

BARBARY CORSAIRS

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND ITS HERITAGE

Politics, Society and Economy

EDITED BY

SURAIYA FAROQHI AND HALIL INALCIK

Advisory Board

Fikret Adanir · Idris Bostan · Amnon Cohen · Cornell Fleischer
Barbara Flemming · Alexander de Groot · Klaus Kreiser
Hans Georg Majer · Irène Mélikoff · Ahmet Yaşar Ocak
Abdeljelil Temimi · Gilles Veinstein · Elizabeth Zachariadou

VOLUME 29



BARBARY CORSAIRS

The End of a Legend 1800-1820

BY

DANIEL PANZAC

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY VICTORIA HOBSON
AND COMPLETED BY JOHN E. HAWKES



BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON
2005

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Panzac, Daniel.

[Corsaires barbaresques, English]

Barbary Corsairs : the end of a legend, 1800-1820 / Daniel Panzac.

p. cm. — (The Ottoman Empire and its heritage ; v. 29)

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.

ISBN 90-04-12594-9

1. Africa, North—History—1517-1882. I. Title. II. Series.

DT204.P335 2004

359'.00961'0903--dc22

2004040774

ISSN 1380-6076

ISBN 90 04 12594 9

© Copyright 2005 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill Academic Publishers,
Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

*All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic,
mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written
permission of the publisher.*

*Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal
use is granted by Brill provided that
the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright
Clearance Center, Rosewood Drive 222, Suite 910
Danvers MA 01923, USA
Fees are subject to change.*

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	xi
Introduction	1

PART ONE

PRIVATEERING: AN AGE-OLD PRACTICE

Chapter One: The Bases of Privateering	9
REGIONAL CONDITIONS	9
The Origins of the Corsair State	9
The Regencies in the Eighteenth Century	12
<i>The Heads of State</i>	12
<i>State and Government</i>	14
<i>The Army</i>	17
Privateering and Religion	21
PRIVATEERING AND DIPLOMACY	25
1600–1650: The First Agreements	25
1650–1720: The Diplomat Admirals	31
1720–1795: Appeased Relations	38
Changes in the Corsair Fleets	41
Chapter Two: Of Ships and Men	45
THE BARBARY FLEETS	48
The Ships	48
Construction and Maintenance	51
THE MEN	56
The Shipowners and Fitting Out	57
The Corsair Captains	60
<i>Origins</i>	61
<i>The Careers</i>	63
The Crews	67
The Janissaries (on-board Infantry)	70
Life aboard Ship	71

Chapter Three: The Corsair Campaigns	73
THE TEMPORARY RETURN TO CORSAIR ACTIVITIES	73
International Relations in Upheaval	73
The Resumption of Corsair Activities	75
One Consequence: War between Tripoli and the United States	77
DAY-TO-DAY CORSAIR LIFE	79
The Campaigning Season	79
Corsair Geography	83
RISKS AND CONDITIONS OF CORSAIR LIFE	89
Corsairs or Pirates?	89
The Organisation of Corsair Campaigns	90
The Campaigns	91
CORSAIR PRACTICES	93
Raids on Land	94
The Capture of Ships	95
Chapter Four: Privateering and the Economy	101
CORSAIR BOOTY	101
Composition	101
<i>The Ships</i>	104
<i>The Cargoes</i>	106
<i>The Captives</i>	113
DIVIDING THE BOOTY	121
The Principles of Distribution	121
The Corsairs' Share	124
The State's Share	130

PART TWO

SHIPPING AND MARITIME TRADE: CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES AND CHANGED POLICY

Chapter Five: The Maghreb's Maritime Trade at the End of the Eighteenth Century	135
1780–1789: A DECADE OF MULTIPLE BUT UNEQUAL RELATIONS	135
Algiers	136

Tripoli	137
Tunis	139
<i>Points of Departure and Destinations</i>	139
<i>Commercial Exchanges</i>	141
<i>Trade with Europe</i>	141
<i>Trade with Marseilles</i>	143
<i>Trade with the Ottoman Empire</i>	143
THE ECONOMIC ACTORS: THE CARRIERS	145
The European Monopoly	145
The Maritime Caravan	147
THE ECONOMIC ACTORS: THE CHARTERERS	149
A DECADE OF WAR (1793–1802)	152
New Conditions	152
New Charterers	153
1795–1796	154
1802–1803	155
The Shippers	159
Chapter Six: From Privateering to Shipping	161
THE RISE OF THE NEUTRAL STATES	161
THE MARITIME ACTIVITY OF THE MAGHREBI	165
The North African Presence in Europe	165
Shipping Replaces Corsair Activities	170
THE GEOGRAPHY OF MAGHREBI SHIPPING	174
Arrivals in European Ports	175
<i>Leghorn</i>	176
<i>Marseilles</i>	176
<i>Barcelona</i>	176
<i>Malta</i>	177
Ship Movements in Ports of the Maghreb	179
<i>Algiers</i>	179
<i>Tunis</i>	180
<i>Tripoli</i>	182
MARITIME TRANSPORTATION	185
The Charter Contracts	186
The Cargoes	187
<i>The Regency of Tripoli</i>	191
<i>The Regency of Tunis</i>	192

Chapter Seven: The Commercial Fleets of the Maghreb	193
THE SHIPS	193
THE PERSONNEL	201
The Captains	201
<i>Morocco</i>	201
<i>Algiers</i>	201
<i>Tunis</i>	202
<i>Tripoli</i>	203
The Crews	207
COMMERCIAL NAVIGATION	211
A Convoy Arrives in Marseilles in 1809	211
Simple Crossings	214
The Long Voyages	219
Chapter Eight: The Maghrebi Merchants and their Trade	221
THE CAREERS OF SEVERAL MERCHANTS	221
Ahmed and Hassan Al-Faqih Hassan	221
Hamdân Ben Uthman Khodja	224
Ahmed and Yûnis Ben Yûnis	227
The Busnach and Bacri Families	234
TRADE AND RELIGION	237
The Family	238
The Community	238
Community Rivalries	240
<i>Algiers</i>	240
<i>Tunis</i>	241
THE MARITIME TRADE CONDITIONS IN THE MAGHREB	245
Commercial Practices	246
The Role of the State	250
<i>Information</i>	250
<i>Intervention</i>	252

PART THREE

THE FINAL BREAKDOWN

Chapter Nine: The Western Counter	259
FROM WAR TO PEACE	259
Wartime: from Uneasiness to Overt Opposition	259

Peacetime: the Great European Return to the Maghreb	263
CORSAIR ACTIVITIES AS A LAST RESORT	267
The Return of the Corsairs	267
The Western Response	270
<i>The Americans go it Alone</i>	270
<i>The Problem becomes International</i>	271
<i>Lord Exmouth's First Naval Campaign (April-May 1816)</i>	273
WAR ON ALGIERS	275
The Military Forces Involved	275
<i>The Coastal Defences of the Maghreb</i>	275
<i>The Anglo-Dutch fleet</i>	280
The Battle	284
An Impossible Dialogue	289
Chapter Ten: The Maghreb Faces up to its Problems	293
POLITICAL FRAGILITY	293
Internal Power Struggles	294
<i>Algiers</i>	294
<i>Tunis</i>	296
<i>Tripoli</i>	298
Algiers: The Dominating Regency	300
POPULATION WEAKENING AND DECIMATION	303
The Plague	305
<i>The Epidemic of 1792-1801</i>	305
<i>The Epidemic of 1816-1821</i>	306
Food Shortages and Famines	307
A MARGINALISED EXCHANGE ECONOMY	310
The Weaknesses of the Regency of Algiers	310
Tunisian Trade Imbalance	311
North African Production Difficulties	315
<i>Cereals</i>	315
<i>Olive Oil</i>	316
<i>Fezes</i>	317
A Disturbing Monetary Depreciation	320
THE REACTIONS OF THE REGENCIES	322
First Attempts at a Sanitary Policy	322
Territorial Expansion	323
An Invasive Fiscal Policy	325

Epilogue	331
Appendix	335
Treaties signed between the Regencies and the Western States	335
Sources	339
Archives Consulted	339
Printed Sources	340
Bibliography	341
Index of Names	347
Index of Ships	353