

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA  
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH  
ABDERRAHMANE MIRA UNIVERSITY OF BEJAIA  
FACULTY OF ARTS AND LANGUAGES  
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH



## The Barbary War and the Apotheosis of the American Power: A Materialist View

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment  
Of the Requirements for a **Master's Degree in English Literature  
and Civilization**

**Candidates:**

Ms.Tinhinane DIB

Ms.Hidayette DJERMOUNI

**Supervisor:**

Mr. Mohamed MOUHOUBI

**Panel of Examiners:**

- **President:** Mr. Mourad MEZIANI
- **Supervisor:** Mr. Mohamed MOUHOUBI
- **Examiner :** Dr Allal BELAID

**Academic Year: 2020 / 2021**

## **Dedications**

To Our beloved ones.

## **Acknowledgments**

We would like to express our gratitude to our supervisor Mr. Mohamed MOUHOUBI; we are indebted to him for his kind support, valuable advice and encouragement, thank you for your warm words and for being patient with us.

We wish to express our thanks to our teachers and the examiners who have accepted to peruse our work despite their tight schedule.

We also thank all our dear member of our families whose advice and moral support enabled us to make it this far in our studies.

Last but not least, we thank our close friends and our group of Literature and Civilization for their help and encouragements.

## Table of Contents

<b>Dedication.....</b>	<b>II</b>
<b>Acknowledgment.....</b>	<b>III</b>
<b>Table of Contents.....</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>Abstract.....</b>	<b>VII</b>
<b>General Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Part One: The Geopolitics of the World in the Late XVIII Century and Early XIX Century</b>	
Introduction.....	08
<b>Chapter One: The Need and the Will: The French Revolution and English Mercantilism.....</b>	
1.1. French Revolution.....	08
1.2. English Mercantilism.....	12
<b>Chapter Two: The Ottoman Islamic Empire and the Mediterranean Sea Route.....</b>	
2.1. The Ottoman Empire.....	16
2.2. The Mediterranean Sea Route.....	19

<b>Chapter Three: America After its Independence: Domestic</b>	
<b>Turmoils and Foreign Projections.....</b>	<b>22</b>
3.1. Domestic Turmoils.....	22
3.2. Foreign Turmoils.....	24
<b>Part Two: The Jeffersonian Chronicle of War</b>	
Introduction.....	26
<b>Chapter One: The First American-Barbary War and its Causes.....</b>	
<b>27</b>	
1.1. The Historical Background.....	27
1.2. The First American-Barbary War (1802-1805).....	29
A. The First and Second Campaigns.....	31
B. The Third and Fourth Campaigns.....	32
1.3. The Birth of the US Navy.....	33
<b>Chapter Two: Thomas Jefferson’s Influence on the Wars.....</b>	
<b>34</b>	
2.1. The Causes of the Barbary Wars.....	36
<b>Chapter Three: The Second American-Barbary War (1815-1816): The United</b>	
<b>States’ Crisis with Algiers.....</b>	
<b>38</b>	
3.1. The Results of the Barbary Wars and the Apotheosis of the American Empire....	39
<b>Part Three: The Will to Hegemonic Power</b>	
Introduction.....	41

<b>Chapter One: The Apotheosis of Capitalist America and the Necessity of an Enemy.....</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>Chapter Two: The Historical Perusal of the Act of Peace of 1815 and the Naval Act of 1794.....</b>	<b>45</b>
2.1. The Naval Act of 1794.....	45
2.2. The Act of Peace of 1815.....	47
<b>General Conclusion.....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>Works Cited.....</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>Appendix.....</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>Résumé.....</b>	<b>62</b>

## **ABSTRACT**

The present research is an attempt to shed light on one of the important events that has impacted greatly on the American foreign policy. It stands mainly as a response to the research made by Christopher Hitchens (2007) where he advances the idea that suggests the primary claim where the young American nation of Thomas Jefferson was pushed by the idea of freedom as defined by the French Revolution to wage war abroad, namely what is known later on as the first Barbareque War. Relying on the Marxist approach to history, ie. Historical Materialism, we intend to show that the essential reason for this overseas hegemonic exercise by the United States of America is the Will to Power. Surfing on the background of the late XVIII century and the beginning of the XIX century, we apply to give a more detailed account of the event that took place in the Mediteranean Sea, emphasizing the conceptual elements of power relation. It is noted that these techniques of power has been used extensively and genuienly by the young Republic of Jefferson. This paper comes with the conclusion that this historical moment, although it is scarcely well-known in the popular knowledge, happens to be the heralding years of the American hegemony in the modern world.

**Key Words :**Barbaresque Wars, Thomas Jefferson, Enlightenment Ideas, Historical Materialism, Hegemony.

## **General Introduction**

For two millennia until the XVII century, the imperial system predominated the world, and an evolution of international regimes had been noted, first in the Middle East, then at the western and eastern ends of the Eurasian continent. For a long time, geopolitical dynamics boiled down to a confrontation between the ancient empires and the new young nations.

At this ground, the Imperial geopolitics was always based on the balance of power, military force, and the ability to manage gained territories politically. The army was considered to be a key component of imperial policy, and it is not uncommon for the military system to be substantially privatized.

From the start of the eleventh century, The Barbary Nations were the Mediterranean Sea's rules. Their piratical exercises were felt across a significant part of the Atlantic World, from the Mediterranean to and the Western African coast. Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers were the four Barbary Nations; they were a scourge of exchange and business for a considerable lot of the countries of the time. They assaulted dealer ships from any country that would not honor them. The best way to get these nations to stop was for them to collaborate. Most European countries have surrendered to this, being excessively engrossed with their own battles to appropriately push the Barbary Nations to stop this training.

Repressive policies applied on the weakest country are the primary cause of wars between countries. Persistent oppression, on the other hand, drives a country to first submit, then resist and fight back after gaining power.

The American-Barbarian wars of 1801-1816 are a significant example of the Barbary States' repressive policies against the United States. Because of the Barbary States' piratical



acts, American ships were barred from sailing in the Mediterranean Sea after their liberation. However, the United States may build a powerful fleet to conquer these states and establish maritime dominance.

Christopher Hitchens was known for never holding opinions in his works, he preferred to harpoon and harangue his readers with them, sometimes he bullied people with words and sometimes he bloodied them beautifully, his work *Thomas Jefferson Author of Americas* solicited many feedback.

Dean Poling from Valdosta Daily Times says that In this flimsy, yet definite, volume from Atlas Books/Harper Collins Eminent Lives series, Christopher Hitchens gives a contemplated representation of Thomas Jefferson, from his devotion to Virginia to his writing of the Declaration of Independence to his clashing expressions of plainly obvious certainties while claiming captives to his progressive period statecraft to the Jeffersonian propensity for asking away from public help, withdrawing from it just to return again to his resistance to, while part of, the organizations of Presidents George Washington and John Adams to his administration which, He says that Hitchens distinctly contends, characterized America and molded what it would turn into. Occurring inside Jefferson's first official term, he states that Hitchens sees the treatment of the "Barbary" pirates as setting up the United States as a global presence, the Louisiana Purchase from France as multiplying the United States' extension and guaranteeing its possible power across the mainland, and the Lewis and Clark campaign as fundamental in investigating and building up this new domain as a component of the United States. Poling continues that Hitchens likewise takes care in investigating Jefferson's loves of France, ceaseless unrest and a free bureaucratic power, weighed against his more reasonable organization of government that challenged all of his since quite a while ago held interests: As President, he would manage France, he would look to set up a more grounded country less inclined to progressive disturbance, he would go past any expressed established expert in

buying the Louisiana region. Jefferson's conspicuous logical inconsistencies have for some time been noted and Hitchens hits upon that circumstance with energy right off the bat in this book. He composes, "... It would be languid or clear to say that (Jefferson) contained logical inconsistencies or mysteries. He is convinced that Jefferson didn't encapsulate inconsistency, and that he was a logical inconsistency and this will be found at each progression of the account that goes to make up his life." Hitchens makes the means of Jefferson's life a fine walk, he ended.

On the other hand, Brian Douglas Steele says that Christopher Hitchens, whose new float from the left has caused no little uneasiness among previous friends, has utilized the article pages of the Wall Street Journal, among different venues, to retroactively lay Thomas Jefferson's blessing on the Bush Doctrine of preemptive battle for the reasons for trading democracy. He says that Presently, guaranteeing Jefferson's imprimatur is the same old thing in American history, however just a tormented thinking could find in Jefferson's Mediterranean approach to ensure American exchange against "state"- supported pirates an exact similarity for Mr. Hedge's backing of "shift in power," goes against all that he thinks about Jefferson's emphasis on acknowledgment of *de facto* systems and about his maybe less outstanding conviction that not very many individuals on earth were equipped for taking care of freedom in the manner Americans could.

Within a historical Materialist framework, this study tends to ponder on the 'materialist' reasons that urged the once young USA under the presidency of Thomas Jefferson to go to war with North African city-states. It contradicts the initial arguments that states that the reason is for the ideals or freedom and honor of commerce, as it is stipulated majorly by the main-stream American history and by the book of Christopher Hitchens *Thomas Jefferson* (2007,p-22-t).

In our research, we are going to use the theory of Historical materialism, also known as the materialist conception of history, and is a methodology used by scientific socialist and Marxist views that focuses on human societies and their development through history, arguing that history is the result of material conditions rather than ideas. We assume that it is an appropriate approach to carry out this research because it aims at discovering hidden meanings. It also allows shedding light and unfold The United State's discourse and ideas towards Tripoli, which were not obvious on the surface.

Marxist theory of historical materialism looks forward to disclose development and the history of humans following the foundation of the material conditions that emphasizes each human existence. (Acton, 2017, p: 2-4). As claimed by Marx, it is feasible to acknowledge how contrasting eras succeed one another and how the course of human history points towards a communist society in which the splitting of labor and class conflict will be suppressed, and that, by understanding how the productive occupations of human beings give rise to the detachment of labor and class quarrels. (ibid). The author observes that:

The fundamental premise in Marx's methodology is that historical, material forces, embodied in the economic structure of society (as constituted by the forces and production and the relations of production) are the foundation upon which class struggle and the movement of history rest and upon which a critical analysis must concentrate (Gils, 1987)

Historical Materialism is an embodiment of an examination that ought to be significant to every human society. On account of Marx's analysis, he has presaged that communism will eventually succeed capitalism after it collapses, and that in this communist society, there will be no place for labor division, no money, no wage labor, no state, no private property and no class distinction.

From this perspective, when it comes to international affairs and the power relations that thrive from the two geopolitical forces, Historical Materialism stands to read these relations as a constant conflict to convey power. It is worth mentioning that Materialism comes as a direct reflection to the Hegelian idealism, which claims that ideas precedes matters. In fact, Materialism sees through the political and economic environment as the sources that generate ideas. (Horkheimer, 1986, p.66)

In the recent decades, commentators and scholars have chosen to differentiate between two kinds of power, “hard” and “soft.” The former, hard power is accomplished through military threat and by means of monetary menace or praise. Soft power is to share foundational elements on one’s plan for international order and security because of the capacity to have an impact by co-opting others to share one’s values. (Gray, 2011, p: 07)

However, hard power forces its lectures to inspect their inclinations in wording predominantly of measurable expenses and advantages, the former principally, soft power works through the convincing intensity of thoughts that outsiders find appealing. The ostensible guarantee in this rationale is self-evident. Doubtlessly, it is profoundly alluring of a significant part of the world outside to American needs, or can be brought to need, a lot of what America ends up preferring moreover. Alliances of the truly willing must be tremendously better than the other options. (ibid)

Joseph Nye, an American scholar, is at the origin of the concept of soft power that he conceptualized and developed. He explains and describes the "soft power" in his book, *Soft Power the Means to Success in World Politics* (2004) that it is the ability to get you what you want by attraction instead of coercion or payment. It arises from the attractiveness of a country’s culture and political ideas (ibid). This encompasses the influences that can be

achieved without having to resort to Force. The author opposes his soft power to hard power based on military influence as these two powers can interfere with each other. (Nye, 1990: px)

Soft power is thus based on the influence of the culture, political values, and foreign policy of each claimant to influence the international scene. Soft power is, above all, generated by great powers like the United States of America or even the USSR in its time. The United States of America has a soft power that allows English to be today the dominant international language. (ibid)

Smart Power is the capacity of joining components of hard and soft power, so that they commonly build up one another to guarantee productive and successful advancement of the targets of the words, to be the proprietor. Of course, the imprudent utilization of the smartpower has made a counter-development shrewd force in the United States and abroad.

“All of these strategies to address the rise of new powers and the demands of a shifting international landscape reflect a fundamental lesson about what it takes to lead and to solve problems in today’s complex world. It is no longer enough to be strong. Great powers also have to be savvy and persuasive. The test of our leadership going forward will be our ability to mobilize disparate people and nations to work together to solve common problems and advance shared values and aspirations. To do that, we need to expand our foreign policy toolbox, integrate every asset and partner, and fundamentally change the way we do business. I call this approach smart power.” (Clinton, 2012)

After introducing the theory, it is important to mention the method that we have selected in order to achieve our research, we intend to initiate a triadic method: Thesis; that is the main stream reason that has made America willing to wage a war against North Africa and the Ottoman Empire in the name of Honor and Freedom. Antithesis; that springs from a materialist perspective; America has to thrive in power, meaning to grow in commerce and competition in the rising capitalism in the Western world. Therefore it is power and hegemony

that it seeks, not honor and freedom. In addition, synthesis which will contain the result from our comparison of the historical data.

The primary materials of this research is the book of Christopher Hitchens '*Thomas Jefferson: Author of America* (2007) that we have heralded elsewhere.

To achieve our task we have divided our work into four main parts in which we analyze and collect all the data that it needed to know for the research.

The first part shall describe the historical facts and events that were important in the western world during the XVIII and early XIX century, like the ideals of freedom that happened during the French revolution of 1789 and the mercantilist needs of the British Empire after having lost America that became USA in 1776, and how this influenced USA.

The second part speaks about the Jeffersonian chronicle of war, the first and second Barbareque wars, and the birth of the US Navy as well as the Apotheosis of the American empire. In other words, we will try to give a terse bulk of information necessary to have a clear picture of the space and time under study.

The third part is about the will to Hegemonic power, the Apotheosis of capitalist America and the necessity of an enemy. We will also see the historical materialist perusal of the Act of Peace of 1815 as well as the Naval Act of 1794.

The last part is a space where we give our analysis of the theme under study.

## **Introduction**

The word "geopolitics" first appeared around the end of the nineteenth century. Thinking worldwide was therefore formally linked to acting globally by geopolitical reason, although practical geopolitical practices began much earlier, when Europeans first saw the rest of the globe. Throughout the centuries, the world had changed a lot mainly the late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18th century. It was a period of huge political and social upheaval. From an age characterized by the Crown's tight control of the state, the century witnessed years of war, terror and bloodshed that enveloped the kingdom.

The geopolitics dynamism has always influenced the changing of a nation, a state or an empire and even the outlook in maritime Europe as well as the Mediterranean, and America. This chapter will deal mainly with the historical changes that the world had known in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century.

## **Chapter One: The Need and the Will: The French Revolution and English Mercantilism**

### **1.1 The French Revolution**

The origins of the French Revolution of 1789 dates back to antiquity; the Revolution's primary impact increased the nation's development without altering its historical path. Begun by the 'aristocracy,' as Chateaubriand noted, the Revolution appeared to be the ultimate chapter in the aristocracy's struggle against the monarchy, putting the kingdom's long history to an end.

In his political notes on the French Revolution, Thomas Paine, an American political activist remarks that:

“It was . . . against the despotic principles of the government that the nation revolted. These principles had . . . become too deeply rooted to be removed, and the Augean stable of parasites and plunderers too abominably filthy to be cleansed, by anything short of a complete and universal revolution” (Paine,1969, p. 69).

The French Revolution has consistently been perceived as one of those events that genuinely changed the world. At the point when the French individuals in 1789 toppled the monarchical framework under which they had lived for quite a long time and supplanted it with a composed constitution that reclassified their country's political system and social design, they were attempting to execute new thoughts regarding government and society, thoughts that have turned into the premise of life, in France, yet additionally in a large part of the remainder of the modern world.

July 14<sup>th</sup>, 1789, had marked the start of French Revolution in the history of Europe. This period knew deep political and social transformation that reshaped the history of Europe as well as the entire world and the revolution was mainly both an extension and an overthrow of the Ancient Regime. This means, that this revolution brought a change into the bases of life in society and the principles of politics in Europe through using the ideal of “liberté, égalité, fraternité” that stands for freedom, equality and brotherhood. All this events demonstrated to all people throughout the European continent that something extraordinary was occurring in France. (Burle, 1981, p17)

The present circumstance was deteriorating because of successive terrible harvests, hopelessness increments and rebellions followed each other therefore ,the French government, confronted a social, political and monetary emergency.However,Europe had known a change and a raise in culture and belief system before the end of the eighteenth century, also, this period had established a slight development on paper culture and publishing which pushed the scholars and craftsmen to advance ideology and human opportunity over custom and



religion. Additionally, this period saw the ascent of the working class and pieces of literature that empowered political mindfulness, albeit the American Revolution had transformed a previous English province into a free republic, France which was one of the biggest and most extravagant nations in Europe, was as yet represented by an old system of three inflexible social classes that it is purported 'estates'. Around then the top of the state was the French ruler Louis XVI who put together his position with respect to divine rights in which he privileged the first and second estates; the clergy and aristocrats, while the third domain, is essentially about the lower class in the general public that addressed the working class trader and experts just as laborers who had undeniably less force and this class addressed like 90% of the entire French populace. (Sperber, 2014)

This revolution was shaped also by the resistance of women and their participation to the movement against the ancient regime, accordingly On October 5, 1789, a large group of women from various social classes, including merchants and servants, gathered. Armed with bars, sticks, and firearms, they reunited in the pouring rain. They had assembled everyone to go from Paris to Versailles, in order to persuade the monarchs to distribute bread to the Parisians and to approve the resolutions made by the assembly on August 5 and 26. (Ibid)

There were many reasons on why the government was in a difficult situation under the rule of Louis XVI, and the quick reason for the French Revolution returns the financial emergency of 1788. For a very long time, France had defied a grouping of comparable emergencies, all coming from its deficient endeavors to take on financial strategies that Britain had utilized since 1688.

Furthermore, French people got tired of the nobles and the rich class who had the supreme power over the French State because as we said before, French society was divided into three: the bourgeoisie whom accepted badly that the nobility and the clergy retained privileges, the peasants who no longer bore the burden of the taxes and the seigniorial rights

led the lower class to revolt and be against the inequality of the organization of the system.(Sargent, 1995)

Second reason goes back to the impact of the American Revolution of 1776 that played a remarkable role over the French Revolution, for the reason that, France had helped America declare its independence in the name of freedom and became separated from England .as a result, they adopted a new constitution. In doing so, this event had a great echo over the British because it proved that one could overthrow a king and realize the impossible. Consequently, the opposition to absolute monarchy and the society of order is reinforced and the France's participation in the field of America's independence has increased the state's debt, which became the verge of bankruptcy.(Ibid)

After that France has become a powerless monarchy especially economically in 1788, she experienced a significant deficit of 162 million pounds in which the expenditure of the state was greater than the income especially due to not only high expenses of the king, the queen and the court to the pensions paid to the nobility, but also the spending on war and Marine. So in order to cope with all these difficulties and get new taxes, Louis XVI therefore decided to convene the States General on April 27, 1789. The king gathered the ministers of finances to find a solution and increase revenue. The existing system, in which the third state is the only one to pay taxes, does not seem sufficient. These ministers then wish to charge privileged orders that are the richest estate and to prepare the States general; each order completed the notebooks of grievance, which contains complaints and wishes for the Estates General gather and their requests to the King. Each order elected their representatives, the cahiers reveal common trends and grievances across all three Estates, particularly on social and political matters but there was a division on how to address taxation and voting at the Estates-General.(Hampson,2013)

Thomas Jefferson declared in one of the letters that he had sent to John Adams expressing dismay at the secrecy to which the delegates had bound:

“I am sorry they began their deliberations by so abominable a precedent as that of tying up the tongues of their members. Nothing can justify this example but the innocence of their intentions, and ignorance of the value of public discussion. I have no doubt that all their other measures will be good and wise. It is really an assembly of demigods.”(Hitchens, 2007)

Thus, it ended with the decision to convene a more powerful body, the National Assembly, initiated a process of radicalization culminating in the storming of the Bastille on July 14, 1789. On August 4, 1789, the French Revolution began with the overthrow of feudalism and the special privileges and privileges of the First and Second Estates. On September 29, 1791, the National Constituent Assembly passed a constitution, establishing France as a constitutional monarchy.

Molded and driven by energetic philosophical contrasts, brutality, and war, the insurgency proceeded until a steady state association was solidified, to some extent using military power "The Napoleonic rebellion" which denoted the consummation of the Revolution and the rebuilding of "request" and homegrown harmony through a dictator system.

## **1.2. English Mercantilism**

The British Empire was the best business and modern realm in the world during the seventeenth century, even after giving up its 13 colonies in 1783. This success was due to working on rural and producing strategies at home and abroad. The United Kingdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland likewise partook in an incredible expansion in its kin, even while sending thousands to another country. English pilgrims, general stores, and provinces showed up around the world.

The economy of the middle Ages from the twelfth to the fourteenth century had a remarkable natural character. Most people were involved in so-called subsistence farming. In another word, much of what productive farmers consumed or donated to landlords, who also consumed a large portion of it. But only a small portion left in exchange for city craftsmanship or luxury goods the city's specialists were organized into groups and organizations, which placed strict limits on the employment of wages and product expansion.

Afterwards in 1707 with the signing of the Treaty of Union, America was in a sinister economic situation, and according to Alexander Hamilton's *Report Relative to a Provision for the Support of Public Credit*, America was indeed in dept.; "54,124,464 dollars, and 56 cents" the American Politician says, and to keep their economy stable, they mainly depended on trade, especially in Europe, but "the French and the English were being pesky about trading with Americans," (Department of Treasury, 1908)

The Crowns of England and Scotland united to form Great Britain. In the early 18th century, it became one of Europe's greatest powers. First, it has experienced many changes after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and developed a new constitution. Then it boosted its economy and expanded its overseas trade and maritime strength. By the end of the Seven Years War in 1763, the British crown rested its power into the empire that it begins to build through a fleet of ships and within this empire; European colonies occupied a large area.

The Royal government could not do much without the help of the colonies. It was not only because of their past impact and development in power, but also to the shortfall of an acknowledged protected relationship that characterized the authority of the force and the privileges of the settlements.

In 1651, the navigation act made a big deal of direct trade with England so only English ships could trade directly with England. Things got dense after that which means that colonies could only import products from England. At the beginning of the 18th century, the

desire to promote shipbuilding was exploited by two English ports, Portsmouth and Devonport. Encouraged by government loans, British warships continued to grow, thanks to these funds and strong political will, these ships were modernized, and the warships were reminiscent of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The rise of the British merchant and military navy has helped to establish colonies. The British Empire was built with the arrival of the first settlers on American soil in the 17th century. It is not the king who has the initiative, but the merchants, who set up private companies. The thirteen British colonies in the America experienced rapid population growth during the 18th century: from 250,000 around 1700, the population reached 2.5 million inhabitants by 1775. This growth was linked to a significant migration and significant demography more dynamic than in Europe.

While Agriculture was a decisive approach adopted by the colonists in the 17th century, they founded a peasant society that was different in America at this time. The natural environment is responsible for the development of European food crops where tobacco will be added. The tropical cultures of sugarcane and cotton were established in the southern colonies. The creation of a plantation agriculture based on the work of black African slaves is witnessed.

The business advancement of the thirteen provinces is shocking yet stays heavily influenced by Great Britain who needs to keep up with control of all exchange. The greater part of imports come from England, Ireland or the British West Indies (Jamaica, Barbados). Fares happen in different spots relying upon the kind of items: Southern items (tobacco, cotton, and sugar) show up in the ports of England, while Northern settlements produce merchandise similar to significant urban areas, exchanging and providing migrants and captives of the English West Indies.

Britain was the world's largest trading nation. A wide variety of fabrics and hardware have been shipped by manufacturers, Wealthy London and Bristol merchants imported tropical goods and modest provincial merchants carrying Baltic logs and ammunition. Two centuries earlier, England had been the main source of wool for the economy. They exported heavy unprocessed woolen cloth to the Low Countries for further processing before selling them all over Europe. After that century, British investors and firms provided leadership in industrial transformation technology and policy changes that created a global trading world. Trades can be possible in two periods from the middle of the sixteenth century until the end of the industrial revolution. American states brought about a change. The British industrial revolution ushered in a second brief period that lasted until about 1850. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, British firms developed technological innovations than manufacturers elsewhere.

Britain took over world markets by As British firms embracing a high technology and competitiveness lowered prices. As new cotton fabrics relied on the tropical green material, new import trade grew with it. In 1846, the abolition of Corn Laws symbolized a policy change from mercantilism to free trade. Later in the nineteenth century, a new era of global trade emerged, largely driven by technology that significantly reduced travel costs, reinforced by free economic policy and population growth.

If the British Crown took possession of Canada, the thirteen American colonies would no longer need to depend on London's military protection against France, This argument was made, with considerable force, in a pamphlet by Edmund Burke on conciliation with the Colonies, the Irish Statesman says:

“If, Sir, the People of our Colonies find no check from Canada, they will extend themselves, almost, without bounds into the Inland Parts. They are invited into it by the Pleasantness, the Fertility, and the Plenty of that Country; and they will increase infinitely from all Causes. What the Consequence will be, to have a numerous, hardy,

independent People, possessed of a strong Country, communicating little or not at all with England, I leave to your own reflections. I hope we have not gone to these immense expenses, without any Idea of securing the Fruits of them to Posterity. If we have, I am sure we have acted with little Frugality, or Foresight.” (Burke, 1775)

One can remark that the French Revolution and the English Mercantilism are seen as two major elements of history that forged the American Political identity.

## **Chapter Two: The Ottoman Islamic Empire and the Mediterranean Sea Route**

After introducing the historical background and the geopolitics of the French revolution and the Britain, now we will look deeply into the Ottoman Empire, the Mediterranean Sea and America after the independence

### **2.1. The Ottoman Empire**

The narrative of the Ottoman history is a muddled and complex one, it includes the footrest administration itself as well as the many individuals who worked and administered the realm and were governed by, including the Turks, the Arabs, the Serbs, the Greek, the Armenians, the Jews and the Albanians, and numerous others. It comprises the historical backdrop of a significant strict gathering among the subjects, the Muslims, the Jews and Christians. It is worth mentioning that the clash between the West and the East is more than a religious one; it is a civilizational clash, as it has been claimed by Samuel Huntington, an American Political Scientist. (1980).

The Ottoman Empire was ruled mainly by sultans whom were living by idiosyncratic behavior and imposing their domination thanks to the force of their armies and an intolerant Islam. The Ottomans have long been accused of all kinds of extremism, but their empire has

for centuries occupied the first place among the Kingdoms of the Old World as it shared a world class with a group of other rich and powerful provinces in the sixteenth century, to their far west lay distant Elizabethan in England, Holy Roman State, Valois France, Habsburg Spain and the Dutch Republic. And its history is primarily the building of the kingdom, with its marvelous laws and regulations. Moreover, that of an original culture in literature and art that has left a lasting impression.

Born in Asia Minor in the early 14th century in the ruins of the Byzantine Empire (ruled from Constantinople) and the Seljuk Sultanate, the Ottoman Empire expanded two and a half centuries later from the gates of Vienna to Yemen, from Algeria to Iraq. In this vast domain, the sultan's authority does not suffer from competition. However, along with Sharia, Islamic law, a political system is established that seeks to preserve or adapt to the traditions of the common people.

The Ottoman world was, at its foundation, traditional, and it was ruled by and for the Ottoman dynasty, in collaboration and conflict with other groups and institutions. The middle-class Ottoman Empire has employed numerous verification measures to make sure its continuity, as has governance around the world. Forcible coercion, the protection of justice, the equal participation of potential opponents, and constant dialogue and other sources of energy were all included.

In connection with that, subsequent to encountering the light human progress, North Africa has totally declined in the wake of being hit by the Great Plague, a district lining present-day Algeria, conflicted between Morocco and Tunisia, and afterward known as Ifriqiya, dove into mayhem. Moroccan sheriffs, around 1500, had no force against the Portuguese who caught their ocean. Just as the Hafside of Tunis, in power from 1228, loses it and no longer controls its ocean or earth. Spanish Muslims started to stream after the



annihilation of the Granada Empire in 1492; for sure their appearance causes different issues, beginning with that of their digestion and they were inebriated by their sea and pioneer achievement, both the Portuguese and Spanish fantasy about holding onto Africa, realizing beyond any doubt that it is outlandish for them to accomplish impartiality against the Ottoman Turks in Eastern Europe.

The arrival of Aruj Barbarous in Tunisia, a Greek Pirate from the Ionia Sea, better known as Barbarous, marks the emergence of the Ottoman race in the 16th century. Thus, an evil struggle opposed the corsairs of the Ottoman Porte and the Spanish Habsburgs for the control of the Maghreb. Aruj was remarkably successful, He was able to stop at Djerba the triumphant march of the privateer Pedro Navarro who had taken Oran, Bougie and Tripoli, 1511 at Djerba. At the call of the Algerians, he manages to take back Algiers from the Spanish; he was proclaimed Sultan in 1515. After his death, his brother Hayrettin, succeeds him and understands that the Maghreb will not be able to resist to the Christians, even with the support of the Corsairs and that he eventually needs a great deal of power to lean on, he places himself spontaneously in the vassalage of the Sultan of Constantinople, which has just taken control of the whole of the Middle East (1518). He was immediately appointed deylerbey, provincial governor, and receives reinforcements in men and guns. Algeria enters the Ottoman Empire. (Roux, 2002, p1-3)

Accordingly, the Ottoman Diplomacy in the region wanted to either control the behavior of their self-proclaimed vassals or mediate in the struggle between this and a sultanate adjacent to Fez, in modern-day Morocco. The provinces of North Africa found an important source of revenue in the treasury that made their livings hold the shipment. However, the 1699 Karlowitz Treaty required Istanbul to vigorously protect the signature of signatories from attacks on North African corsairs.

He was thus forced to take action against his successors; Sultan Ahmet III in 1718 forced the Dey of Algiers to stop his attacks on Austrian shipments. Like mediators, the Ottomans often intervened in the conflicts between Fez and Algerians, for example, in 1699, to access to military equipment and political assistance, Moroccan sultan sent gifts to Istanbul in 1761, 1766, and 1786. In 1766, he wanted support against the French invasion but in 1783, he inquired what kind of aid he could provide in the Ottoman struggle against the Russians. At the same time, his Algerian rivals were also sending gifts to the Sultan Abdulhamit I.

As a result, the aim behind the establishment of the Regency was primarily to obtain the support and protection of Constantinople in the event of a crisis. It was also to strengthen Algiers' defense and the administration's population at the time. This period was marked by the foundation of a State, with its administration tracking the borders of East and West, the choosing of Algiers as its city, and its endowment with a Navy that controlled the Mediterranean.(Fernini, 2020).

## **2.2.The Mediterranean Sea Route**

On a global map, the Mediterranean is a thin spindle that stretches from Gibraltar to the Suez Canal and the Red Sea, whereas the United States was not yet a world economic power in the early nineteenth century, foreign commerce, mainly agricultural exports, was already vital to the American economy. The trans-Atlantic commerce to Europe was very important, even while the bulk of American traders continued to choose Western Europe as their destination (particularly Great Britain), the Mediterranean also accounted for a sizable portion of the total As well as it was vital for merchants and travelers of ancient times as it allowed them for easy trade and exchange of cultures and their beliefs. It was a sea connected to the Atlantic Ocean surrounded by the Mediterranean region and almost completely

enclosed by land: north of it is Anatolia and Europe, South of it is North Africa, and east is Levant.

Although Since the early 17th to the early 18th centuries, the Mediterranean was defined by an important phenomenon in which the African coastline between Algiers and Tunis was frequently engaged in a barbarous manner by men or ships belonging to the Spanish, Maltese, Tuscan, French, Dutch, or English. The Ottoman Empire was mainly surrounded by the Red Sea, the Black Sea and White Sea. The immense Ottoman maritime space was formed principally as a result of the land conquests of the armies of the sultans from the middle of the fourteenth century to the end of the sixteenth century. the Ottomans, by conquering Anatolia, Macedonia and peninsular Greece, made themselves masters of the shores of the Aegean Sea, but they could only seize a few islands located in the entrance to the Dardanelles, in particular Mytilene, Lemnos, Imbros and Samothrace. As a result, due to the presence of Barbary corsairs, American merchants never traveled deeper into the Mediterranean Sea. (Marzagali, 2010, p43-62)

In 1453, the Ottoman Turks held onto Constantinople, which became Istanbul while the Byzantine Empire vanished. Ottoman extension then, at that point spread to the Balkans, the close and Middle East just as to North Africa. Toward the start of the sixteenth century, Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566) overwhelmed a genuine domain from the Arabian Peninsula, where it controls Medina and Mecca, the blessed urban areas of Islam, to focal Europe. On the off chance that the Europeans figured out how to keep up with relations with the Ottomans, they anyway became reliant from them for their exchange and supplies of Asian items. Despite the fact that it was distinctly during the following sixty years (1512-1574) that the Ottoman Empire encountered a dynamite extension, which made it the extraordinary sea, force of the Mediterranean. The addition of Syria and Egypt, after the obliteration of the Mamluk Empire, guaranteed its control of the multitude of shores of the

eastern Mediterranean. In any case, it was anyway the making of a monumental conflict armada that permitted them, after the ouster of the Knights of Rhodes in 1522, to assume liability for the greater part of the islands of the Aegean Sea and to procure the maritime force which It had needed up to that point, a force built up in the western Mediterranean by the foundation of Turkish posts in the fundamental beach front towns of the Maghreb.

The classic representation of the Mediterranean during the first half of the 17th century had a particularly intense focus, which was the scene of illegal activity led by the Barbary countries, which caused significant problems for the British trade government. From the end of the 17th until the beginning of the 19th century, the majority of maritime relations within the Ottoman Empire, carried out on the initiative and for the benefit of the subjects of the Sultan, took place on board European ships. This practice, the maritime caravan, necessarily implied the mutual trust of two partners that everything, at the beginning, seemed to separate. (Abulafia, 2011)

The use of Christian ships by Muslims first appeared in the middle Ages, but its rise in the seventeenth century was greatly aided by the existence of a type of contract, though little used until then, that allowed charterers Muslims to entrust their lives and goods to Christian captains on an element, the sea, that was so uncertain. Indeed, it was wartime conditions, particularly tough in the Ottoman Empire's Mediterranean in the second half of the seventeenth century that compelled Ottoman charterers, supported by the Sublime Porte, to explore and adopt this solution in vein. The flexibility of this service provided by European ships, supported by their governments, especially of France, provided them with the possibility of maintaining this preeminence for more than a century. (Quataert, 2005)

In 1782, 1039 ships entered or exited the port of Alexandria, accounting for 71.4 percent of all ships. The Turkish have a significant numerical superiority, but this is false. It is first and foremost related to these circumstances: the insecurity caused by the American War

of Independence, which restricted the movements of European ships, mainly French ships. The war ended in 1783, followed by a massive decrease in Ottoman ships in 1785, which fell to 618, and a significant increase in Europeans, which fell to 597, or three hundred more almost it equality.

## **Chapter Three: America after its Independence: Domestic Turmoils and Foreign Projections**

For almost two centuries, historians have disputed the "meaning" of the American Revolution. Some see it as a conservative attempt by planters to grab power and control the growth of a society already divided into slaves and free men, whites and non-whites, landed and landless people (Lockridge, 1793). For others, it symbolizes a major shift away from a hierarchical, monarchical past toward a republic. This chapter will describe roughly the American constitution and the history of America after independence and it follows the changes and domestic affairs, politically and socially.

### **3.1. Domestic Turmoils**

“The only course left was rebellion, a rebellion which begun...not so much against the British constitution as on behalf of it”. (Heale, 1997, p.34)

July 4, 1776 in Philadelphia, The Continental Congress reunited the delegates from the thirteen Britishcolonies who were in revolt against their metropolis. “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness...” declared Thomas Jefferson. Beginningof that second the Revolutionary War started, in the entirety of America, from Boston to Buenos Aires, It was the principal effective provincial defiance on the planet, and it turned into a motivation for different settlements.

This section traces the formation of colonial elite in the thirteen colonies, the outbreak of war, and it marked the birth of a constitution, and the shifting fortunes of the colonists on the battlefield of the American Revolution and its importance in the history of the Atlantic world. The period following the Revolutionary War was one of instability and change. The end of monarchical rule, evolving governmental structures, religious fragmentation, challenges to the family system, economic flux, and massive population shifts all led to heightened insecurity. (Ibid)

From that point forward, USA had joined politically under the Articles of Confederation of 1777. The 1787 constitution was enlivened by the desire to construct an ideal association; the ranchers' essential point was to reinforce the public government. The constitution was composed to fill in the holes in the articles of confederation; it comes full circle on March 4, 1789. Motivated by the way of thinking of Thomas Paine and John Locke, constitution fills in as the preeminent sanction for resident safeguard and sets up the standards for power structure. It comprises of seven articles that were embraced in 1878 and endorsed by nine of the thirteen previous English settlements in 1789. The initial ten corrections are known as the Bill of Rights.

Socially, the new emphasis on individual rights changed relationships and roles, Many British traditions were abandoned. The distinction of "gentleman" was disappearing and all the men were treated equally. However, The Constitution provided for the direct election of the House of Representatives, but the state governments specified who could vote. Most states restricted suffrage to free male property owners. The Constitution counted each enslaved African American as 3/5 of a person for purposes of representation and taxation, and slavery remained legal.

### **3.2. Foreign turmoil**

President George Washington had a huge desire for a time when his nation would « possess the strength of a Giant and there will be none who can make us afraid » before leaving his office. Two hundred years and more later, at the start of the 21st century, we can see that the United States had achieved this position of world power that Washington had never imagined.

Once independent, the United States tried to regain the trade it had enjoyed within the British Empire, and much more besides. Each of the United States tried to regulate its overseas trade, men of vision understood that the United States must have a uniform system to regulate foreign trade. This, along with needing a national government for defending borders and enforcing treaties, therefore, the United States for purposes of defense and commercial relations with the rest of the world, would be one nation, with a single set of rules for foreign trade and navigation. This proved to be so successful that for many years the federal government mostly operated on income from taxes on imported merchandise; the Constitution does not permit taxing export.(McKeever,Davies,2014 p15- 23)

From the beginning, foreign policy has been important to the national experience. Issues about international trade and foreign threats influenced the government structure established by the Constitutional Convention in 1787, which was crucial to the creation of the United States as an independent nation. The political culture of the new nation was formed by foreign policy. It was vital in ensuring the democratic experiment of the young republic as well as the ending of the Civil War. In the United States' second century and beyond, has become even more critical to the country's economy and security second century and beyond.

The health of early American economy was dependent upon international commerce, American imports increased greatly in value in the years following independence, especially the income generated by US shipping, which carried goods across the Pacific and the Atlantic Ocean.(LaFeber, 1989.p; 41-2).

To conclude this part, it is important to say that the late XVIII century and the beginning of the XIX century saw the redistribution of the Political Power in the world. While America gained experience as a young republic and trying to free herself economically and politically from England, the Ottoman Empire was in disarray and in shambles as the European nationalism strengthens.



## **Introduction**

From the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, numerous naval battles took place in the Mediterranean Sea between European, American, and North African nations. Each of these powers seek to overcome their resistance in order to defend its interests, which differ in terms of the key resources that can enrich the country's treasury in order to grow the country and construct a strong navy while remaining superior to other countries.

During the seventeenth century, the North African Barbary States dominated the Mediterranean Sea over European kingdoms. First and importantly, they have attacked their ships, which were believed to be a key source of money. Then, even after major confrontations and disagreements with some of these European countries in the eighteenth century, they gradually maintained control of the Mediterranean Sea and continued to attack foreign ships, including those from the Americas.

To maintain their dominance over the Mediterranean Sea during the 1770s and the 1790s, the Barbary States required the United States to pay money to defend their ships in the waters since they lacked the necessary power. Thus, the United States submitted to the humiliating instructions of the Barbary States in order to strengthen their position globally and to demonstrate their superiority over North African corsairs; the United States decided to defend themselves.

Subsequently, from 1801 until 1816, the United States engaged in two continuous wars in an effort to restrict the Barbary States' incomparability in the Mediterranean Sea. In order to provide further clarification about these two conflicts, the first chapter of our work is intended to show the elements and factors that drove the United States to enter the first war with the Barbary States, as well as the majority of the significant events that occurred during

that war from 1801 to 1805. The second part will concentrate on the second Barbary war, which raged from 1815 to 1816, and the apotheosis of American power.

## **Chapter One: The First American Barbary War and its Causes**

The first Barbary war that happened between the years 1801 and 1805 is considered to be the first case of transatlantic American military intervention as it played an important role in changing the American history throughout time and this by taking into consideration the multiple factors such economic, political, military causes that led to the outbreak of the first American Barbary war.

### **1.1. The historical background**

After independence, American ships and merchants benefited from all of the British international strategies that were set in place, including the advantages gained by certain nations, primarily the Barbary States, through their variety of goods and their experience in commerce, in which the American merchants developed markets on the North African shores after their arrival. (Maameri, 2008 p.166-161). The American merchants benefited too much from the British policy which means it had freed them from tributes and kept them safe from Barbary Corsairs and without British royal instructions, they could mainly build up many commercial ships to trade worldwide. (Nettels.1652, p.105-114).

When Britain, with its missionaries, left the war with France in 1754, and immediately after the victory over the French, Britain imposed excessive taxes on the colonies (Paul, 1971, p.301), the Americans elected to resist the colonists and establish their own republic. On July 4, 1776, Britain prepared "the Declaration of Independence," which said that the thirteen colonies would no longer be free of British authority. (O'Callaghan, 2004,

p27-35). The Treaty of Paris also recognized the United States as a free country with a free government who could deal with its own issues and dispose of the reliance and the relations with the regal arrangement of the British King by losing the British privileges and their protection; they are now facing the danger of the Barbary States. (Freewalt, 1998, p10).

As the United States' economy grew pitiful and sick following the Revolutionary War, it was necessary for the country and its merchants to plan new commercial actions by searching for European and Eastern business sectors where they could trade or sell their shipments. (Farber, 2018, pp. 4-5) , and to make sure their safe passage, the United States displayed counterfeited British passports, but the British discovered their illegal action, provoking Sir John Temple, the British Consul General, to send out letters to the American Secretary of Foreign Affairs, John Jay, blaming him for that unethical behavior.(Mammeri,p.171-173).

Following that, the Barbary Corsairs became aware of the issue of counterfeiting and began to distinguish between American and British ships. (Farber, 2014, p; 187-217). As a result, the United States attempted to establish good relations with these countries in exchange for free transit, and they eventually signed peace and legal treaties with them, even though they had many problems, otherwise they would face a succession of wars that they could not win. (DeMar,2009,p ;23).In reality, the United States was one of the apparent targets for the Barbary States, and the troubles with the Barbary States grew from 1779 to 1800. As a result, she entered the phase of pressure for tremendous scope with the Barbary States, which would ultimately lead to wars (Kitzen, 1996, p; 601-604).

## 1.2. The first American Barbary War (1802\_1805)

*“From the Halls of Montezuma To the shores of Tripoli, We fight our country's battle in the  
air, on land, and sea”*

These lines are from the Marines' Hymn commemorate the First Barbary War, when American forces clashed with pirates, a war of which most Americans today are unaware.

During the late eighteenth century, maritime piracy was not a recent phenomenon especially in the Barbary stretches that were some twenty-two hundred miles along the coast of northern Africa. Originated from Morocco, the Barbary pirates known as corsairs attacked northern Africa and took over countries such as Tunis, Algiers, Tripoli and Libya, they captured certain boats and threatened vendor ships with robbery of cargoes and subjugation of their mariners for goods and enslave men, women and children on the captured ships. The pirates would sell the kidnapped ones and force them to work hard, including torture. (Panzac, 2005)

The First Barbary War was battled between the North-African Barbary State of Tripoli and the United States. The conflict broke out in light of the fact that American exchange vessels had gone under rehashed assaults from corsairs working inside the Regency of Tripoli, (Windler, and 2001.p.12) in fact; Algiers had been the primary problem in North Africa during the time as minister, though the 1790s saw, Tripoli and Morocco come to the fore as well. The situation was becoming so dire that Washington told Congress:

“So many circumstances unite in rendering the present state of [our captives] distressful to us that you will not think any deliberations misemployed which may lead to [their] relief and protection”. (Washington's Second Annual Message, in James D. Richardson, ed, A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 20 vols. (New York: Bureau of National Literature, Inc., 1897) I:)

In fact, the United States did respond to those attacks only when the Barbary State of Tripoli once again demanded a raise in tribute in 1801, The United States promptly refused the demand, which caused outrage and a swift declaration of war by Tripoli.

Following the election of Thomas Jefferson, Republicans in Congress did not give naval force enough monetary support, which left the navy with little power to get to war with the Barbary States. Nevertheless, Thomas Jefferson had another plan for sending the navy; he could finance it from the State's Treasury (King, p; 22). Jefferson was fundamentally against paying the Barbary States for the safe return of American hostages, in fact, when he was Secretary of State, he addressed George Washington and and quandary over the Barbary pirates, with dispatches entitled *Prisoners in Algiers and Mediterranean Trade* in which the reports tell the numbers of Americans captured and the price that the Barbary Bashaws demand for their release. As it also explained the ways to address this situation: either “obtain peace by purchasing it”, or “repel Force by Force”. Jefferson was also “determined to use the navy to force the Barbary powers to respect the American flag” (Daughan, 2011, p; 353). Indeed shortly, after he became president, he dispatched the American fleet to the Mediterranean and waged war on the Barbary States of Tripoli. As a result, Congress gave him the authority to declare war, and this were the consequences that came after the letter sent by him to Yusuf Qaramanli.

The letter entitled “*from Thomas Jefferson to Yusuf Qaramanli, Pacha and Dey of Tripoli*” written in may,21th, 1801, delivered by Captain Richard Dale the secretary of the navy who was charged to take it to Algiers. Jefferson addresses Yusuf Qaramanli, Pasha of Tripoli In order to avert conflict and to negotiate a treaty of peace and commerce with him; he emphasized “our sincere desire to cultivate peace & commerce with your subjects.” He also mentioned that he would send a squadron of observation into the Mediterranean Sea: “whose appearance [we hope] will give umbrage to no power.” The squadron’s purpose, the letter

explained, was to exercise our seamen and to “superintend the safety of our commerce... [Which] we mean to rest...on the resources of our own strength & bravery in every sea.”In addition, this was in order to remind him of the previous peace deal of 1796. Meanwhile, Secretary Madison wrote American consuls in the Mediterranean that the President, convinced “of the hostile purposes of the pasha of Tripoli” was sending a naval squadron to protect our commerce in the Mediterranean and to respond appropriately to any powers who declared war on the United States.

### **A. The first and second Campaigns:**

The first campaigns were sent in 1801 by the Captain Richard Dale that was appointed by the secretary of navy for the first squadron, Despite the filer of Jefferson’s mission to compromise with the Barbaric States, Richard had also a contingency plan in case he would embark on a war with Tripoli. Additionally on May 14<sup>th</sup>, the Pasha decided to wage war on American ships and that despite the insistence of the American consul on him to not violate the treaty of 1796. But back to Tripoli, Richard was successful in forcing the Pasha to rely on the American captives by capturing a Greek ship carrying merchandise and Tripolitan corsairs, but days later, the Enterprise, which was sent to protect American commerce in the Mediterranean, got into conflict with Tripolitania corsairs, causing damage to the warship, so Sterrett attacked them. The battle killed half of the corsairs, but the Americans Congress replaced him with Richard Valentine Morris. (Frost.1849.p.29-30)

## **B. The third and fourth Campaigns**

A third expedition would be sent off the coast of Tripoli from 1803 to 1805. In other words, commodore Edward Preble would be commanding this time after Morris' displeasure. Preble's campaign got off to a bad start after one of his two biggest warships, the USS Philadelphia (a 36-gun frigate), became stuck on a rock while searching for Tripolitanboats approaching the port. As a consequence, the group was unable to leave the boat; furthermore, the Tripolitans instantly took advantage of the opportunity to deliver a crushing defeat; as a result, the entire 307-man group was captured by the corsairs and the boat was guided into Tripoli's harbor.(Murphy,2013,p34-36.)

As a result, Preble determined that the Tripolitans were unable to capture the USS Philadelphia. In a risky move, he authorized a plan to get into Tripoli's harbor at night with small naval forces to attack the Philadelphia, which was led by the goal-oriented young skipper Stephen Decatur, as well as the mission was victorious. Nevertheless, word soon traveled about this courageous action, providing the United States in much security support. Despite of all of this, the Tripoli maritime bar and a few strong attacks on the city's defenses did not convince the Pasha of Tripoli to free his American captives.(ibid).

While concerning the fourth campaigns, President Thomas Jefferson decided to send more support for the squadron during the fourth war. When Commodore Samuel Barron arrived, he was elected to replace Commodore Edward Preble, who was in poor health and too troubled by his inability to force the Pasha to carry out his duties. By Samuel Barron's orders which differed from those of his predecessors. The Tripolitan dynastic conflict between the true Throne successor, Hamet and the current Pasha, Yusuf, was to be used. After meeting and persuading Hamet, an Arab force was created that could establish the attack of Tripoli overland. Barron sent William Eaton to Egypt for the execution of the plan taking with him

many soldiers. In the Tripolitan port of Derna on March, 8th 1805, Eaton's forces left Alexandria to pass over the vast desert. The city was protected by the Tripolitans and captured with relative ease without anticipating an invasion of country. Thus the Preble judged that the USS Philadelphia boat was too big for the Tripolites to capture, so he approved a trip into the port of Tripoli with small warships in the night and destroyed Philadelphia, which was led by the captain Stephen Decatur. News of this gutsy act rapidly spread, which thus gave a vital support for the United States as a country. However, William Eaton was upset by the arrangement because he considered that his strength could easily march on Tripoli and that the U.S. broke Hemet's promise. His services were never officially compensated and the conflict did end with the formation of the current Libyan state and the collapse of the British Empire. (Richard, 2016).

### **1.3 The birth of the USA Navy**

The naval force was the basis of the United States' major military policy, which marked the birth of the United States navy. The American Continental Navy was established by the First Continental Congress in 1775 as a necessary maritime force for the country. In reality, the American naval force was a mix of merchants and seamen who utilized their ships and tools to destroy the British naval supremacy in American waterways. The Naval Act of 1794 resulted in another attempt to develop the American naval force. As a result, the act was passed in response to Barbary State attacks on American merchants in the Mediterranean Sea. Consequently, six frigates came into service in May and October 1797. In addition, by that time the United States had already sent a small naval squadron to Tripoli led by Richard Dale. The squadron was tasked with the enactment of a naval blockade as to prevent corsairs from leaving the city (Kilmeade, Yaeger.2017).



Despite some initial success, the first squadron lacked the men-of-war necessary to man oeuvre the shallow coastlines of Tripoli, and the naval blockade was thus ineffective at completely trapping the corsairs. In *“The Wars of the Barbary Pirates, To the Shores of Tripoli: The Rise of the US Navy and Marines”* Gregory Fremont-Barnes argues that it were not the Barbary Wars that initially motivated the U.S. to create a standing navy with its own governmental department, but that tensions with revolutionary France at the very end of the eighteenth century were the catalyst. However, after hostilities with France ceased the Adams administration once again decided that a standing navy was no necessity and sold seventeen warships. It was only after Tripoli declared war on the United States that the newly initiated Jefferson administration halted the budget cuts and once again pursued the policy of constructing a stronger navy. (Fremont-Barnes, 2006, p27-29).

## **Chapter Two: Thomas Jefferson’s influence on the wars**

Thomas Jefferson, the son of a rich planter in Virginia's native nobility, was the first African American president in the 17th century, accepting the position of Secretary of the United States in 1790. He was noted for his harsh stance toward Algiers, which finally led to the Algerian state-taking hostages in several American countries. Although the issue of barbarism is now more than just negotiating commercial deals and dealing with pirates, the Articles of Confederation have been replaced. George Washington, the country's first president, similarly argued that appeasing the Barbary States was dishonorable and dangerous. He denounced the fact that the United States paid more tribute to the corsairs than the European nations. Accordingly, this would inspire them to place a higher importance on capturing American prisoners in particular, resulting in further raids against American ships... (F. Turner, 2010 p: 157-171).

Thomas Jefferson as previously mentioned was against paying tribute to the Barbary Corsairs, when he was a Minister Plenipotentiary for Negotiating Treaties of Amity and Commerce, he wrote a letter to John Adams who was a president at that time on 11 July 1786 in order to give and introduce the reasons on why he believes war is the best plan to conduct towards the Barbary States, he says “I acknowledge I very early thought it would be best to effect a peace thro’ the medium of war.” The two men had different opinions on how to deal with the Barbary States; John Adams believed that paying tribute to them was the best option for the economy, while Jefferson believed that fighting would be more logical and that using force would help America on the long run. In his book *Thomas Jefferson Author of America*, Christopher Hitchens views that Jefferson’s opinion of Adams began to decline from the point where Adams argued, “From these premises I conclude that it to be wisest for us to negotiate and pay the necessary sum without loss of time.” As for the piratical Islamic powers, «We ought not to fight them at all unless we determine to fight them forever.”

Accordingly, this letter attempts to show Jefferson's approach toward the Barbary pirates. He was certain that many other nations would join them if they declared war, he states in some lines ‘Naples will join us... Every principle reason tells us Portugal will join us’. He appeared to be determined to protect American trade abroad and to uphold his country's prestige. He desired to preserve access to international markets that would promote American economic interests. He was especially concerned about the protection of American integrity and the perception of the new republic among European countries. Though some of his predecessors were using the term "slavery" to describe the captivity of American sailors, Jefferson did not. His position as a slave owner may well have restricted him from using the term "slave," as linking African slavery to white captivity could have caused tensions.

In fact, there is a study of Jefferson and his perspective on war is Reginald Stuart’s *The Halfway Pacifist*. Stuart says, “Jefferson did not put his views on war in a systematic

manner” and “to structure Jefferson’s thought too rigorously would do violence to its eclectic and encyclopedic nature”. Stuart argues, “Jefferson’s thought on war developed as he witnessed and participated in the conflicts of his time, and his attitudes varied with circumstances and his own position” (Stuart, 1973).

### **1.3.The Causes of the Barbary wars**

After having introduced the essentials needed to know in the previous background, it is now necessary to mention the different factors that led to the American-Barbary wars among them political, economic and military factors.

Many issues led to America's challenges in securing her commercial ships from North African pirates in the Mediterranean Sea. Therefore, in this chapter, we will look at the military and economic causes, followed by the moral convictions of the United States.

The moral convictions of the United States were considered to be the most important reasons for the commencement of the war. In response to the Barbary States' exploitation of hostages, calls to war in the name of liberty were produced. The US government was the first to collect funds for the release of these captives, followed by the private industry. So As a result, the United States' core principles played a significant role in the outbreak of the Barbary Wars.

While free commercial access to the Mediterranean was the primary reason for the United States' decision to go to war, the causes of political independence and the release of Americans contributed in legitimizing the decisions. The cause of liberty was especially important to Americans, who established plenty of private projects to support in their fellow countrymen' release. Nevertheless, as demonstrated by letters from Thomas Jefferson and the US government, it was not the primary cause of the wars.

Now the military reasons; it was no coincidence that the Barbary States were among the first political formations to encounter the "energy" that Jefferson had mentioned. They were a safe choice to declare war on as a young nation with a small navy like the United States. If Americans had free access to the Mediterranean, they could take advantage of a major market with many different established economic relationships. (Monsieur's, p43)

The Barbary States were far weaker militarily than the European states, who therefore posed even dangers to US commerce. As a new nation with a small navy like the United States, they were thus a safe bet to declare war against. Second, in terms of economic importance, the Mediterranean was an important territory for the United States. Americans might exploit a large market with many different established economic relations if they had free access to the Mediterranean. (Garrity, 2007.)

Although concerning the domestic economic factors, the U.S. economy had initially boomed after the Treaty of Paris had been signed, this soon ended in the year 1785 during The 'panic of 1785', it was the first economic crisis that the independent United States went through. Certain parts of the American economy were hit harder than others. The agricultural sector, whaling industry and shipbuilding industries were most harshly affected by the financial crisis in 1785. (Ibid)

Due to a lack of financial resources, American merchants were unable to obtain French products in other markets. Furthermore, the French continued to use high tariffs (Mercantilism) to protect their own economy, limiting American merchants' access to French products. Following that, the economy of the United States declined and faced many crises in the late 18th century because of destroyed local production and the collapse of pre-revolutionary trade. In the late eighteenth century, the outbreak of the Quasi-war against revolutionary France

in 1798 emphasized these factors. The depression of 1802–1804 was often caused by a pause in the French revolutionary war following the Treaty of Amiens. (Kola, 1972, p261).

Another indirect reason on why the United States declared war on the Barbary States is the letters written by a native of Algiers called Mehmet on the affairs of the United States of America, from the close of the year of 1783 to Algiers in order to spy on the enemy, Peter Markoe's *The Algerine Spy in Pennsylvania* is an important early American satire, reprinted with a useful introduction by Timothy Marr. It gives an « outcast's » point of view on the America of 1787, the message is a preview of a vital crossroads in American history, distributed during the sacred show however before the subtleties of the new legislative plan were uncovered.

### **Chapter Three: The Second American- Barbary War 1815- 1816: The United States' Crises with Algiers**

During the war of Tripoli somewhere in the range of 1801 and 1805, the quantity of corsairs diminished in the Mediterranean Sea because of the American maritime powers. Nonetheless, the piracy movement soon got back on track when the United States started to pull out a portion of its warships which prompted the American merchant boats to experience provocations from other Barbary states particularly Algiers.

Algiers began to be an inconvenience for the United States when the former captured the brig *Friendship* on December seventh, 1805 because it didn't have a substantial visa; however the brig was delivered later. Another endeavor for the Algerian corsairs was on May 30<sup>th</sup> 1806 when they assaulted an American trader transport and took all its important properties. (Wilson; 286-289)

Considering the arrangements that were taken care of in the treaty of 1795 which expressed that the United States needed to pay \$21,600 yearly, Algeria requested that America

pay late charges for two earlier years.(Woodward,2004) Unexpectedly, the United States assumed that they couldn't acknowledge Algiers' interest which ultimately drove the DeyAchmet to order capturing any American boat in the Mediterranean Sea in November 1807.(Wilson ;290) As a result, Algiers' corsairs held onto some American ships in the *Eagle*, the *Violet*, the *Edwin*, *Sally* and the *Mary Ann* notwithstanding their freights and chiefs.( Wheelan,p ;288.& Wilson, p; 294-297)The DeyAchmet has chosen to deliver the hostages when the United States paid late charges or else he would announce war. (Paine, p; 6)

The United States were sending money and gifs to Algiers on July17<sup>th</sup>, 1812. The DeyHadji Ali stated that the supplies were lesser than what they owed to Algiers. (Wilson, p; 295) By April 7th, 1815, Omar was delegated Dey of Algiers after the death of DeyHadji and on a similar date, the United States' conflict with Britain ended.(Maameri,p :366) Few weeks after the fact, the new Dey requested to capture new American boats which raged President James Madison who reached for Congress' endorsement to proclaim war on Algiers. On May 2, Congress conceded to the President's proposal. (Wheelan, p; 269).

President Madison looked to send two campaigns at once to Algiers, whichwas under the order of Stephen Decatur and William Bainbridge. (Null, 2018, p; 72)

### **3.1The Results of the Barbary Wars and the Apotheosis of the American Empire**

While the Barbary Wars are often seen as small insignificant conflicts, they did have a lasting impact on the further development of the United States. More specifically, the wars altered the way in which Americans viewed their place on the international stage. The wars thus, had a lasting impact on American values and the U.S foreign policy.

As the relations between the United States and the Barbary States changed, the corsairs did not dare to harass the American vessels in the Mediterranean Sea or capture their merchants to enslave them, neither they dared asking for tributes. Even if America lost many lives, yet she imposed her supremacy not only over the Barbary States, but also in the European world, and that, thanks to the increasing of its naval force, which they used to accomplish diplomatic goals but also established abstract concepts and smaller traditions. (Larbi, 2019)

In fact, the United States realized through their experience with Britain that the best way to achieve supremacy is through direct power. Thus, they used force to overwhelm their enemies and impose themselves as a rising empire. This is an example of how America and Thomas Jefferson employed the concept of hard power on the North African world. (ibid)

During the start of the 20th century, the United States had changed its foreign policy and moved away from the relative noninterventionist that directed the early American republic before the Civil War. The United States turned into a majestic worldwide power directed by its ideals to propel democracy all throughout the globe.

However, the United States changed from being a model for the world to effectively interceding to advance democracy even through war.

A straight fact is that under the presidency of Thomas Jefferson, the United States had believed in the policy of survival through war. In addition, that opened many doors to the United States and the view of the world on them.

## **Introduction**

“We use the term 'Hegemony' to mean more than the domination of a single world power. Hegemony means domination of a particular type where the dominant state creates an order largely based on consensus” Cox, 1987, p. 7).

Historically, the term Hegemony signifies “leadership” or “sovereign ruler.” The term expanded to include the military, economic, and political dominance of one nation state over another, in relation with that, the world of the great powers changed radically between 1775, when the War of American Independence broke out. (Herrmann, 2017, p1-6).

According to Thucydides, an incredible or hegemonic conflict, similar to an illness, takes an unmistakable and rehashing road. The principal stage is set apart by a protected and stable worldwide framework with a progressive requesting of states with a prevailing or domineering force. After some time, the authority of one subordinate state grows lopsidedly; when this occurs, it comes into a conflict with the hegemonic state. The fight for power among these adversaries, just as their developing arrangements, prompts the system becoming bipolar. In game hypothesis terms, the system turns into a lose-lose circumstance in which one side's benefit should fundamentally be the opposite side's misfortune. As the administration turns out to be more unsound, it turns out to be more unsteady, and somewhat occurrence can cause an emergency and a major struggle; the result of that contention will characterize the new hegemony and the force chain of command in the system. (Giplin, 1988,)

Hegemony as defined by the realists is firstly defined in terms of overwhelming power, and secondly, of the ability to use this power to dominate the others. Firmly associated with the possibility that hegemony involves the grouping of material capacities in a single state is the connected thought that this prevalent state can rule the entirety of the subordinate



states, says Brian Schmidt. Robert Gilpin believes that hegemony is a specific construction that has intermittently marked the global system, for him, a hegemonic structure exists when “a single powerful state controls or dominates the lesser states in the system” (ibid) This is similar to the view put forth by John Mearsheimer who defines a hegemon as a “state that is so powerful that it dominates the lesser states in the system” (Mearsheimer, 2001, p40).

Moreover, as per liberal originations of hegemonic steadiness hypothesis, US power is not utilized to control others, yet rather to give the authority that is vital for an open, liberal global order to exist. This is the essence of Ikenberry's account of how the United States after World War Two assembled and kept a liberal authoritative control that delivered harmony and peace for the world. As indicated by Ikenberry, the United States did not utilize its prevalent force after World War Two to rule the world and make an empire. Instead, it was used to build up the establishments of a liberal worldwide order. (Ikenberry, 2000)

## **Chapter One: The Apotheosis of Capitalist America and the Necessity of an Enemy**

American self-identity is established not on an old normal past, but rather on a bunch of political beliefs: the ideology of individual rights and popular government. This is a powerless establishment for unification in a landmass measured nation populated by clustered masses from everywhere the world. The presence of the other might be important to fortify the American character and support a sensation of political excellence. In light of the level of outside risk, American history moves to and from between seasons of hazard and times of wellbeing. During risk times, the rival is an engrossing thought. Unfamiliar and homegrown undertakings are assessed through the viewpoint of contest. Danger periods develop the hole between the American in-bunch and the adversary out-bunches. There is to

be sure a solid feeling of public character inside the line, which prompts the meaning of unfamiliar adversary that makes a sensation of public personality.

America always sought external threats to reinforce the sense of a national identity, “a group of people united by a mistaken view about the past and a hatred of their neighbors.” That is how Harvard Political theorist Karl Deutsch described a nation. Additionally, according to the political scientist Clinton Rossiter:

“There is nothing like an enemy, or simply a neighbor seen as unpleasantly different in political values and social arrangements, to speed a nation along the course of self-identification or put it back on course whenever it strays.”

Foreign threats roused the push for a solid focal authority, which led to the production of the U.S. Constitution in 1787 after the achievement of independence. Spain shut the Mississippi to American route, and Britain held furnished posts along the Great Lakes in violation of the ceasefire of 1783. Pirates compromised American delivery and Native Americans assaulted pioneers in the Northwest. In Federalist No. 4, Jay composed that autonomous colonies would not be able to make armed forces and armadas, though an "Association" could "apply the resources and power of the whole, to defense." The time of threat additionally created a crackdown on the common liberties of distinguished adversaries at home. In 1798, dread of France prompted the Alien and Sedition Acts, which permitted the extradition of noncitizens who came from hostile countries, and disallowed the distribution of malicious assaults on the president or Congress. After that, the era of danger offered way to a period of wellbeing during the early many years of the nineteenth century, The United States accomplished a place of strategic immunity, secured by huge seas, and fortified by a quickly developing populace and economy. In his 1838 Lyceum Address, Abraham Lincoln remarked that:

*“All the armies of Europe, Asia and Africa combined, with all the treasure of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest; with*

*a Buonaparte for a commander, could not by force, take a drink from the Ohio, or make a track on the Blue Ridge, in a trial of a thousand years."*

Americans unite behind the president and place more faith in government institutions. Social solidarity grows, cultural, political, and economic divides may reduce among people who are fighting for the same goal. Within the in-group boundary, there may be new chances for social progress for minorities. Meanwhile, wars that occur at times of danger are America's titanic wars, which are generally well for the people.

Nevertheless, it was precisely the lack of an enemy that exposed sectarianism and opened the way for civil war. Lincoln said in the same address, "If devastation is our lot, we must be its creator and finisher." Without a foreign threat to keep them awake at night, Americans focused on domestic schisms, particularly over slavery. (Tierney, 2016, p53-60)

As James Chace and Caleb Carr have observed in *America Invulnerable*, 'for over two centuries the aspiration toward an eventual condition of absolute security has been viewed as central to an effective [U.S.] foreign policy'. The American international strategy foundation keeps on accepting that its vision of a perfectible global order should be changed into the real world if the United States is to be protected and prosperous. For almost 250 years, liberal internationalists have anticipated that 'the end of international politics' achieved by deregulation, relationship, and the spread of vote based system, was not far off. Today, the American foreign policy accepts that the objectives of the prevalence procedure are finally reachable. That view addresses the apotheosis of American superiority since it sets that, in contrast to history is other great forces, the United States cannot endure any vulnerability, shakiness, or risk in the worldwide climate. Overall, America should shape a world request that rises above the unavoidable examples of world legislative issues: war, instability, great

force security and financial contentions, multipolarity, and the development of power balances. (Chase/Carr, 1988)

On the other hand, realists are certain that the United States can and should act as a common great power. They disagree with Clinton when he says that the United States cannot be "simply...another great power." Rather, they believe that America should regard Walter Lippmann's calming directive: 'In the real world we shall have to learn to live as a great power which defends itself and makes its way among other great powers'.

## **Chapter Two: The Historical Materialist Perusal of the act of Peace of 1815 And the Naval act of 1794**

This second chapter will treat the Act of Peace of 1812 as well as the Naval Act, and help understand the outcome they had and the role they played in the American Hegemony.

### **2.1. The Naval Act of 1794**

"The policy of exhibiting a naval force on the coast of Barbary has long been urged yourself and the other consul B." Madison to Eaton, May, 20th 1801.(Marshall, 1958, p112).

The "Act to Establish a Naval Armament" was passed by the House of Representatives and the Senate in March, 27th of 1794. It had nine brief areas which one, endorsed six boats, second, third and fourth set the numbers, grades, and examinations of officials and men, fifth gave the President his choice of buying or building the boats, sixth, seventh, eighth spread out the nuances of pay and allots, and ninth obliged the suspension of the Act upon the arrangement of congruity with Algiers. The preamble said the Act was to

shield trade from the Barbary powers."(Marshall, 1954, p11).It likewise nitty gritty the quantity of American boats lost to Algerian privateers. The following year, President George Washington mentioned that Congress embraces laws approving the formation of a maritime power to ensure American business ships against North African privateers. Congress established An Act to Provide for a Naval Armament in March 1794, permitting the structure of a six-transport armada. Because of this enactment, the United States Navy was set up. Shockingly, the demonstration didn't set up a maritime office, rather sending the naval force's boats to the secretary of war.

Moreover, the Act did not necessitate the establishment of a permanent fleet. It only authorized the creation of a fleet to be used against Algiers and said that if the war could be ended peacefully, the navy would be destroyed. The building of American ships would end. Clearly, Congress was not convinced that a standing fleet was required for the peace and security of the new nation. This is what we regard as a form of a hard power.

The Naval Act of 1794 was important for an overall reinforcing of the American state, a fortifying embraced with hesitance. The additions to the Army, the acquisitions of arms, and the erection of harbor batteries were each a continuation of development of a current practice or foundation. The making of the Navy was a sudden difference in strategy. At the suspension of the Second Congress one couldn't have anticipated that the Congress would "give and keep" a normal naval force just 371 days after the fact. The Congress had been oceanic leaning however had been content to depend on a maritime potential as a hindrance to unfamiliar forces. American boats had been seized by privateers before 1793; however there was no fervor until new seizures compromised the generally brilliant possibility of enormous wartime benefit. (Marshall, 1954, p13)

## 2.2. The Act of Peace of 1815

The subsequent Treaty of Peace of 1815 got the arrival of every single American hostage and set up relations of harmony minus any additional installment of accolade. Dey Omar's endeavors to avoid it required another demonstration of maritime power under Commodore Isaac Chauncey and determination of a corroborative Treaty of Peace and Amity in 1816. On this event, Omar was reluctant to the point that his company, whose business relied upon corsair prizes, would kill him for marking that he requested and got an authentication expressing that he had been compelled to sign at the gag of a gun. After nine months, he was killed at any rate. (Ross, 1991, p11)

The report of the American Commissioners, Commodore Stephen Decatur and William Shaler, Consul General at Algiers, dated on the U. S. S. Guerriere, Bay of Algiers, July 4, 1815 (American State Papers, Foreign Relations, IV, 6. They gave the circumstances of the negotiations, The act of March 3, 1815 (3 Statutes at Large, 230), had approved maritime activities against the Dey of Algiers, whose archetype had started threats in 1812; the United States maritime powers had been fruitful; the deal was directed accordingly; and such dealings as there were, occurred on board the Guerriere. On that vessel "the model of a treaty" was brought forward by the American representatives on June 30, 1815; to that vessel the boat came back from the shore "within three hours, with the treaty signed as we had concluded it, and the prisoners." That signed treaty was surely written in English; but was perhaps in preliminary form only, for the report of July 4, 1815, says: "The treaty has since been drawn out anew, translated by them, and duly executed by the Dey; which we have the honor to transmit herewith.

The United States of America, in order to show to the Dey of Algiers their desire to keep the relations of peace and amity between the two powers on the most liberal footing

possible, and to remove any obstacle that might disrespect him in his relations with other States, agree to annul so much of the Eighteenth Article of the above Treaty as gives the United States any rights.

As a result these changes that took place laid the foundation of a modern America; they transformed the United States from a largely local to a national society. In our View, this Act of 1815 is what we see as a form of the smart power. The reason is that there is a remarkable combination of soft power (Diplomacy) and hard power (Naval War).

## General Conclusion

Throughout this humble study, we have tried to examine and shed light on the real reasons that led America to wage war on the Barbary States. After a close reading of Christopher Hitchens' *Thomas Jefferson: Author of America* (2007) and the other documents that we searched, we come to conclude that America did not declare war on Tripoli for the sake of Honor and Freedom, but for Power and Hegemony. And that Thomas Jefferson used honor as a justification for the conflict with the Barbary States throughout his career but particularly as a diplomat in the 1780s, and as he was a member of the southern elite, he understood the concept of honor very well. Bertram Wyatt-Brown says "When shame was imposed by others, honor was stripped away." And this exactly fits with Jefferson's description of American inaction, Barbary action, and the European views on the situation. He was concerned with the idea that Europe viewed the United States unfavorably. Another point that we observe is that Jefferson was a smart man, he was able to combine soft and hard power; smart power, while he reigned on America.

The first part provided us with the historical events that occurred in the 18<sup>th</sup> to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and how these events influenced the United States, that the French Revolution influenced the U.S politics, as pro and anti revolutionary factions sought to have an impact on American domestic and foreign policy. We also observed the mercantilist needs of Britain towards the Colonies as they could not compete with Britain since the more they export, the more wealth and power Britain has. We also provided a historical background on all that is needed to know about the Ottoman Empire, the Mediterranean Sea route and America after its independence.

In the second part that has been devoted to the Barbary Wars and Thomas Jefferson's influence on them, and through analyzing the letters sent by him to John Adams and Yusuf



Qaramanli, it is obvious that even if at first he tried to negotiate peace, Jefferson had always the need and this idea of war that lived rent free in his head, he knew that the only way to achieve power and gain the world's respect was by force, he wanted for the United States to be feared by other nations. It is then important to say that the element of power that we notice here is soft power as it is combined with philosophical and cultural ideas sprung from the French Enlightenment which is the fuel of the French Revolution.

As for the last chapter, The will to Hegemony, always with the use of the historical Materialism approach, we came to the conclusion that America needs an enemy. A strategy commonly used to manipulate a group of people. In other words, America as a Capitalist system thrives from the catastrophe of other nations. The USA has always depended on its enemies, when this one is absent, the American politicians must create a new one to ensure the continued existence of the United States. We also deduced that the events that came after the signing of The Act of Peace along with the Act of Treaty only benefited America as its economy went uphill. So, to say the least, the United States would certainly not be one of the most powerful empires in the world, if not the most powerful, if there wasn't for Jefferson as Christopher Hitchens says; it would be truer to say, of Thomas Jefferson, that he *designed* America, or that he authored it. We believe that this paper demonstrates the combination of the three elements of power to claim itself as a new thriving hegemony.

Finally, the topic of our dissertation deals with the *Apotheosis of the American Power from a Materialistic View* by analyzing Christopher Hitchens *Thomas Jefferson Author of America* (2007) and other Historical documents. We hope that we helped our readership to understand the issues explored in this research, and we believe that this topic is still an interesting subject that needs further investigation that can be treated in another way using other perspectives.

## **Bibliography**

### **Primary sources**

**Hitchens**, Christopher. *Thomas Jefferson: Author of America*. New York: Atlas Books/HarperCollinsPublishers, 2005. Print.

### **Secondary sources**

#### **Books**

**Abulafia**, David, ed. *The Mediterranean in history*. Getty Publications, 2011.

**Caleb**, Carr, and Chace, James. "America Invulnerable: The Quest for Absolute Security from 1812 to Star Wars" 1988.

**Cox**, Robert, and Power Production. "World Order." New York. 1987.

**DeMar**, Gary. *America's 200-Year War with Islamic Terrorism, the Strange Case of the Treaty of Tripoli*. 2009.

**Dickinson**, H. T. *The Failure of Conciliation: Britain and the American Colonies 1763-1783*. *The Kyoto Economic Review*. vol. 79, no. 2 (167), 2010.

**Fremont-Barnes**, Gregory. *The Wars of the Barbary Pirates. To the shores of Tripoli: the rise of the US Navy and Marines*. Oxford .2006

**Frost**, John. *The Pictorial History of the United States of America: From the Discovery by the Northman in the Tenth Century to the Present Time*. Tiffany and Company, 1849.

**George C. Daughan**. *If By Sea: The Forging of The American Navy - From the Revolution to The War of 1812*. 2011.

**Gilpin**, R. *War and Change in World Politics*. Uk: Cambridge, 1981.

**Gray**, Colin S. *Hard Power and Soft Power: The utility of military force as an instrument of policy in the 21st century*. Lulu.com, 2011.

- Hampson**, Norman. *A social history of the French Revolution*. Vol. 22. Routledge, 2013.
- Herring**, C, George. *From Colony to Superpower: U.S Foreign Relations Since 1776*. Oxford University press, USA, 2008.
- Herrmann**, Andrew F. "Hegemony." *The International Encyclopedia of Organizational Communication* (2017): 1-6. Military Affairs, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Spring, 1958)
- Horkheimer**, Max. *Materialism and morality*. Telos 1986.
- Huntington**, Samuel. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Ikenberry**, G. J. (2000). America's Liberal Grand Strategy: Democracy and National Security in the Post-War Era. In M. Cox, G. J. Ikenberry, and T. Inoguchi (Eds.), *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ikenberry**, G. J. *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2011.
- Kilmeade**, Brian, and Don Yaeger. *Thomas Jefferson and the Tripoli pirates: The forgotten war that changed American history*. Penguin, 2017.
- Kraska**, James. *Contemporary Maritime Piracy: International Law, Strategy, and Diplomacy at Sea: International Law, Strategy, and Diplomacy at Sea*. ABC-CLIO, 2011.
- Lafeber**, Walter. *The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad since 1750*. New York. W.W. Norton. 1989.
- Lucas**, Paul. *A Note on the Comparative Study of the Structure of Politics in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain and Its American Colonies*. The William and Mary Quarterly, vol. 28, no. 2, 1971.
- Marx**, Karl and Friedrich Engels. *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Edited by David.
- Marzagalli**, Silvia. *American Shipping into the Mediterranean during the French Wars: A First Approach*. Research in Maritime history 44 (2010).
- McKeever**, Robert J. Philip Davies. *Politics USA*. Routledge, 2014.

- Mearsheimer, J. J.** *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York. 2001.
- Murphy, Martin N.** *The Barbary Pirates, Mediterranean Quarterly*. Volume 24, Number 4 (2013).
- Nye Jr, Joseph S.** *Soft power: The means to success in world politics*. Public affairs, 2004.
- O’Callaghan, Bryn.** *An Illustrated History of the USA*. Longman, 2004.
- Paine, Thomas.** *Rights of man*. Broadview Press, 2011.
- Panzac, Daniel.** *The Barbary Corsairs: The End of a Legend, 1800-1820*. Vol. 29. Brill, 2005.
- Quataert, Donald.** *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*. New York: Cambridge university press, 2005.
- Richard, Frajola.** *The Life and Times of John Rodgers*. Web Design, 2016.
- Roux, Jean-Paul.** «*l’Afrique du Nord Ottomane.*» Novembre 2002.
- Smelser, Marshall.** *The passage of the Naval Act of 1794*. *Military Affairs*. 1958.
- Sperber, Jonathan.** *Revolutionary Europe, 1780-1850*. Rout ledge, 2014.
- Stuart, Reginald C.** *The Half-Way Pacifist: Thomas Jefferson’s View of War*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978.
- Tierney, Dominic.** "Does America Need an Enemy?." *The National Interest* 146 .2016
- Tucker, Spencer.** *The Encyclopedia of the Wars of the Early American Republic, 1783–1812: A Political, Social, and Military History [3 volumes]: A Political, Social, and Military History*. ABC-CLIO, 2014.
- Wheelan, Joseph.** *Jefferson’s War, America’s First War on Terror 1801-1805*. Carroll & Graf Publishers. New York. 2003
- Wood, Gordon S.** *Empire of liberty: a history of the early Republic, 1789-1815*. Oxford University Press. 2009.

## Articles

**Acton, H.B.** "Marx on Historical Materialism «University of Edimburgh,2017.

**Belabelouahab-Fernini, Linda** ."The exploits of the Barbarossa brothers and the founding of the regency of Algiers: 1516-1533." *قضايا تاريخية* 5.1. 2020

**Bow, C. B.** "Waging War for the Righteous: William Eaton on Enlightenment, Empire, and Coup d'état in the First Barbary War, 1801–1805." *History* 101.348 (2016)

**Burke, Edmund.** *Speech on Conciliation with the Colonies*,(March 22, 1775). Leach, Shewell& Sanborn, 1895.

**FabienTarrit.***Review of Cohen's Karl Marx's Theory of History.*Expanded Edition. 2002.

**Farber, Hannah.** "Millions for Credit: Peace with Algiers and the Establishment of America's Commercial Reputation Overseas, 1795–96." *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2014

**Garrity, Patrick.** "The United States and Barbary Piracy, 1783–1805." *Comparative Strategy* 26.5 (2007): 395-438.

**Gilpin, Robert.** "The theory of hegemonic war." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18.4 (1988).

**Gils, B.K.** « *Historical Materialism and International Relations Theory.*» journal of international studies. vol16 n2 (1987).

**Kitzen, Michael.** "Money Bags or Cannon Balls: The Origins of the Tripolitan War, 1795-1801." *Journal of the Early Republic* 16.4 (1996): 601-624.

**Nettels, Curtis P.** "British Mercantilism and the Economic Development of the Thirteen Colonies." *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 12, no. 02, 1952.

**Poling, Dean.** "BOOK REVIEW: "Thomas Jefferson: Author of America " by Christopher Hitchens » Valdosta Daily Times, Sept 2014.

**Sargent, Thomas J, and Francois R. Velde.**"*Macroeconomic features of the French Revolution.*" *Journal of Political Economy* 103.3 (1995).

**Smelser**, Marshall. “*The Passage of the Naval Act of 1794.*” *Military Affairs*, vol. 22, no. 1, 1958, pp. 1–12. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/1985480. Accessed 11 Sept. 2021.

**Steele**, Brian D. “*Thomas Jefferson: Author of America (Review)*” *Southern Cultures*, Vol. 14, No. 1: Spring 2008.

**Turner**, Robert F. “*President Thomas Jefferson and the Barbary Pirates.*” *Piracy and Maritime Crime: Historical and Modern Case Studies* (2010): 157-172.

**United States. Department of the Treasury**, and Alexander Hamilton. *Report on public*. Vol. 224. Us Government Printing Office, 1908.

**Windler**, Christian, “*Representing a State in a Segmentary Society: French Consuls in Tunis from the Ancient Regime to the Restoration*”, *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 73, No. 2. 2001

**Woodward**, G. Thomas. “*The Costs of State–Sponsored Terrorism: The Example of the Barbary Pirates.*” *National Tax Journal*, vol. 57, no. 3, 2004.

## **Thesis**

**Burley**, peter, “*Louis XVI and a new monarchy: an institutional and political study of France 1768-1778*”. Diss. University of London, 1981.

**Freewalt**, Jason Andrew. *The Barbary Corsairs: Conquerors of United States Commerce and the Articles of Confederation*. MA Thesis. University of Marion, Indiana, 1998.

**Hannah**, A. *A Debt to North Africa: The Dey of Algiers Considered as an Investor in the United States, 1795-96*. MA Thesis. University of California, Berkeley, 2012.

**Heale** .m. *the making of American politics, 17450-1850* .London: Longman. 1997.

**King**, Major David M. *United States Joint Operations in the Tripolitan Campaign of 1805, USA*. MA Thesis. University of California, Berkeley, 1981.

**LAKHDAR**, Larbi, and Fewzi BORSALI. *The American-Barbary Wars 1801-1816*. Diss. Ahmed Draia University-Adrar, 2019

**Maameri**, Fatima. “*Ottoman Algeria in Western Diplomatic History with Particular Emphasis on Relations with the United States of America*”, 1776-1816. PhD Thesis. University Mentouri, Constantine, 2008.

**ManisLi**, Brett A. " *Free to beg or to fight:*" *Thomas Jefferson and relations with Barbary, 1785-1805*. Diss.Oklahoma State University, 2013.

**Monsieur's**, Roel. "The Causes and Consequences of the First Barbary War 1801-1805." Diss. 2016.

**Null**, Christopher R. *The Barbary Wars: Ideology and Politics in Post-Revolutionary America*. MA Thesis .University Of Alabama at Birmingham, 2008.

**Ross**, Christopher. "The American States Mission to Algeria: A Historical Sketch".April,1991.

**Wilson**, Gary E. *American Prisoners in the Barbary Nations, 1784 - 1816*. PhD Thesis. University of Denton, Texas, 1979.

## **Web sites**

Archives.<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-34-02-0122>

National Archives "Alexander Hamilton, Report Relative to a Provision for the Support of Public Credit Jan. 3, 1790" Web Accessed January. 18, 2021.

National Archives "Thomas Jefferson, Report on American Trade in TheMediterranean, Dec. 28, 1790" Web. Accessed, march. 22, 2021

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/midwife-after-revolution/>

[http://gwpapers.virginia.edu/history/topics/gw-and-the-barbary-coast-pirates/\(04-052016\)](http://gwpapers.virginia.edu/history/topics/gw-and-the-barbary-coast-pirates/(04-052016)).The Washington Papers, George Washington and the Barbary Pirates.

<https://revolutionarywar.us/continental-navy/>. Accessed on, July. 17, 2021

[www.marineband.marines.mil/about/library-and-archives/the-marines-hymn](http://www.marineband.marines.mil/about/library-and-archives/the-marines-hymn)

[.www.jstor.org/stable/26557351](http://www.jstor.org/stable/26557351). Accessed 25 Aug. 2021

<https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/first-barbary-war>

<https://brill.com/view/journals/hima/hima-overview.xml>

## APPENDIX

# From Thomas Jefferson to Yusuf Qaramanli, Pasha and Bey of Tripoli, 21 May 1801

To Yusuf Qaramanli,  
Pasha and Bey of Tripoli

May 21. 1801.

GREAT & RESPECTED FRIEND.

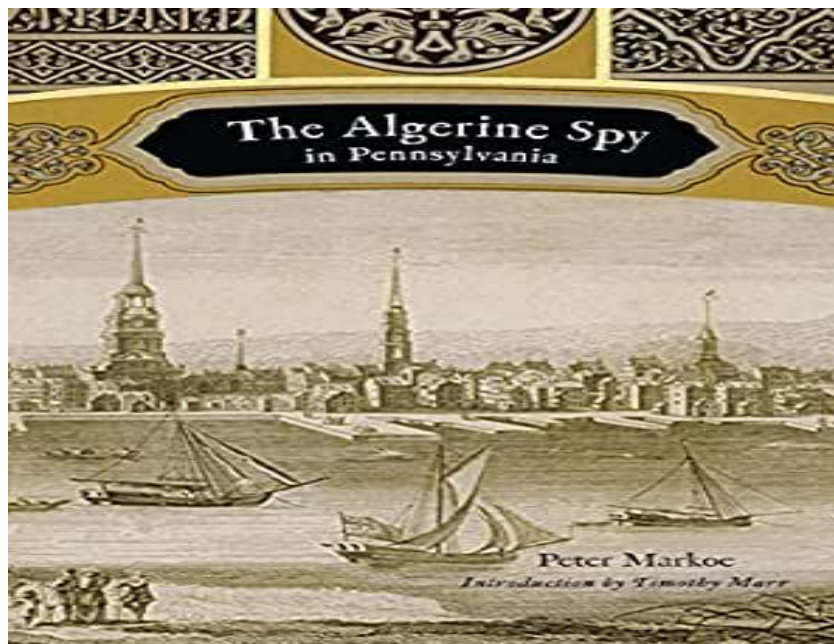
The assurances of friendship<sup>1</sup> which our Consul has given you,<sup>2</sup> & of our sincere desire to cultivate peace<sup>3</sup> & commerce with your subjects, are faithful expressions of<sup>4</sup> our dispositions, and you will continue to find proofs of them in<sup>5</sup> all those acts of respect & friendly intercourse which are due<sup>6</sup> between nations standing as we do in the relations of peace & amity with each other.<sup>7</sup> at the conclusion of our treaty with you we endeavored to prove ourselves contented with it<sup>8</sup> by such demonstrations as were then satisfactory to you;<sup>9</sup> and we are disposed to believe that in rendering into another language those expressions in your lre of the 25th. of May last which seem to imply expectations<sup>10</sup> inconsistent with the faith of that transaction your intentions have been misconstrued.—on this supposition we renew<sup>11</sup> to you sincerely<sup>12</sup> assurances of our constant friendship and that our desire to cultivate peace & commerce with you<sup>13</sup> continues firm & unabated.

We have found it expedient<sup>14</sup> to detach a squadron of observation into the Mediterranean sea, to superintend the safety of our commerce there & to exercise our seamen in nautical duties. we recommend them to your hospitality and good offices should occasion require their resorting to your harbours. we hope that their appearance will give umbrage to no power<sup>15</sup> for, while we mean to rest the safety of our commerce on the resources of our own strength & bravery in every sea, we have yet given them<sup>16</sup> in strict command to conduct themselves towards all friendly powers with the most perfect respect & good order it being the first object of our sollicitude<sup>17</sup> to cherish peace & friendship with all nations with whom it can be held on terms of equality & reciprocity.

I pray God very great and respected friend that he may have you always in<sup>18</sup> his holy keeping.



- **Markoe, Peter.** *“The Algerine Spy in Pennsylvania, Or, Letters Written by a Native of Algiers on the Affairs of the United States of America, from the Close of the Year 1783 to the Meeting of the Convention”*. Prichard&Hall,1787.



- “From Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, 11 July 1786” founders online, National Archives. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-10-02-0058>

## From Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, 11 July 1786

### To John Adams

Paris July 11. 1786.

DEAR SIR

Our instructions relative to the Barbary states having required us to proceed by way of negotiation to obtain their peace, it became our duty to do this to the best of our power. Whatever might be our private opinions, they were to be suppressed, and the line marked out to us, was to be followed. It has been so honestly, and zealously. It was therefore never material for us to consult together on the best plan of conduct towards these states. I acknowledge I very early thought it would be best to affect a peace thro' the medium of war. Tho' it is a question with which we have nothing to do, yet as you propose some discussion of it I shall trouble you with my reasons. Of the 4. positions laid down in your letter of the 3d. instant, I agree to the three first, which are in substance that the good offices of our friends cannot procure us a peace without paying it's price, that they

cannot materially lessen that price, and that paying it, we can have the peace in spite<sup>1</sup> of the intrigues of our enemies. As to the 4th. that the longer the negotiation is delayed the larger will be the demand, this will depend on the intermediate captures: if they are many and rich the price may be raised; if few and poor it will be lessened. However if it is decided that we shall buy a peace, I know no reason for delaying the operation, but should rather think it ought to be hastened. But I should prefer the obtaining it by war. 1. Justice is in favor of this opinion. 2. Honor favors it. 3. It will procure us respect in Europe, and respect is a safe-guard to interest. 4. It will arm the federal head with the safest of all the instruments of coercion over their delinquent members and prevent them from using what would be less safe. I think that so far you go with me. But in the next steps we shall differ. 5. I think it least expensive. 6. Equally effectual. I ask a fleet of 150. guns, the one half of which shall be in constant cruise. This fleet built, manned and victualled for 6. months will cost 450,000£ sterling. It's annual expence is 300£ sterl. a gun, including every thing: this will be 45,000£ sterl. a year. I take British experience for the basis of my calculations, tho' we know, from our own experience, that we can do, in this way, for pounds lawful, what costs them pounds sterling. Were we to charge all this to the Algerine war it would amount to little more than we must pay if we buy peace. But as it is proper and necessary that we should establish a small marine force (even were we to buy a peace from the Algerines,) and as that force laid up in our dockyards would cost us half as much annually as if kept in order for service, we have a right to say that only 22,500£ sterl. per ann. should be charged to the Algerine war. 6. It will be as effectual. To all the mismanagements of Spain and Portugal urged to shew that war against those people is ineffectual, I urge a single fact to prove the contrary where there is any management. About 40. year ago, the Algerines having broke their treaty with France, this court sent Monsr. de Massac with one large and two small frigates, he blockaded the harbour of Algiers three months, and they subscribed to the terms he dictated. If it be admitted however that war, on the fairest prospects, is still exposed to incertainties, I weigh against this the greater incertainty of the duration of a peace bought with money, from such a people, from a Dey 80. years old, and by a nation who, on the hypothesis of buying peace, is to have no power on the sea to enforce an observance of it.

So far I have gone on the supposition that the whole weight of this war would rest on us. But 1. Naples will join us. The character of their naval minister (Acton), his known sentiments with respect to the peace Spain is officiously trying to make for them, and his dispositions against the Algerines give the greatest reason to believe it. 2. Every principle of reason tells us Portugal will join us. I state this as taking for granted, what all seem to believe, that they will not be at peace with Algiers. I suppose then that a Convention might be formed between Portugal, Naples and the U.S. by which the burthen of the war might be quoaded on them according to their respective wealth, and the term of it should be when Algiers should subscribe to a peace with all three on equal terms. This might be left open for other nations to accede to, and many, if not most of the powers of Europe (except France, England, Holland and Spain if her peace be made) would sooner or later enter into the confederacy, for the sake of having their peace with the Pyritical states guarantied by the whole. I suppose that in this case our proportion of force would not be the half of what I first calculated on.

These are the reasons which have influenced my judgment on this question. I give them to you to shew you that I am imposed on by a semblance of reason at least, and not with an expectation of their changing your opinion. You have viewed the subject, I am sure in all it's bearings. You have weighed both questions with all their circumstances. You make the result different from what I do. The same facts impress us differently. This is

enough to make me suspect an error in my process of reasoning tho' I am not able to detect it. It is of no consequence; as I have nothing to say in the decision, and am ready to proceed heartily on any other plan which may be adopted, if my agency should be thought useful. With respect to the dispositions of the states I am utterly uninformed. I cannot help thinking however that on a view of all circumstances, they might be united in either of the plans.

Having written this on the receipt of your letter, without knowing of any opportunity of sending it, I know not when it will go; I add nothing therefore on any other subject but assurances of the sincere esteem and respect with which I am Dear Sir your friend & servant,

TH: JEFFERSON

- The Act of Peace of 1815, No original of this treaty has been found in the archives of the Department of State. It is believed that the original treaty was written in the English language only.[https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th\\_century/bar1815n.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/bar1815n.asp)
- Treaty of peace concluded between His United States of America and his Highness Omar BashawDey of Algiers.

#### ARTICLE 1<sup>st</sup>

There shall be from the Conclusion of this treaty, a firm inviolable and universal peace and friendship between the President and Citizens of the United States of America on the one part, and the Dey and Subjects of the Regency of Algiers in Barbary, on the other, made by the free consent of both parties and upon the terms of the most favored nations; and if either party shall hereafter grant to any other nation, any particular favor or privilege in navigation or Commerce it shall immediately become common to the other party, freely when freely it is granted to such other nation; but when the grant is conditional, it shall be at the option of the contracting parties to accept, alter, or reject such conditions, in such manner as shall be most conducive to their respective interests.

#### ARTICLE 2<sup>d</sup>

It is distinctly understood between the Contracting parties, that no tribute either as biennial presents, or under any other form or name whatever, shall ever be required by the Dey and Regency of Algiers from the United States of America on any pretext whatever.

#### ARTICLE 3<sup>rd</sup>

The Dey of Algiers shall cause to be immediately delivered up to the American Squadron snow off Algiers all the American Citizens now in his possession, amounting to ten more or less, and all the Subjects of the Dey of Algiers now in the power of the United States amounting to five hundred more or less, shall be delivered up to him, the United States according to the usages of civilized nations requiring no ransom for the excess of prisoners in their favor.

ARTICLE 4<sup>th</sup>

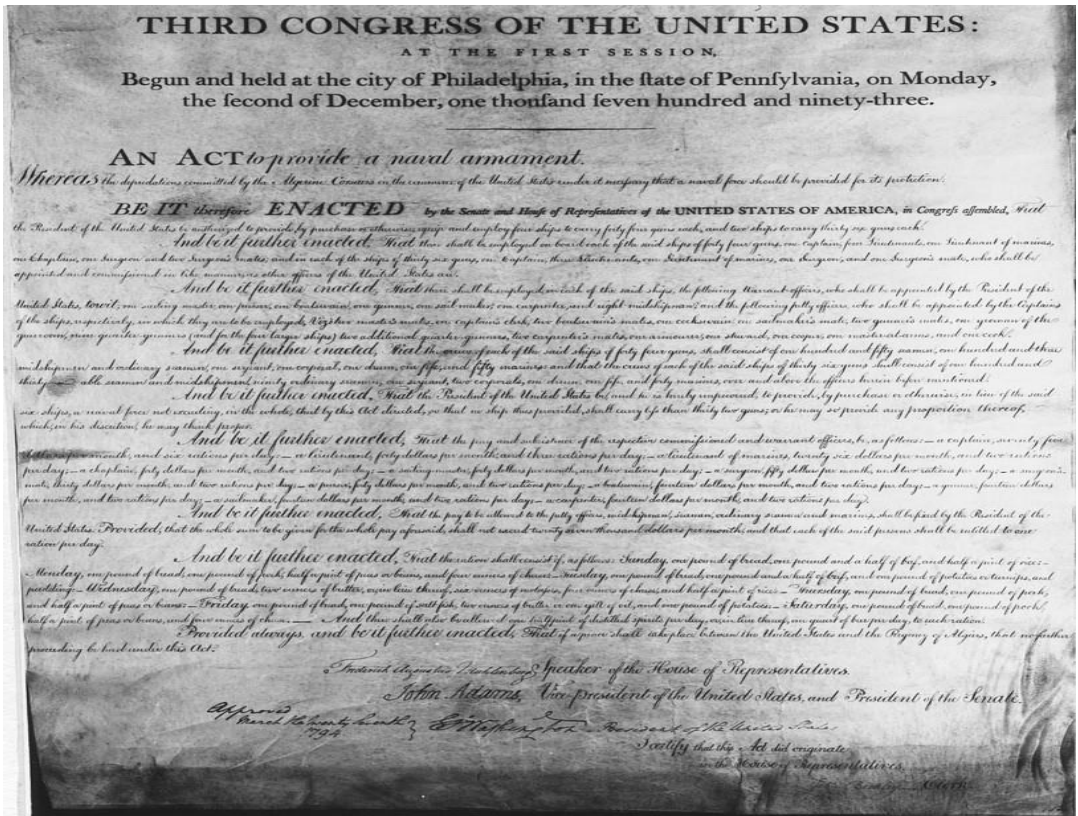
A just and full compensation shall be made by the Dey of Algiers to such citizens of the United States, as have been Captured, and detained by Algerine Cruizers, or who have been forced to abandon their property in Algiers in violation of the 22d article of the treaty of peace and amity1 concluded between the United States and the Dey of Algiers on the 5 September 1795.

And it is agreed between the contracting parties, that in lieu of the above, the Dey of Algiers shall cause, to be delivered forthwith into the hands of the American Consul residing in Algiers the whole of a quantity of Bales of Cotton left by the late Consul General of the United States in the public magazines in Algiers; and that he shall pay into the hands of the said Consul the sum of ten thousand Spanish dollars.

ARTICLE 5<sup>th</sup>

If any goods belonging to any nation with which either of the parties are at war should be loaded on board of vessels belonging to the other party, they shall pass free and unmolested, and no attempt shall be made to take or detain them.

- The Naval Act of 1794



## Résumé

La recherche présente est une tentative de faire exposer l'un des événements importants qui a eu un impact considérable sur la politique étrangère américaine. Il se présente principalement comme une réponse aux recherches faites par Christopher Hitchens (2007) où il avance l'idée qui suggère la revendication primaire où la jeune nation américaine de Thomas Jefferson a été poussée par l'idée de liberté telle définie par la Révolution Française à faire la guerre à l'étranger, à savoir ce qu'on appellera plus tard la première guerre Barbaresque. En s'appuyant sur l'approche marxiste de l'histoire, c'est-à-dire. Matérialisme historique, nous entendons montrer que la raison essentielle de cet exercice d'hégémonie outre-mer des États-Unis d'Amérique est la Volonté de Puissance. Surfant sur le fond de la fin du XVIIIe siècle et du début du XIXe siècle, nous nous appliquons à rendre compte plus en détail l'événement qui s'est déroulé en Méditerranée, en insistant sur les éléments conceptuels de la relation de pouvoir. Il est à noter que ces techniques de pouvoir ont été largement et généreusement utilisées par la jeune République de Jefferson. Cette recherche arrive à la conclusion que ce moment historique, bien qu'il soit à peine connu dans la connaissance populaire, se trouve être les années annonciatrices de l'hégémonie Américaine dans le monde moderne.