

Susanna Rowson's *Slaves in Algiers or a Struggle for Freedom* :
A case study of the impact of culture on literature. Dr. Belabdelouahab-Fernini Linda

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Abstract

Suzanna Rowson's play *Slaves in Algiers or a struggle for Freedom* is part of Barbary Captivity narratives. Even though the play can be studied through different angles, focus will be laid on the impact of culture on its writing. This article aims at exploring how the culture of Algiers affected the authorship of Rowson's play. Furthermore, it attempts to determine the American anxieties about cross-cultural threats from Algiers expressed in the play.

Keywords:

Culture- Literature- Slaves- Algiers.

Introduction

According to Samuel Flagg Bemis, the Pulitzer Prize winner historian and specialist in American Diplomacy, ¹ the Treaty of Paris was

the most remarkable accomplishment in the annals of American Diplomacy. Even though this treaty designated formal British acceptance of the United States' independence, it also denoted the retraction of British privileges provided

المخلص بالعربية :

مسرحية سوزانا راوسن "العبيد في الجزائر أو نضال من أجل الحرية" جزء من السرد الأسر البربري. على الرغم من أنه يمكن دراستها من خلال زوايا مختلفة، سوف يتم التركيز على كيفية تأثير الثقافة الجزائرية على تأليفها. وعلاوة على ذلك، تحاول المقالة تحديد المخاوف الأميركية حول التهديدات النابعة من الجزائر و التي تم التطرق إليها في هذه المسرحية.

الكلمات المفتاحية:

الثقافة-الأدب-العبيد-الجزائر.

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to Americans under their colonial status. Among these benefits was the protection for American Mediterranean commerce. After their independence, the Americans wanted to restart their trade in Mediterranean waters.

While the United States was then emerging as a fragile independent country, the Regency of Algiers had been the leading power of the Barbary States years earlier. American independence also meant that the new-born country had to make its own treaties with the Barbary States which controlled the Mediterranean trade. The Barbary powers consisted of the kingdom of Morocco and three other North African States namely: Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripoli. Unlike Morocco, the latter were called regencies because their regimes were part of the Ottoman Empire and were ruled by semi-independent vassals of the Sultan in Istanbul. ² In 1784, the American ship the *Betsy* was captured by Morocco. ³ A year later, in 1785, Algiers declared war on the United States and two American ships the *Maria* and the *Dauphin* were seized by *Algerine* ⁴ privateers.

In 1793, eleven other American vessels were captured by *Algerine* corsairs and more than a hundred captives remained prisoners in Algiers until a Treaty of Amity and Peace was signed between Algiers and the United States in 1795.

The American-Algerian war led to the birth of an intensive American literary production that helped shape the American identity. It was in this tension of an international scale that *Slaves in Algiers, or a Struggle for Freedom* was written by Susanna Haswell Rowson. ⁵ The interest in the play lies in its portrayal of Barbary captivity narrative in early American literature. Furthermore, it is an early manifestation of American literature with orientalist themes. So, who was Susanna Rowson? What were her motives for writing such a play? What is the literary significance of the latter? How different is it from earlier American literary works? The main focus of this article is to attempt to determine how the culture of Algiers influenced the authorship of Rowson's play. The article also endeavors to express American anxieties regarding the cross-cultural threats emanating from Algiers.

Susanna Rowson's concise biography

Remembered as a literary figure in early America with various novels, plays, and poetry, Susanna Rowson founded one of the first female academies in Washington street, Boston. Rowson was born in Portsmouth, England in 1762. Her mother, Susanna Musgrave died at childbirth and her father, William Haswell remarried off to America leaving her with a caretaker for a couple of

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years. As a British Naval officer, he was commissioned to the American colonies, and Susanna immigrated to America as a young child. Because of his British ties, Haswell's estate was seized during the American Revolution, and the family suffered great hardship. During the same period, Susanna and her family sided with the Loyalists, resulting in them being imprisoned for two years and eventually returned to England when she was 16.

The Haswell family lost much of their wealth during the American Revolution, and Susanna worked as a governess in England. Her first novel, *Victoria*, was published in 1786.⁶ The same year, she married a hardware seller William Rowson.⁷ The couple was plagued by economic difficulties, and became actors when they could no longer support themselves through their works. *Charlotte Temple* was published in 1791 in England to paltry sales.⁸ In 1793, the couple moved to America, hoping for better financial fortunes.

Rowson's *Slaves in Algiers* was first performed on June 30, 1794, at the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia.

After leaving the stage, Rowson opened a school for girls in Boston, an establishment that would allow her to proclaim equal rights for women to transmit her knowledge and her vision of society to younger generations of girls. She died in Boston in 1824.⁹

Slaves in Algiers'context

Being a forgotten piece of literature, *Slaves in Algiers* was overlooked and did not generate much consideration from writers.¹⁰ The choice of working on an eighteenth-century play originates from the relevance and influence that plays had on Americans at the time. Plays and live performances were regarded as more entertaining and enjoyable than book reading to the average American. They represented the main attraction for American families, appealing to both the old and the young. By performing on stage, actors could transmit the message easily thus the audience which was less educated could comprehend the idea behind such plays. Their fictitious nature was no obstacle on the influence they could exert on the audience as the elements of fiction were always injected into an otherwise realistic scenario that was based on fact. Besides, thanks to the moral values it contains, Rowson's play deserves scrutiny in its analysis as eighteenth century literature was -often- judged according to the moral values it embodied.

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The historical context of *Slaves in Algiers* was that of the Algerian-American war. The latter took place through two offensives. The first one was in 1785 with the seizure of two American ships. The latter marked a turning point in the American-Algerian relations. It was America's first hostage crisis. It happened before George Washington became a president and lasted the two terms of his presidency.

On July 25, 1785, the American vessel from Boston, the *Maria*, which belonged to Mr William Foster, was captured with its six crewmembers three miles southeast of Cape St Vincent, off the Algarve coast of Portugal, by Rais El-Arbi, captain of the Algerian frigate. Five days later, the *Dauphin*, which belonged to Mr Mathew and the Irwins, merchants of Philadelphia, was seized with a crew that numbered fifteen men about 180 miles west of Lisbon by an eighteen-gun cruiser that belonged to the Dey. To comprehend the 1785 capture of the American ships, it is essential that a brief historical background of the event be clarified. In the eighteenth century, there was a well-established principle according to which two nations were considered to be at war unless

they signed a treaty with one another. Consequently, commerce raiding, which was determined as a naval manoeuvre, became legal. In addition, impartial vessels were not allowed to keep on commerce with the enemy. The long Spanish-Algerian wars had prevented Algerian ships from navigating west of Gibraltar before Algiers concluded a peace treaty with Spain a short time prior to July 14, 1785.¹¹ Immediately following this date, Algiers declared war on the United States.

The seizure of ships was not restricted to 1785, actually, other eleven American ships were taken eight years later by *Algerine* privateers.¹² On September 12, 1793, a truce between Algiers and Portugal went into effect allowing *Algerine* corsairs to cross the Atlantic. The absence of an Algerian-American peace treaty exposed the United States' shipping to Algerian seizure for a second time.

In 1794, a year prior to the signature of the Algerian-American peace treaty, Susanna Rowson wrote *Slaves in Algiers*. This play, which is part of Barbary captivity narratives, is a comedy that was meant to stir awareness of and invoke compassion for the American prisoners. It took Rowson only two months from the genesis of her idea to write this play to the moment it was first performed on June 30, 1794, at the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia.

In addition to the fact that the play was founded on historical events of post-Revolutionary America, Rowson acknowledges in the preface of her work that

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the plot of her story was partially taken from the narrative of the captive, recounted by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra¹³ in his masterpiece *Don Quixote*, and that the remaining part was based on fiction.

The play is a comedy that depicts the scheme of the various European Americans who plan to flee from Barbary where they were held slaves. It also pictures their escape and their freedom. Even though *Slaves in Algiers* addressed sensitive subjects and stressed national and racial identity as well as equality between men and women, when first published, it was fervently criticized by William Cobbett¹⁴ in a pamphlet entitled: "A Kick for a Bite." Cobbett harshly disagrees with the theme of the play, which suggests that women could be on the political stage, and warns against it by anticipating that it could lead to a social

revolution: "(...) Who knows but our House of Representatives, for instance may be succeeded by members of the other sex?"¹⁵

Slaves in Algiers, expresses women's ethics, race, different kinds of slavery and liberty. It depicts the resistance of American women to preserve their values. Through the play, Rowson could be viewed as the precursor of the subsequent women's rights movement. Two centuries ahead of her time, her play constituted the topic of public and political discourse which engendered opposite reactions. The play stressed the political crisis between the United States and Algiers in the 1790's. It also displayed the American society as well as white slavery in the eighteenth century.

Rowson's description of the Orient and the Arabic culture

During the eighteenth and nineteenth century, there was a movement that set up a unique American literature "written in unique American language about American themes" dealing with all genres, from captivity narratives to dramatic fictional pieces. *Slaves in Algiers* is an instance of this movement as it expressed the singularity of the American character and the supremacy of American values.

Rowson's *Algerine* characters in the play portray characteristics that are in total opposition with the virtues assigned to the Americans. Algiers is depicted as exotic and sumptuous yet crooked, tyrannical and ruled by a despot. This entire lack of the very notion of liberty is basically reflected by the portrayal of slavery as an inherent part of the local culture. The situation of the indigenous female characters, bought and sold as mere commodities, seems to mirror the cruel aspect of the city as well. The characterization of indigenous women is also made

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to reveal the ostensible divergence between them and the American women. In fact, apart from the two main Oriental female characters who befriend the American captives; the rest of the indigenous women seem to be represented as superficial, dumb and recreant. This; therefore, binds the play as an Orientalist piece of writing with the principal goal of echoing the antagonism of 'Barbary' vis-à-vis America.

In her play, Rowson uses a rhetoric that consists in apposing the portrayal of Algiers to that of America and its 'civilized' values. This is often referred to in Western literature as the Orient-West dichotomy. The latter often uses the Orient as a 'stooge' in the West observation of its 'self.' In other words, the author utilizes the 'wickedness' of Algiers to showcase American values. In addition, she stresses the requisiteness to respond to the Algerian crisis.

Furthermore, the use of Algiers as an antagonist also suggests Rowson's need to highlight her 'Feminist agenda.' In fact, she put emphasis on the forcefulness of female characters and their outstanding role in the society by granting them the main role in liberating the prisoners. Rowson also used the Orient-West dichotomy to criticize her society regarding the sexist ideology of

18th century, post-revolutionary America. This ideology viewed women as mere nurturers for men and children. In this play however, female characters envisage freedom and save the captives.

The culture of Algiers and the authorship of Rowsin's play

Set in the city of Algiers, the play fetes freedom and liberty and simultaneously reprobates white slavery abroad. In addition, it gives a voice to the voiceless females by pinpointing on sex equality and superiority. The play pictures the life of the early American prisoners held in Algiers and recounts their successful attempt to escape the life of slavery.

Even though the play can be analyzed through manifold standpoints, emphasis will be laid on the effect of culture on its writing. The culture of the *Algerines* contrasted with that of the Americans impacted the authorship of Rowson's play. Furthermore, through the latter, the author expresses the American anxieties about cross-cultural threats from Algiers.

In her play, Rowson focuses on the Oriental side of the dichotomy by portraying the indigenous people. Our interest concerns authoritarian rulers for obsequious people. The character Muley Moloc, the *Dey* of Algiers, is represented as the archetype of the Oriental despot as well as the submissive

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people that serve him. Rowson uses of the 'self' versus the 'other' narrative. She describes the Oriental despot ruling over his subjects with an iron fist and imposing obedience on them through means of corporal punishments and death sentences. The latter are reflected in the play as for instance when Fetnah informs Selima of the aversion she feels towards the *Dey*, she then adds: "if it was not for fear of his huge scymetar, I shou'd burst out a laughing in his face."¹⁶ The use of a means of subjugation upon one's own subjects further strengthens the Oriental Despot archetype in the reader's mind.

Susanna Rowson suggests that the onset and preservation of Despotism in Algiers is to accuse mainly on the population that is too busy seeking gold and bodily pleasures and too obsequious to revolt. Furthermore, the playwright advocates the success of the American slaves' revolting mission as echoing Westerners' inherent abhorrence of servitude and their imminent victory in the fight against it.

Female characters are also represented as exploited women through another stereotype of the subjugated and mentally inferior Oriental woman. The oppressed women are portrayed in the play through the characters of Selima, Fetnah and Zoriana. As for Selima, she is depicted with her futile remarks, superficial interests as well as her lack of ambition and bravery. Furthermore, her inability to distinguish the notions of honor and respect from depersonalization and bondage are also spotlighted. In the play, she mirrors the total cluelessness of the concepts of freedom and dignity. She mainly stands as a representation of all

the other silent indigenous women in the play.

Fetnah and Zoriana are two other Algerian female characters that embody the notions of courage and temerity along with their perspicacity and what seems to be a profound fondness of liberty. Rowson presents these characters and their so-called strong temperament as an abnormality among the indigenous women, and they are to be taken as the exception, as conflicting with the norm. An instance of this anomaly is portrayed in a conversation between Selima and Fetnah regarding the rejection of the latter to her culture's traditions. Astonished Selma asks her : "But, how is it Fetnah, that you have conceived such an aversion to the manners of a country where you were born?"¹⁷ And when Fetnah was asked whether this rejection of the Moorish manners was imbibed from her mother, she replied:

No; she has no objection to any of their customs,
except that of their having a great many wives at a

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time. But some few months since, my father, (who sends out many corsairs,) brought home a female captive, to whom I became greatly attached; it was she, who nourished in my mind the love of liberty, and taught me, woman was never formed to be the abject slave of man. Nature made us equal with them, and gave us the power to render ourselves superior.¹⁸

When asked about the origins of her mother, Fetnah replied: "She came from that land, where virtue in either sex is the only mark of superiority-She was an American."¹⁹ Rowson's use of these conversations was mainly to showcase the American superiority over the Orient. In addition, Fetnah's sense of strength, intelligence and audacity is depicted in the play as being entirely dependent on her friendship with Rebecca, who triggered her intellectual awakening; Rowson highlights this so-called lack of intelligence among these women and emphasizes their impressionable nature.

The character Zoriana, the *Dey's* daughter, is represented as having the same anomalous state of mind as Fetnah. In the third scene of the first act of the play, Zoriana, reassured the American character, Olivia: "Be not alarmed sweet Olivia, I am a Christian in my heart, and I love a Christian slave to whom I have conveyed money and jewels, sufficient to ransom himself and several others."²⁰ Zoriana's intellectual awakening also seems to have followed the same way as Fetnah's. Zoriana's involvement in Christianity, Western culture and with an American slave denotes the existence of such characteristics within the personality and cultural identity of the Oriental woman. These features can be altered with the presence of external influence. Besides, Rowson recognizes the intelligence of an Oriental woman as the result of the to the so-called influential grandeur of the Western characters. For Rowson, Fetnah and Zoriana's lack of

identification with their culture is their main driving strength behind their uprightiness in addition to their brave journey within the play.

The Western side of the dichotomy is represented in the play by the depiction of American characters. Focus will be laid on clement and fair heroic saviors, and brave educated women. While the former were represented by Frederic and Henry, the latter were impersonated by Rebecca and Olivia.

Regarding the male character Frederic, he is presented as leading an enterprise, with the purpose of freeing, not only himself but also his fellow Christian American captives, as well as the two insubordinate *Moorish* women.

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His mission does not concern his fellow captives but rather extends to the exploited indigenous women. In the second scene of the first act of the play Frederic declares: "to die in a struggle for freedom, is better far than to live in ignominious bondage."²¹ Henry has the same views on liberty as Frederic. Both characters portray Westerners' sense of solidarity in their struggle against absolutism and iniquity, and Americans' sense of leadership.

American characters are also depicted as clement and fair. The first scene of act three of the play provides us with an instance when Fetnah appears disguised as the *Dey's* son Soliman.²² The prisoners then demanded her execution, but Henry replied: "Hold; why should we harm this innocent youth?"²³ As one of the captives protested: "He would be the means of our suffering most cruel tortures."²⁴ Henry argued: "True, but he is now in our power; young, innocent, and unprotected. Oh my friends! Let us not, on this auspicious night, when we hope to emancipate ourselves from slavery, tinge the bright standard of liberty with blood."²⁵ This feeling of compassion is reinforced in another scene when Frederic and Henry decide to pardon Muley Moloc who kept them captives, Frederic emphasizes: "...though your power over us is at end, we neither mean to enslave your person, or put a period to your existence— we are freemen, and while we assert the rights of men, we dare not infringe the privileges of a fellow-creature."²⁶ The aspects of heroic saviors as well as those of clemency and fairness are represented in the play to highlight American values in the west versus Orient dichotomy. Furthermore, Rowson's portrayal of the American men and their actions is one that conveys a political message, not only to the audiences, but also to the political leaders of America.

Rowson uses female characters mainly to dispute the patriarchal view of women, in America at the time, but also, debunks the perspective that confines women's engagement in the public sphere. In fact, the depiction of female characters in the play foregrounds the Western woman's fortitude, sacrifice and potency in the making of America as a global force. In the second scene of the

first act, the female character, Rebecca is presented under the guise of a cultivated and cultured woman who seems to find comfort in Western writing and literature. Her reading deals with themes of courage and bravery and seems to provide her with spirit to rebel against tyranny and injustice.²⁷ Rebecca also strengthens the idea that liberty is inherent to America by mentioning the captivity of her son: "-I have a son- my child my dear Augustus-where are you now?-in slavery- Grant me patience Heaven! Must a boy born in Columbia,

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claiming liberty as his birth-right, pass all his days in slavery?'²⁸ Rowson also points out on the importance of liberty and education for women, as she mentions Rebecca's role in introducing republican and nationalist ideals to her son: "Oh! My adored boy! Must I no more behold his eyes beaming with youthful ardour, when I have told him, how his brave countrymen purchased their freedom with their blood."²⁹ Rebecca also shows a willingness to sacrifice her own life for her cherished ones as in the second scene of act three she declares: "Alas! My dear Augustus, can I be happy while you are a slave? my own bondage is nothing—but you, my child."³⁰

Olivia shares the same value of sacrifice with Rebecca. While Rebecca was distressed because of the affliction of her son, Olivia was deeply affected by her father's captivity. She appears during the third scene of the first act plotting her father's freedom and confesses to Zoriana: "Oh! heavens, could I but see him once more at liberty, how gladly would I sacrifice my own life to secure his."³¹ This highlights the brave and nurturing nature of the American female characters in the play. When Olivia doubted the scheme would succeed, she chose to sacrifice herself as depicted in the second scene of act two. When Zoriana tries to dissuade her from staying behind, she replies:

Forgive me; I am determined, and that so firmly, it will be in vain to oppose me.-If you escape-the Power who protects you, will also give me the means of following; should you be taken, I may perhaps move the Dey to forgive you, and even should my prayers and tears have no effect, my life shall pay the forfeiture of yours.³²

Rowson seems to prove that the amount of sacrifice that American women are willing to make in order to save what is dear to them, including their family, and friends, but also their nation and their values, could be even more outstanding than that of men.

The author also presents Rebecca and Olivia as role models for the indigenous women Fetnah and Zoriana. They also appear to be the main reason for which the two latter glorify America and its values. Besides, they also seem

to have a significant role in their rejection of turning away from their own culture and the rebelliousness against the tyranny and despotism of the Moorish leader. Rebecca and Olivia succeeded not only in their own liberation but also, in the so-called mental liberation of the two Oriental women they befriended.

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This dichotomy between the two sets of characters (and hence between the Orient and the West) therefore allows Susanna Rowson to criticize her society. Her use of Algiers as a setting for her play's events, as far as her position on women's rights is concerned, is mainly motivated by her need to assert the importance of the inclusion of gender equality within the young nation's growing cultural and political identity before it gets too late.

Conclusion

Slaves in Algiers, states women's ethics, race, different kinds of slavery and liberty. It portrays the fight of American women to preserve their values. Through the play, Rowson could be viewed as the forerunner of the subsequent women's rights movement. The play also displayed the American society as well as white slavery in the eighteenth century. *Slaves in Algiers* is of an outstanding value as it was set in Barbary and written in a context of great captivity of Americans by *Algerine* corsairs.

Rowson's description of the Orient and the Arabic culture was to showcase the superiority of American values. Besides, it was to display her opinions on liberty, emancipation, and white slavery in the Orient. It was also to voice American anxieties about cross-cultural threats from Algiers and to stress the importance of liberty in every society.

The 'Self' versus the 'Other' narrative was also utilized by Rowson to warn the American government to act regarding the Algerian-American Crisis and criticize her own society.

Thanks to its outstanding literary significance, the play needs to be rehabilitated. The legacy of Susanna Rowson's play requires further research from both Algerian and American scholars to promote an emerging historiography on early Algerian-American literature.

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¹ Refer to Samuel Flagg Bemis, *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution*, (Indiana University Press, 1957). Bemis won the Pulitzer Prize for Biography or Autobiography in 1950 with his work: *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy*, (Greenwood Press, 1981).

² The Barbary States is an expression used for the North African states of Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. From the 16th century, Tripolitania, Tunisia, and Algeria were autonomous provinces of the Turkish Empire. Morocco pursued its own independent development. For further information on the Barbary States refer to: G. A Jackson, *Algiers: being a complete picture of the Barbary States; their government, laws, religion, and natural productions; and containing a sketch of their various revolutions, a description of the domestic manners and customs of the Moors, Arabs, and Turks; an account of the four great capitals of Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis, and Morocco, and a narrative of the various attacks upon Algiers, by the European states; including a faithful detail of the late glorious victory of Lord Exmouth* (London: R.

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³ Morocco was the first country to seize a US ship. The latter was captured off the coast of Spain in 1784. Thanks to the intervention of the Spanish foreign minister, Conde de Floridablanca, the Sultan Sidi Mohammed of Morocco released the Betsy with her crew and cargo on July 9, 1785.

⁴ This is the way Algerians were called in the eighteenth century.

⁵ Susanna Haswell Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers or, A Struggle for Freedom* (Acton, MA: Copley edition, 2000).

⁶ Susanna Rowson, *Victoria, 1786 : The Inquisitor Or, Invisible Rambler*. (Reprint Services Corporation, 1999, 1788.)

⁷ Rowson raised her husband's younger sister, Charlotte, his illegitimate son, William, and one adopted daughter as well.

⁸ Susanna Rowson, *Charlotte Temple: a tale of truth* (New York City: Funk & Wagnalls company, 1791).

⁹ For further information on Susanna Rowson's Biography consult : *Historical and Biographical Introduction : Mrs Rowson* available at : <http://www.bartleby.com/154/1001.html> Accessed in september, 2017.

¹⁰ There have been some attempts to analyse the play however, as by Elizabeth Maddock, Dillon. "*Slaves in Algiers: Race, Republican Genealogies, and the Global Stage.*" *American Literary History* (2004) pp. 407-436.

¹¹ After three abortive offensiveness on Algiers, Spain was obligated to review its old attitude to reconquer North Africa for Christendom. This is how the Catholic King of Spain and the Dey and Divan of Algiers signed a treaty in 1785. The latter was to last one hundred years. But actually it acted as a truce since all succeeding Spanish kings had to swear the same oath: never to be at peace with the Muslim Barbary States.

¹² For further information refer to Richard Parker, *Uncle Sam in Barbary: A Diplomatic History* (University Press of Florida, 2004).

¹³ Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547-1616), who was held in captivity in Algiers for five years, authored one of the most outstanding books in the history of the novel: *Don Quixote*. Trans by John Ormsby (Digireads.com Publishing, 2009).

¹⁴ William Cobbett , British native pamphlet writer, used the pseudonym Peter Porcupine to severely criticize Rowson for her writing.

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¹⁵ Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers*, p. xvii. Actually, Jeanette Rankin, a Republican from the State of Montana was elected to the United States Congress in 1917. Today, Nancy Pelosi is the speaker of the House of Representatives. She is the first woman in this position.

¹⁶ A scymetar, or a scimitar; is a sort of short sword that is usually associated with Eastern warfare cultures. Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers*, p. 14.

¹⁷ Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers*, p. 16.

¹⁸ Idem.

¹⁹ Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers*, p. 17.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 28.

²¹ Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers*, p. 26.

²² Ibid., p. 49.

²³ Ibid. ; p. 50.

²⁴ Idem.

²⁵ Idem.

²⁶ Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers*, p. 73.

²⁷ Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers*, p. 18.

²⁸ Idem.

²⁹ Idem.

³⁰ Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers*, p. 54.

³¹ Ibid., p. 28.

³² Ibid., p. 36.