90.89%	-9.11%

On the one hand, the number of articles referencing the three minor Muslim ethnicities of the Maghreb – ‘Arab’, meaning nomadic Arabs and Berbers, ‘Negro’, meaning black sub-Saharan Africans, and ‘Renegade’, meaning European-born converts to Islam – already vanishingly small in London papers, is almost non-existent in D/E/G/N; likewise, articles mentioning multiple ethnicities appear only 40% as often as in London papers, and articles mentioning Moors outside Morocco two-thirds as often. ‘Turk’ appears more often, and ‘Moor’ less, making the overall number of articles mentioning ethnicities some 20% less than London. All this would indicate that readers in D/E/G/N would have a blurrier picture of ethnic diversity than their counterparts in London: there are, for example, territorial/sovereignty associations between Turk-Ottoman and Moor-Morocco, but likely less awareness of Moors and Turks as distinctive, physically overlapping ethnicities. There is also some linguistic evidence of stronger prejudice against Maghrebi peoples: the generic, undifferentiated region ‘Barbary’, disparaging ‘Barbarian’, and religiously-inflected ‘Infidel’ each appearing more often than in London. Conversely, though, D/E/G/N readers perhaps had a sharper sense of the national and subnational divisions that existed within the Maghreb: more than 40% of all the articles referencing the Maghreb use national or subnational identifiers – ‘Algerines’, ‘of Sallee’ – compared to just 28% in London, and while there are less articles combining ethnic and national terms (because ethnic terms are used less overall), there are nearly twice as many using national terms without reference to ethnicity. And like in London, these national and subnational divisions are not without meaning, since D/E/G/N papers reference the distinctive institutions of Maghrebi governments – their Emperors, Deys, Pashas, Ambassadors, and individual relations with the Ottoman Empire and Europe – nearly as often as their London counterparts.

Similarly distinct are comparisons of terms employed to characterize Maghrebi ships at sea. In a previous article, I used the six terms ‘Pirate’, ‘Rover’, ‘Corsair’, ‘Privateer’, ‘Man of War’, and ‘Admiral’ to test whether

London papers acknowledged the reality that Maghrebi corsairs were usually privately-owned ships licensed by the state to plunder state enemies, and occasionally employed under direct government control for military campaigns. In this context, 'Pirate' and 'Rover' would suggest unlicensed ships and/or illegitimate states; 'Corsair' and 'Privateer' would convey licensed ships under recognized states, with European, even British, 'Privateer' counterparts, albeit perhaps a tinge of 'Corsair' disreputability; and 'Man of War' and 'Admiral', corresponding directly to European and British naval forces, imply essential equivalence in value and dignity to both state and ship.

Term	D/E/G/N	London	Diff (% Pts.)	Ratio	% Diff (Ratio)
Pirate	2.12%	4.94%	-2.82%	42.96%	-57.04%
Rover	15.93%	14.51%	1.42%	109.75%	9.75%
Illegitimate	18.05%	18.66%	-0.61%	96.75%	-3.25%
Corsair	12.74%	16.11%	-3.37%	79.11%	-20.89%
Privateer	0.53%	6.54%	-6.01%	8.12%	-91.88%
Licensed	13.10%	21.53%	-8.43%	60.83%	-39.17%
Man of War	7.61%	4.63%	2.99%	164.55%	64.55%
Admiral	3.01%	1.91%	1.09%	157.21%	57.21%
Naval	9.91%	6.06%	3.85%	163.54%	63.54%

Comparing London and D/E/G/N coverage, we see a dramatic decrease in 'Pirate', but a modest increase in 'Rover', for slightly lower Illegitimate overall; near-loss of 'Privateer' and decrease in 'Corsair' to produce a 39.17% decrease in Licensed, making Illegitimate rather than Licensed the favoured category; but, surprisingly, a 63.14% increase in Naval terms, suggesting greater respect for Maghrebi naval might and state legitimacy. Taken together, I argue, this vocabulary exposes a confrontation between oceanic realities and cultural fears. Fearing the depredations of the corsairs and resenting their maritime successes to a greater extent than Londoners, but forced to acknowledge their association with particular recognized and important states with distinctive characteristics and relationships, D/E/G/N newswriters selected terminology away from the messy middle – the 'Privateer' that mapped so closely onto many heroes of the War of Spanish Succession, and 'Pirate', connected to those feared and admired who in the Atlantic continued plundering after the war ended (all but one article using either term fall outside the period of war) – and thus increased both their Illegitimate and their Naval categories. In this context, I suggest, there is a closer semantic parallel between 'Rover' and 'Corsair' than in London, and a greater gulf between 'Corsair' and 'Man of War'.

Qualitative analysis: information and prejudice

Qualitative analysis brings out a similar uneasy confrontation. A 1699 article about Dutch-Tunisian diplomacy from the *Edinburgh Gazette* shows clear awareness not only that Ottoman Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli were distinct from one another, but that each had distinctive relations towards corsairing and relations with Europe. The *Gazette* reported that a Tunisian Jewish merchant had given a present to the Bey of Tunis, with the intention of encouraging peace between Tunis and the Netherlands; but the Dutch consul in Livorno commented 'that it was but of very little importance to be at peace with those of *Tunis*, considering they send but very few Pirates to Sea; they being more inclined to Trade, and not to subsist by their Piracies as those of *Algiers* and *Tripoli* do.'⁶⁴ In 1702, similarly, the *Dublin Intelligence* briefly recapped key events in the decades-long Tunisian civil war before exposing in-depth knowledge of local political offices and events:

Harlem Gazette, of August the 3d ...

Marselis, July 18. We have received the Confirmation of the Revolution, and Changing of the Government at Tunis, the killing of Aramat, Bey, and all his Generation, that had Reigned above 100 Years: This Prince was very Valiant, but very Cruel, and Unjust, he had Declared the War against Algiers, and Tripoly, Ruined all People, and had made himself hated by all the Inhabitants. On the 10th Instant, as he was going to his Army, was met by the Aga of his Turkish Spahis, called Ibrahim Cherif, who with 20 Horse under some pretence, came to his Coach, and at the same time, shot him with a Blunderbush, and accordingly his Head cut off, 2 Nephews, Amarat and Hassan, and the Uncle of Amarat, with his son Hassan, that was but 4 Years old, were strangled at Tunis the next Day after. The Heads of these 5 Princes were put up 3 days, and Ibrahim Cherif was Declared Bey.⁶⁵

The abrupt detail of this reporting, with no recent antecedents or clear explanations of terms like 'Bey', 'Aga', 'Spahi', or 'Cherif', suggests either a reckless disinterest in intelligible reporting, or, intriguingly, an expectation of background understanding.⁶⁶ This second possibility is further teased by another civil war report, this time in Morocco, from the *Edinburgh Courant* via Leiden and Salé (emphasis mine):

One of the King of Morocco's Sons named Muley Mahomet having rebell'd and made War against him 3 or 4 Years, *as is generally known*, caused himself to be proclaimed King of Sus the first day of September past: Since which he

⁶⁴ *Edinburgh Gazette*, 30/10–02/11/1699.

⁶⁵ *DI*, 01–04/08/1702.

⁶⁶ See on assumed reader discernment Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society* (London: Longman, 2000), 105–6.

fought a Battel within 15 Leagues of Morocco, with his Fathers Army, commanded by one of his Brothers named Muley Zidan. The latter had the Victory, killed 15000 of Mahomet's men, and took a great number Prisoners, among whom the Alcaide Meleck (who had revolted to Mahomet, and delivered Mara into his Hands), with 20 of their principal persons, and 300 of less Figure. Muley Zidan sent those Prisoners to the King his Father at Miquenez, who put them to Death in the following manner. The Alcaide Melek was saw'd alive, through the Head down to the Navel. All the rest of the chief Prisoners, had their Hands and Fleet saw'd off; and were then thrown out upon the Basar or Market Place, there to expire by a lingring Death. The other 300 were impal'd. And 'tis confidently reported that some of these Wretches survived three days under their Torments.⁶⁷

This sort of assumed knowledge also appeared in Newcastle, in 1713, when the *Newcastle Courant* reported an assassination attempt against the Dey of Algiers, featuring Moors, Turks, and Christian slaves; pistols, poniards, grenades, flights across terraces, a house blown up with a barrel of gunpowder, and a lucky musket shot; following by the hanging or strangling of more than 30 persons.⁶⁸ Authors sometimes clearly felt the need to explain themselves, as the *Edinburgh Courant* itself did later that year: 'Cartagena, July 11 ... Two English Frigates have lately been at Oran, which is a Place in Barbary belonging to the Spaniards, to summond it'.⁶⁹ But on the whole, newswriters seem to have assumed a basic level of understanding about Maghrebi political organization.

Though there was little direct trade with any D/E/G/N markets, newspapers also sometimes reported the reality of increasing Maghrebi-European trade, an important theme and trend towards pragmatic engagement in contemporary London papers.⁷⁰ For example, in 1699, the *Edinburgh Gazette* reported that the Algerians had 'extorted from the Jews at *Algiers* a considerable Sum, and threaten them with extorting a greater, if they don't procure Liberty to the *Algerine* Slaves at *Leghorn* to sell Coffee, which they have been depriv'd of ever since the Excise of it was farmed'.⁷¹ In 1708, the *Dublin Flying Post* reported from Gibraltar, then dependent on food supplies from the Maghreb, that

We us'd to be supply'd here with Provisions from Barbary, but (for what Reasons we know not) the Barbarians have of late refus'd to furnish us with any. We hope they will for the future, be more Tractable, for we hear Mr. Delaval, the British Ambassador to the Emperor of Morocco, has concluded a

⁶⁷ *Edinburgh Courant*, 01-04/02/1706.

⁶⁸ *Newcastle Courant*, 30/09-03/10/1713.

⁶⁹ *Edinburgh Courant*, 26-28/08/1706. See also *Dublin Gazette*, 22-26/07/1707.

⁷⁰ Cutter, 'Peace with Pirates?', 16-17.

⁷¹ *Edinburgh Gazette*, 16-20/11/1699.

New Treaty with them. In the meantime, our Garrison had very much suffer'd.⁷²

The same year, the *Dublin Intelligence* twice advertised the services of farrier, studmaster, and horse physician Richard Rumbold, recently arrived in Ballymanny, County Kildare, whose credentials included purchasing horses in 'Barbary, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli ... Morocco and Fez' for the Dauphin of France, the Duke de Vendôme, and several English nobles.⁷³

Occasionally they also reported on British-Maghrebi diplomacy, a theme which in London papers heralded increasing cooperation and positive engagement against tropes of eternal opposition between Christianity and Islam. Thus in 1709, the *Protestant Dublin Intelligence* noted genially from London that

his Excellency Don Joseph Diaz Ambassador Extraordinary from the Emperor of Morocco, had a private Audience of her Majesty at St. James', being conducted by Sir Charles Cotterel, Master of the Ceremonies, and introduced by the Right Hon. Charles Earl of Sunderland, her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State.⁷⁴

In 1709, the *Dublin Intelligence* highlighted in detail the successful negotiations by British consul Nathaniel Lodington in Tripoli, who had concluded a treaty and established primacy in ceremonial greetings and multi-gun salutes over the French (England's primary Mediterranean rival) in Tripoli.⁷⁵ Paralleling this are references to Maghrebi treaty observance, a vital characteristic well-recognized in London papers. Reporting on the embassy of Captain George Paddon, who was to bring a present to Sultan Mawlay Isma'il of Morocco in the name of George I, *Whalley's News-Letter* added 'that the Sallee Men had taken at several times 14 Ships; but some among them being English, they were released except one who was not provided with Passports, and whose Seamen were near all Foreigners.'⁷⁶

A conflicted discourse

All of this might, at a superficial level, be thought to confirm what I have elsewhere argued about London papers: that they provided readers with detailed, up-to-date, and largely polemic-free coverage of the Maghreb and its people. In all cases, however – in trade, diplomacy, and treaty observance

⁷² *Flying Post* (Dublin), 06/07/1708.

⁷³ *DI*, 09/10/1708, 12/10/1708.

⁷⁴ *Edward Waters's Protestant Dublin Intelligence*, 04/05/1709.

⁷⁵ *DI*, 26/11/1709.

⁷⁶ *Whalley's News-Letter*, 07/09/1715.

– the articles are significantly fewer and farther between than in London papers, where particularly the advertisements for Maghrebi goods arriving in London and theatre promoters proudly advertising that Moroccan ambassadors would be attending particular performances, powerfully shift the emphasis away from corsairing. In D/E/G/N, maritime warfare remains the clear focus of most Maghreb-related reporting, while in London it is paralleled by numerous stories of productive diplomacy and peaceful trade, which contributed to establishing an atmosphere of peaceful cooperation and which comprise a small minority of D/E/G/N equivalents.⁷⁷ While London papers, encouraged by proximate naval power, could treat unlicensed Moroccan corsair attacks as a nuisance rather than a truly significant military threat, the *Scots Courant* in 1713 described a British envoy sent to Morocco ‘to try if he could renew the Peace with the Moors, they being very troublesome Enemies, and are difficult to attack.’⁷⁸ It is striking, moreover, that even in the articles quoted above, significant detailed knowledge of affairs on the ground is often connected with expressions of significant prejudice or drenched in gratuitous violence, both otherwise fairly rare. Thus the Tunisians send out fewer ‘Pirates’ than Algiers or Tripoli; the ‘Barbarians’ of Morocco refuse to trade with Gibraltar; the Bey of Tunis ‘was very Valiant, but very Cruel, and Unjust, he had Declared the War against Algiers, and Tripoly, Ruined all People, and had made himself hated by all the Inhabitants’; Salé Men (of War) seem to release British ships captured in peacetime only on sufferance; and Maghrebi rulers happily sawed their enemies in half, removed hands and feet, blew up hiding places of fugitives with gunpowder, and strangled dozens of their subjects. This reluctance to report unqualified bravery, honour, or virtue among their historic enemies, however well-deserved and well-known, likely reflects the same confrontation exposed in my quantitative analysis.

Significance

Evaluating the importance of these D/E/G/N prints for early-modern perceptions of the Maghreb in Scotland, Ireland, and the North as a whole is difficult. As Munter clearly indicates, ‘in Ireland the periodical press remained almost an exclusive Dublin product for the first half of the eighteenth century, the bulk of its circulation being confined to that city’, the only place where a substantial customer pool of literate Protestants could be found.⁷⁹ Within Dublin’s limits, circulation per capita was quite respectable: Munter estimates that locally printed newspaper circulation was probably 400–800 copies of

⁷⁷ Cutter, ‘Peace with Pirates’, 16–17.

⁷⁸ *Scots Courant*, 20–23/02/1713.

⁷⁹ Munter, *History of the Irish Newspaper*, 15, 68–9.

each paper per issue, for a population over 60,000 people (1 issue to 75–150 people).⁸⁰ By early eighteenth-century comparison, the *London Gazette* had circulations between 7000 and 12,000, and the *Post Man* and *Post Boy* 3000–4000, for a population of about 600,000 (1:50–86, 1:150–200), and both were also distributed widely around England rather than in London.⁸¹ But even if the same proportion of people were reached by individual stories, which is unlikely – London stories about the Maghreb were more likely to be printed on the front page, and to make the lead story, than in D/E/G/N⁸² – the fact remains that the density of articles in London, and thus the opportunity for readers and hearers to accrue knowledge and adjust prejudices about the Maghreb, was far less.

Position	D/E/G/N	London
First story	15.58%	28.32%
First page (not first story)	36.46%	35.35%
First page (total)	52.04%	63.67%
First to second page	2.65%	2.40%
Second page	29.38%	29.92%
Third or subsequent page	15.93%	3.21%
Unknown	0.00%	0.80%

If, as Mark Hanna has argued, a density of one article per week, or 52/year, about pirates was sufficient to build a detailed ‘mental map’,⁸³ Londoners would achieve this in every year of 1668–1672, 1679–83, 1687, 1695–1702, 1705, and 1708–14, and on average across every decade from 1670–79 onwards. By contrast, Edinburghers would see it only in 1699, due to extensive coverage in the *Edinburgh Gazette*; Dubliners in 1715 and 1716, thanks to a proliferation of new papers and the end of the War of Spanish Succession; and Glaswegians and Novocastrians never. Some particularly-interested readers might have sought out and digested news from London papers in their local coffee-house, subscribed to manuscript newsletters, or even set up personal correspondence networks for the best news. But for the general reader or hearer, it can be confidently said that prejudice remained higher, knowledge more limited, and outlook for future relations more pessimistic, than in London equivalents. The Maghreb was a participant in European conflicts and competitions – a support or hindrance in

⁸⁰ Munter, *History of the Irish Newspaper*, 89.

⁸¹ Cutter, ‘Turks, Moors, Deys and Kingdoms’, 66.

⁸² Cutter, ‘Grateful Fresh Advices’, 428–9.

⁸³ Mark G. Hanna, *Pirate Nests and the Rise of the British Empire, 1570–1740* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 198.

the War of Spanish Succession,⁸⁴ a supporter of the Ottomans in the Venetian-Ottoman Morean War,⁸⁵ a chance to glorify the British monarch or navy⁸⁶ – or an entertaining ‘human interest’ story, more than a vital part of business and trade as in London. Nevertheless, this analysis shows that detailed information about the Maghreb had begun to regularly appear in Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Newcastle, serving to more systematically confront the prejudices and concerns of the Renaissance era, and pave the way to a new view of Islamic worlds.

EPILOGUE: THE RISE OF ‘BRITISH’ SUPERIORITY

A fortuitous, unrequested inclusion in my digitized sources from the British Library here facilitates a glimpse at the outcome of this confrontation. In 105 issues of the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* published 2 January–5 September 1727 (35 weeks, 0.68 years) there appear 54 articles relating to the Maghreb, an average of 1.54 articles per week, or a higher density from this single paper than the annual production of any D/E/G/N city in 1699–1716. In this microcosm of a much larger unexamined corpus appear quite dramatic shifts. Where earlier years represented a confrontation, here are the superior attitudes of a nation embedded in British naval power; the same detailed knowledge of internal diversity and divisions and careful attention to European-Maghrebi relations is inflected in rather different ways. Thus, while in previous years English and French negotiators promised full ransoms and regular lavish tributes for peace with Algiers, in 1727, the Bey ‘wrote very submissive Letters to the Court of France, which will undoubtedly divert the Storm were threatened with by the Armaments which we hear were making in several Ports of that Kingdom’ following ‘the Insults offered to their Flag, and to their Countrymen who are settled in this City.’⁸⁷ Where Gibraltar was once dependent on Maghrebi food supplies, like to be lost should they compromise positive diplomatic relations, by 1727 the *Courant* reported slavish devotion from the Governor of Tetuan, sending six ships with provisions and promising ‘in Case the Garrison should be put to a straight, 1000 Moors were at his Master’s Service, whenever he shou’d command them’.⁸⁸ Accounts of Morocco’s civil war following the death of Sultan Mawlay Isma’il, though they represent an increased willingness to print material not primarily related to European military, economic and diplomatic affairs, were more, not less, sensational and exoticized than their earlier equivalents, filled with harems, eunuchs,

⁸⁴ *Edinburgh Courant*, 12–14/05/1708.

⁸⁵ *Scots Courant*, 27–29/12/1714.

⁸⁶ *Edinburgh Gazette*, 29/06–03/07/1699.

⁸⁷ *Edinburgh Evening Courant* [hereafter EEC], 28/02–03/03/1727.

⁸⁸ EEC, 01–02/05/1727.

brotherly rivalries, and brutal revenge.⁸⁹ Reports from Britons in Algiers of a captured Portuguese ship included a slew of lurid (though plausible) details:

Among the Crew which has been made Slaves, there was a beautiful young Woman whom the Dey has taken for himself. Six Christian Slaves having failed in the Attempt they made to escape, have undergone the Bastinado and another Christian who has been accessory to their Design, has paid a considerable Fine. An Italian Slave having been caught in the Fact with a Turkish Woman, has embraced the Mahometan Religion to save his Life.⁹⁰

Correspondingly, the centuries-long fear of Maghrebi corsairs had declined: an English ship out of Minorca, separated from her naval convoy by bad weather, 'stood over to the Coast of Barbary, (in hopes to steer clear of the [Spanish] Privateers)', and having received the 'bad News that Four Vessels, loaden with Wine, &c. belonging to Leith, have been taken by the Algerines', they baldly blamed the owners rather than the corsairs, as 'it seems they were not provided with Mediterranean Passes'.⁹¹ In August 1727, fear of the corsairs became a cause for humorous farce, when a Swedish ship mistook a British-American ship carrying Germans 'for a Turk, imagining the Capes of the Palatines for Turbants', and in comical terror abandoned their ship for land, only to be salvaged by Sussex fisherman who stubbornly refused to return their prize.⁹² Thus in a brief eleven years, the confrontation between ancestral fears and diplomatic realities, which appears in both qualitative and quantitative analysis, seems to have been resolved. Readers in Edinburgh, along with those in Dublin, Glasgow, and Newcastle, had for over three decades received increasing quantities of up-to-date and detailed news about the Maghreb, which represented to some degree the unexpected reality that Britain and the Maghreb were at peace, and increasingly ready to cooperate in diplomacy and trade. The new information available was initially less than in London, but still substantial, and likely reached a similar proportion of the population. Yet by 1727, this increased knowledge and relatively stable British-Maghrebi peace had not steered portrayals towards cooperation, respect, and mutual learning, as seemed a possibility for London by the early eighteenth century. Instead, information from the Maghreb became filtered through another change in circumstances towards settled superiority, exotic interest,

⁸⁹ *EEC*, 02–04/05/1727, 23–25/05/1727, 12–13/06/1727, 15–19/06/1727, 1–3/07/1727.

⁹⁰ *EEC*, 17–18/07/1727.

⁹¹ *EEC*, 27/04–01/05/1727, 11–15/05/1727, 11–13/07/1727.

⁹² *EEC*, 03–07/08/1727.

and derisive disregard.⁹³ With Britain's naval supremacy, power had dispelled mystique.

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⁹³ Interestingly, we can observe a parallel development in three contemporary English texts, each of which are likely informed by the same assurance of military superiority. In *A Plan of the English Commerce* (London: C. Rivington, 1728), 326–7, Daniel Defoe with cold efficiency advocated a European cooperative effort to colonise the Maghreb, push out or enslave the Moors, and turn the region into a market for European products. The same year, Joseph Morgan lamented the reception of his *A Complete History of Algiers* (London: J. Bettenham for Joseph Morgan, 1728), xi, his coffeehouse compatriots expressing disinterest about 'such [a] rascally Place, as Algiers.' 'It is nothing to us, Lord!' they exclaimed, 'Half a Dozen of our small Ships would blow all those Scrubs to the Devil.' Others, he claimed, were 'affronted' at his positive presentation of Algerian courtesy, which reflected badly on English superiority: *Mr. Morgan's Letters to one of his earliest Subscribers* (London, 1728), 3. My thanks to Nabil Matar for pointing out these references.