

The Image of the Muslim Other in Eighteenth-Century European Printed Media "Neutral' Gazettes and Pamphlets and the Representation of Algerians during the Spanish Conquest of Oran (1732)"

صورة الآخر المسلم في وسائل الإعلام الأوروبية المطبوعة في القرن الثامن عشر
"الجرائد والكتيبات" المحايدة وتمثيل الجزائريين خلال الغزو الإسباني لوهـران (1732)

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Abstract: Printed media, such as gazettes and pamphlets, functioned as key vehicles of news dissemination and the representation of the 'Other' in eighteenth-century Europe. Yet, relatively little attention has been paid to how these media represented and perceived the Muslim Other, particularly in specific case studies, and how these media negotiated objectivity while reproducing deep-seated discourses of alterity. This study seeks to examine European printed media representations of Algerians and Muslims through a focused case study: the Spanish conquest of the Algerian town of Oran in 1732. The corpus analyzed is unified by three deliberate and interrelated criteria: all sources address the same historical event; all belong to printed media (gazettes and pamphlets); and all are non-Spanish and non-Algerian in origin.

The findings suggest that, although these gazettes and pamphlets that reported on the Spanish conquest are neutral, they nonetheless convey relatively negative portrayals of Algerians, reflecting the deep-rooted prejudices of early modern European societies. At the same time, the analysis identifies discernable signs of a shift in positive perception, with instances of more balanced and, at times, positive representations of the Muslim Other emerging within the same corpus.

Keywords: Media history; Discourse analysis; Alterity; *Gazette de France*; *Gazette d'Amsterdam*; *London Gazette*; Pamphlets; Regency of Algiers;

الملخص: لعبت وسائل الإعلام المطبوعة، كالجرائد والكتيبات، دورًا محوريًا في نشر الأخبار وتصوير "الآخر" في أوروبا خلال القرن الثامن عشر. ومع ذلك، لم يُؤلَّ اهتمام كافٍ لكيفية تصوير هذه الوسائل للآخر المسلم، لا سيما في دراسات حالات محددة، وكيف تعاملت مع الموضوعية في سياق إعادة إنتاج خطابات الغيرية الراسخة. لذا، تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى فحص تصوير وسائل الإعلام الأوروبية المطبوعة للجزائريين والمسلمين من خلال دراسة حالة نموذجية: الغزو الإسباني لمدينة وهران الجزائرية عام 1732م. وقد أُختيرت مجموعة المصادر المحللة في هذه الدراسة وفق ثلاثة معايير مترابطة: جميعها تتناول الحدث التاريخي نفسه؛ جميعها تنتمي إلى وسائل الإعلام المطبوعة (الجرائد والكتيبات)؛ وجميعها غير إسبانية وغير جزائرية الأصل.

تشير النتائج إلى أنه على الرغم من حيادية هذه الصحف والمطويات التي تناولت الحملة الإسبانية، إلا أنها تنقل صورًا سلبية نسبيًا عن الجزائريين، مما يعكس التحيزات المتأصلة في المجتمعات الأوروبية الحديثة المبكرة. وفي الوقت نفسه، يحدد التحليل علامات واضحة على حدوث تحول في التصور الإيجابي، مع ظهور حالات من تمثيلات أكثر توازنًا، وفي بعض الأحيان، تمثيلات إيجابية للآخر المسلم ضمن نفس المجموعة المصدرة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تاريخ الاعلام؛ دراسة الخطاب؛ الغيرية؛ جريدة فرنسا؛ جريدة أمستردام؛ جريدة لندن؛ الكتيبات؛ إيالة الجزائر.

1. Introduction

Printed media such as newspapers and pamphlets largely shaped early modern European representations of the Muslim world. These texts functioned not only as vehicles of news circulation, but also as instrument of opinion formation. They did not merely report events but actively constructed perceptions of the "Other," often reflecting entrenched religious, cultural, and political biases. The Spanish (re)conquest of the strategic Algerian coastal town of Oran in 1732 constituted one such event that attracted widespread attention across Europe and generated a substantial corpus of printed commentary. This study examines how a selection of early eighteenth-century European printed media reported on and construed the Spanish invasion of Oran, with particular emphasis on how these prints represented Algerians in the ensuing conflict.

The importance of this study lies in its contribution to the studies of media history and historical sources-based content or discourse analysis. By focusing on printed media sources that were not produced in the two belligerent powers, the kingdom of Spain and the Regency of Algiers, the article moves beyond partisan Spanish or Algerian narratives and highlights the role of seemingly neutral publications in the perpetuation and/or the alteration of perceptions about the other, shedding light on how gazettes and pamphlets functioned as carriers and diffusers of ideological representations and prejudice.

When reporting on conflicts their host countries were not involved in, early modern periodical newssheets and pamphlets are often implicitly assumed to provide relatively objective accounts of events. This assumption raises important methodological questions regarding the reliability, neutrality, and discursive framing of such primary sources. Accordingly, this study seeks to address the following questions:

- a. To what extent were early eighteenth-century European gazettes and pamphlets objective in their reporting of the 1732 Spanish conquest of Oran?
- b. What lexical choices, referential strategies, and rhetorical devices were employed to represent the belligerents, particularly Algerians?
- c. How did religious, cultural, and political prejudices shape these representations?
- d. Are there discernible signs of a shifting European perception toward the Muslim "other" within these texts?

Previous scholarship has extensively examined early modern European representations of Islam and the Muslim world, particularly within the contexts of travel literature, diplomacy, and conflicts.⁽¹⁾ Research on early modern European gazettes and pamphlets is equally considerable.⁽²⁾ However, relatively less attention has been paid to how European printed media represented and perceived the Muslim Other, particularly in specific case studies, such as the Spanish invasion of Algeria's Oran in 1732, and to how these reports negotiated objectivity while reproducing deep-seated discourse of alterity. Nat Cutter, in his analysis of seventeenth-century English newspapers is among the few scholars to address this theme.⁽³⁾ His work offer a clear example of the potential of such sources for the studying of western perceptions of Islam and North Africa in the early eighteenth century.

This paper seeks to follow suit by analyzing a thematically unified corpus of early eighteenth-century printed media. It adopts a qualitative historical and discourse-analytical approach grounded in lexical analysis. For clarity and representativeness, the corpus has been selected according to three criteria:

- a. It consists of contemporary printed media, i.e. gazettes and pamphlets that participated directly in the early modern system of news dissemination and public opinion formation.
- b. These gazettes and pamphlets address the same historical event (the Spanish conquest of Oran in 1732), thereby allowing for a comparative analysis of how a single event was narrated and interpreted across different media.
- c. They are all non-Spanish and non-Algerian in origin, produced by observers who were not direct belligerents in the conflict, which lends them an appearance of relative neutrality.

2. Historical Background: The Spanish Conquest of Oran in 1732

The Spanish invasion of Oran in 1732 must be situated within the longer trajectory of early modern Christian-Muslim rivalry in the Mediterranean. The Algerian coastal city of Oran and its adjacent port of Mers El-Kébir had occupied a strategic and symbolic position in the Iberian mindset since their initial Spanish occupation in the early sixteenth century. Although the self-governed Ottoman Regency of Algiers had regained control of the stronghold in 1708, Oran continued to retain considerable strategic and ideological value for Spaniards as “the Object of the Piety and Valour of the Spanish Nation”.⁽⁴⁾

Following the territorial losses Spain had sustained in the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1715), the Spanish monarchy sought to reaffirm its diminished prestige and regional presence. The decision to launch a large-scale expedition against Oran in 1732 reflected the increasingly irredentist mindset in the 1730s, as well as a broader effort to restore Spain’s standing in the western Mediterranean. The campaign was framed domestically and internationally as both a strategic undertaking and a religious enterprise, aimed at reconquering the important coastal town and extending the Catholic arm in the Maghreb.

In total, more than 500 ships, both military and merchant, were mustered for the expedition. The enormous fleet carrying some 25,000 men reached the shores of Oran on June 28, and completed troop landing on June 30. The Algerian Army defending Oran was a mixed force composed of local troops and Janissaries under the command of the *Bey Muṣṭafā Būshlagham* (1686–1737?), Also known as ‘*Bogatillos*’ in Western historiography.⁽⁵⁾

Despite the relative preparedness of *Būshlagham*’s forces, Oran, nonetheless, rapidly fell into the hands of the Invading Spanish Army on July 1, 1732, surprising contemporary observers. The reduction of the city was followed by a protracted and costly struggle to retain control over it. Algerian forces repeatedly attempted to recover the town and its castles through sustained military pressure, Land siege, and a naval blockade culminating in several major engagements and resulting in significant losses on both sides. The ensuing conflict dragged on throughout 1732, 1733 and 1734, when the Regency finally lifted the siege of Oran,⁽⁶⁾ and was featured in various contemporary printed media, including gazettes and pamphlets.

3. Gazettes, Pamphlets, and the Spanish Conquest of Oran in 1732:

3. 1. Gazettes:

Gazette and its variants in some of the European languages (*gazette* in French and English, *gazzetta* in Italian, *gaceta* in Spanish, *gazetten* in German) represents a medium of information dissemination that emerged in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe. It indicates a newsheet or printed account of the transactions of different countries. As to the etymology of the term gazette, it could be traced back to Venice, where apparently was derived from a coin that was commensurate with the value of the newspaper.⁽⁷⁾

Gazettes showed vast interest in reporting on regional and intercontinental conflicts, including movements of troops, battles, and sieges, because they directly affected international shipping, commerce, and geopolitics, and also, because conflicts usually attract more readers.⁽⁸⁾ Being positioned in three of the four media centers of early modern Europe, i.e. France, the Dutch Republic, and England, in addition to the Holy Roman Empire,⁽⁹⁾ Newssheets such as *La Gazette de France* (GF) and *Gazette d’Amsterdam* (GA) (French-language), as well as *The London Gazette* (LG) (English-language) reported, to varying degrees, on the 1732 Spanish expedition to Oran. These newspapers covered the invasion and the concomitant military clashes between Spanish and Algerian forces throughout the years 1732, 1733, and 1734.

GF is the oldest of these news periodicals. First appeared as *La Gazette*, it was founded by Théophraste Renaudot and had been publishing from May 30, 1631, to September 30, 1915, becoming the National Gazette of France since January 1762.⁽¹⁰⁾ *GF* was essentially a collection of news and official documents, presented without commentary. News from abroad always occupied at least two-thirds of the printed text.⁽¹¹⁾ The topic of the Spanish expedition to Oran featured extensively in the issues of 1733 and 1734, covering the years 1732 and 1733 respectively.

GA, first appeared on March 27, 1690, was regarded as the successor of the French-language Amsterdam-based *Nouveau Journal universel*. Its foundation and subsequent success were attributed to two exiled Huguenots, Claude Jordan and Jean Tronchin du Breuil.⁽¹²⁾ It occupied a prominent position among French-language newspapers in Europe, distinguished by organization and its detailed bulletins from major European capitals as well as the Ottoman Empire. Its sources were numerous and often cited; its reporting remained cautious, and corrections promptly issued when necessary. News relevant to commerce, such as unrest at sea, colonial developments, and ship arrivals, was abundant.⁽¹³⁾ This level of quality was closely tied to Amsterdam's emergence from the early seventeenth century onward as a major hub of the European printing industry, effectively making the Low Countries a central node in Europe's news network.⁽¹⁴⁾ Notably, news from outside Europe in the *GA* were almost exclusively devoted to regions where European commercial or military interests were present.⁽¹⁵⁾ This helps explain why the Spanish expedition to the North African port-city of Oran was featured so extensively in the newspaper, appearing at least 105 times between January 13, 1732, and November 13, 1733.

As to the British *LG*, it was established in 1665 and had served as Britain's official journal of record for nearly 350 years. Initially created as *The Oxford Gazette* when King Charles II's court fled London to escape the plague, it was renamed *The London Gazette* upon their return. Its origins lie in a period of strict press censorship, when unregulated prints, such as newssheets, newsletters, and pamphlets, were deemed threats to national security. As the Crown's official newspaper, it provided authoritative reports based on diplomatic and military dispatches, which functioned as early forms of foreign correspondence.⁽¹⁶⁾ Thus, the London Gazette is regarded as an underutilized source of reliable multi-sourced historical information for historians of British-North African relations.⁽¹⁷⁾ Compared to other gazettes, however, the *LG* reported rather timidly on the Spanish invasion of Oran. Between July 1732 and December 15, 1733, the event was featured in only five news segments.

3. 2. Pamphlets:

A pamphlet was a short quarto publication consisting of between one and twelve sheets, or between eight and ninety-six pages in quarto format, that is, sheets folded twice. Derived from the twelfth-century Latin poem *Pamphilus seu de Amore*, the term 'pamphlet' evolved from a fourteenth-century descriptor for small books into a specific print format: a slim, unbound, and standalone work marketed primarily as brief entertainment for gentleman readers.⁽¹⁸⁾ Thanks to their small format and low prices, printed news and pamphlets became the main source of information on continental affairs and international matters in the early seventeenth century, as they could reach a large and diverse range of readers.⁽¹⁹⁾ Thus, by the turn of the century, topics of war and international confrontations had become common themes in the pamphlet genre, and when Spain geared up for the expedition to Oran in 1732, it was an opportunity for authors and pamphleteers to display their erudition on Muslim and North African affairs.

Joseph Morgan, who self-identifies as a gentleman with significant firsthand experience in Algerian affairs, was one of these authors. Once the Spanish armada had landed on African soil and the dust of the expedition had settled, he published *A Compleat History of the Present Seat of War in Africa Between the Spaniards and Algerines*.⁽²⁰⁾ On the title page of his later work, *A compleat History of the Piratical States of Barbary*,⁽²¹⁾ which appears to be a translation of Laugier de Tassy's *Histoire du Royaume d'Alger*,⁽²²⁾ Morgan explicitly describes himself as someone who resided in Algiers for many years in a "public character." This indicates that he held a formal or diplomatic role during his time in the region, something corroborated by his statement in his earlier book *A Complete History of Algiers*: "...I cannot forbear mentioning what our late Consul, Robert Cole Esq; whose Cancellera I once was, and who resided at Algiers above forty Years...".⁽²³⁾ His self-description as a chancellor and his detailed accounts of North

African politics and conflicts indicate that he was not merely a casual observer but an informed and engaged participant in the transnational affairs of the early eighteenth century.

Morgan's deep familiarity with Algerian affairs is evident throughout his writings. He claims direct observation of significant events, such as the 1706 campaign against Tunis, which he witnessed during his residence in Algiers, and the siege of Oran in 1707, which he took part in.⁽²⁴⁾ His access to high-ranking Algerian officials further enhances the credibility of his work. For instance, he frequently references conversations with *Hajī Ali Pasha* and *Hajī Mahammed sa'īd*, the Algerian ambassadors to England (December 1731- December 1732), as a primary source of information about the 1732 Spanish expedition.⁽²⁵⁾ These interactions underscore Morgan's diplomatic connections and reinforce the reliability of his account of the Spanish conquest of Oran.

However, Morgan was frequently criticized by historians for relying on others' works to construct his narrative.⁽²⁶⁾ He was condemned for drawing extensively from authors such as Luis del Mármol Carvajal, Haedo, and Laugier de Tassy, whose writings on Algeria were foundational to European understandings of the region. For example, much of his account of the history of Oran and Mers El-Kébir and the repetitive wars over the two ports between the Spaniards and Algerians is borrowed from Luis del Mármol Carvajal and Haedo.⁽²⁷⁾ Similarly, significant portions of his text, including passages on the "Amours of Aruch Barberoussa" and his critique of pervasive propaganda against Muslims in Christendom, are directly translated or paraphrased from Laugier de Tassy's work (De Tassy, 1725, p. Préface). This reliance on earlier sources reflects the scholarly conventions of the time, when authors, publishers and booksellers pirated each others work, and rapidly emulated any successes.⁽²⁸⁾

The second pamphlet devoted to the Spanish conquest of Oran and analyzed in this study is: *The Spanish Conquest: or, a Journal of Their Late Expedition, From Their First Preparation to Their Embarkation, and from thence to the Taking of Oran and the Surrender of Mazalquivir*.⁽²⁹⁾ It appears to have been penned by a certain James Roberts (1668–1754), a Grub Street author, a publisher, and a bookseller in Warwick Lane, London. He ran his business in a period when the distinction between author and publisher was vague and inconspicuous,⁽³⁰⁾ which made information about him frustratingly elusive and scarce. All that we know is that he was British, as evidenced by his frequent use of the possessive determiner "our" in his 41-page pamphlet, such as "our Merchant Ships" and "our garrison at Gibraltar",⁽³¹⁾ and that he had been occupied in the printing business at least since 1714, printing and selling a dozen titles in Warwick Lane.⁽³²⁾

R. L. Playfair's bibliography of sources on the history of Algeria attributes '*The Spanish Conquest*' to J. Morgan, adding that it was published in 1735.⁽³³⁾ However, this attribution appears to be incorrect, as this publication is absent from the online list of Morgan works,⁽³⁴⁾ and because the pamphlet in question was first published at "the Oxford Arms for J. Roberts" in 1733.

Roberts compiled his account of the Spanish conquest of Oran from the preparation phase to its execution, concluding with the fall of Oran in early July 1732. It contains valuable information on each of these phases, including a backdrop to the conflict, the motives of the Spanish king, the numbers of the forces he amassed, and the military actions that followed the landing up to the fall of strategic town.

He relied on "the Help of the best Advices, not only publick but private," to collect "the whole History of the Affair, without any Embellishments but Truth, and Matter of Fact...".⁽³⁵⁾ One of the public news source he claims to have drawn his information from is "a Letter written from the Spanish Camp near Oran, dated July 2, and publish'd in the Daily Journal of July 22...",⁽³⁶⁾ which was indeed published in several gazettes, including the GA on July 29, 1732.⁽³⁷⁾ The corroboration of his claims lends Roberts's account a high degree of reliability and credibility with regard to the historical information it purports to provide.

4. The Representation of the Algerian Other in Early eighteenth Century Gazettes and Pamphlets

It is maintained throughout discourse analysis studies that the examination of the lexical choices of a given text allows for the unveiling of implicit meanings. Both tacit and explicit meanings are designed to convey specific messages to readers. Take, for example, the term 'Turk.' For the average reader, the word carries nothing more than an ethnic meaning, denoting the origin of a person, a group of people, or an object. In the early modern period, however, the word 'Turk,' in popular English-language discourse, and in most European languages, stood in as a prejudice-laden, generic term for all Muslims.⁽³⁸⁾ It was intended to terrify the inhabitants of Christendom because, as their centuries-long adversaries, the Turks were viewed as the Antichrist's representatives and the very personification of ferocity and cruelty.⁽³⁹⁾ It is even argued that the epithet 'Turk' connoted not only all Muslims but also "*the enemy, any enemy ... Catholics, anti-Catholics, the French, Presbyters, Jesuits, Jews, and the Devil himself*".⁽⁴⁰⁾

To understand how Gazettes and Pamphlets portrayed Algerians during the Spanish conquest of Oran, It is necessary to carefully examine the lexical choices and representational strategies in these prints that had been published in an age when impartiality was not appreciated, and when prejudice toward the 'other' constituted the zeitgeist.

4. 1. The Gazettes:

Many scholars hold that the system of news collection and dissemination in the early modern period rendered the Gazettes vehicles for the circulation of rumor rather than sources of historical truth.⁽⁴¹⁾ If history was the "the narrative of things that happened", the gazette, contends Dosquet, was "only the rumour coming from it".⁽⁴²⁾ In the context of the Oran conflict, this is evident in one significant aspect: the nearly complete reliance of the *GF*, *GA*, and *LG* on Spain-sourced information. Instead of seeking to obtain unbiased and multi-sourced news, these newspapers relied heavily on dispatches and missives emanating from Spain, thus adopting, albeit to varying degrees, the Spanish narrative and even the vocabulary of the Spanish dispatches.⁽⁴³⁾

It was a common practice for early modern gazettes to compile raw information into dated reports. These consisted of simple, sequential accounts organized by geographical location, with little to no comment provided by the editors.⁽⁴⁴⁾ This practice rendered the news sections dealing with the Spanish conquest conflict laden with connotations, epithets, and slurs directed against the Regency of Algiers.⁽⁴⁵⁾

The reliance of the Gazettes on information of Spanish origin as their primary news source, and the resulting biased news sections, can be attributed to three main factors:

1) No need was seen to censor the content of the prejudice-laden Spanish missives, as they reflected the unanimously shared negative perceptions of Muslims not only in Spain, but also in various parts of Europe.

Words possess both their literal meaning (denotation) and their implied associations (connotation); they bear the imprint of society and its value judgments. This interplay of meaning is present in all word classes, particularly nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs.⁽⁴⁶⁾ In the Gazettes, different words with various denotations and connotations were used to describe Algerians in conflict, including *Moors* (*Maures*), *the Moors of Africa* (*les Maures d'Afrique*), *the Moorish army*, *corsairs*, *Africans*, *enemy*, *infidels*, *rovers*, and *barbarians*. During the early modern era, the prevailing Christian view of Muslims was shaped by a consistently negative concept of "otherness." This narrative arose from European interactions within the Muslim world and was partially fueled by a Western feeling of inferiority.⁽⁴⁷⁾

Between 1732 and 1734, 'Moor,' and its derivatives such as 'Moorish' were the single most frequently employed term in the gazettes to describe Algerians attempting to repel the Spanish incursion.

In early modern Europe, the term referred not only to Algerians, but more broadly to the native populations of the Maghreb. The gazettes thus designated the Algerian army that besieged Oran after its fall into the hands of the Spaniards in July 1732 as ‘the Moorish army,’ and similarly applied the term to the Moroccan army besieging Ceuta in the same year.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Objects of North African origin, such as ships, were likewise described as ‘Moorish’ (*un bâtiment Maure*).⁽⁴⁹⁾ Cutter argues that, starting from the late seventeenth century, the term ‘Moor’ evolved to serve as both an ethnic and a national designation, referring to the Maghrebi-Arab majority across North Africa, whether under Ottoman suzerainty or under their own rule in Morocco.⁽⁵⁰⁾

‘Turk,’ in early modern Europe, became a synonym for Muslim, and a convert to Islam was said to have ‘turned Turk’.⁽⁵¹⁾ The term was associated with cruelty and vicious tendencies, and was used interchangeably with the word ‘barbarian’ (*barbare*).⁽⁵²⁾ However, the decline of the Ottoman threat following the Second Siege of Vienna (1683), the treaties of Karlowitz (1699), and Passarowitz (1718) prompted a gradual shift in attitudes toward the ‘Turks’.⁽⁵³⁾ As for the ‘Moor,’ this shift in perception was arguably the result of English assertion of their naval power in the Mediterranean in the late seventeenth century, as well as to the peace treaties concluded with the Barbary States, which gradually transformed the term into a more neutral ethnic designation.⁽⁵⁴⁾

Nonetheless, although ‘Moor’ and ‘Turk’ functioned as common designations for Muslims, they remained generic and reductive labels, largely devoid of nuanced civilizational meaning. The enduring legacy of medieval Christian-Muslim antagonism continued to cast its shadow over the early modern period, leading to the use of such ethnic names in order to “diminish their stature and significance and to reduce them to something local or even tribal”.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Thus, this could serve as a manifestation of the pejorative representation of the Muslim Other that the gazettes contributed to perpetuating in the first half of the eighteenth century.

In the context of the Oran belligerence, the term ‘Turk’ is specifically employed in reference to the Janissaries, whereas the term ‘Algerine’ is used to describe a person, an army, or a ship from the Regency of Algiers as a whole, or from the city of Algiers per se, regardless of ethnicity. For instance, the term ‘the Algerine army’ was used separately in *GF* and the *GA* to describe the relief force sent from Algiers to support *Būshlagham*’s ‘Moorish army’.⁽⁵⁶⁾ ‘Algériens’ was also used in reference to ‘*filz de Turcs*,’ or ‘*Kuloğlular*,’ the offspring of mixed marriages between Janissary soldiers and local Algerian women.⁽⁵⁷⁾

However, other terms employed in the *GF* and *GA* to describe North Africans represent the clearest manifestation of the prejudice toward the ‘Other’ that persisted in early eighteenth-century Europe. Algerians fighting to recover their land invaded by Spain were labelled ‘barbarians,’ ‘infidels,’ and ‘enemies’ in the news periodicals. For example, in a single news section on the fall of Oran published on July 29, 1732, which was redacted on the basis of letters from Seville, the *GA* foregrounded the word ‘barbarians’ six times, ‘enemies’ five times, ‘Moors’ two times, and ‘infidels’ one time to describe Algerians.⁽⁵⁸⁾ In another report on the major battle that took place on November 21, 1732 between the Spanish and the Algerian armies, which resulted in the death of Oran’s governor Marquis de Santa Cruz and thousands of soldiers on both sides, the same newssheet labelled Algerians ‘barbarians’ three times, ‘enemies’ two times, and ‘infidels’ and ‘Moors’ one time each, whereas Spaniards were simply referred to as ‘Spaniards’.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Rétat, who examined the Dutch gazette thoroughly, concluded that the Barbary States in general represented absolute evil in the eyes of the *GA*. For instance, it foregrounded the European pejorative stereotypes about ‘*les Maures*’ as perfidious and greedy, which arguably led the reader to a very harsh judgment of them.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Such pejorative terms appear less frequently in *GF*. In a news piece on the fall of Oran dated July 15, 1732, the word ‘Moor’ appears three times. The report on the major battle of November 21, 1732 mentioned above in the *GA* counts the employment of ‘Moor’ six times, ‘Turk’ two times, and

'Spaniards' four times.⁽⁶¹⁾ However, this is not to suggest that *GF* completely censored such derogatory terms. The crews of 'Algerian warships' were represented as 'barbarians' in a report on a naval encounter with the Spanish navy,⁽⁶²⁾ and as 'infidels' in another report on their clash with Maltese ships.⁽⁶³⁾ A report derived from letters arriving on July 14, 1733, from Madrid discusses the clashes taking place under the walls of Oran. In it, Algerians are mainly referred to as 'Moors' (two times) and 'Turks' (two times), but also as 'infidels' and 'enemies' (one time each).⁽⁶⁴⁾ Another report on the same battle employs 'Moor' two times, 'enemies' two times, and 'infidels' one time.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Similarly, *The LG* appears less biased than the *GA*, in that it foregrounds fewer alienating terms when representing the Regency of Algiers. When reporting on the fall of Oran on July 17, 1732, the words 'Moor,' 'Turk,' and 'enemy' were featured eight, two, and one time(s) respectively.⁽⁶⁶⁾ In a subsequent report in the issue of July 25, the word 'infidels' was employed.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Occasionally, insinuation-laden terms such as 'Algerine rover,' suggesting illegitimate or unlicensed maritime predation, were also used.⁽⁶⁸⁾ However, the use of terms that legitimize Algerian maritime violence, such as '*privateer*,' '*corsair*,' and '*man-of-war*,' had become more prevalent since the late seventeenth century, particularly during periods of peace between England and the Barbary States.⁽⁶⁹⁾

(2) The referential strategy of the Gazettes:

The *Gazettes'* reliance on Spanish missives led to the adoption of a Spanish narrative that, either wittingly or unwittingly, sought to de-emphasize and background the positive traits of Algerians, while emphasizing and foregrounding Spanish successes. This referential strategy, also referred to as the ideological square, intends to portray the self in a positive light while concurrently depicting the other negatively. By foregrounding 'their' negative qualities and backgrounding 'their' positive qualities, and simultaneously foregrounding 'our' positive characteristics and backgrounding 'our' negative characteristics, this strategy encourages readers to perceive the world through a binary structure of 'good us' versus 'bad them'.⁽⁷⁰⁾

On Oran battlefield, in multiple reports, Algerian forces were frequently depicted as fleeing, running precipitately, taking to flight, escaping with difficulty, and withdrawing in confusion.⁽⁷¹⁾ Spanish forces, on the other hand, are described as marching to battle in good order, fighting bravely, attacking with courage, and whose officers display good conduct, etc.⁽⁷²⁾ Even when engagements did not go in their favor, Spanish retreats are framed as orderly withdrawals or happy escapes.⁽⁷³⁾ When Spaniards were defeated, the reports appear apologetic, justifying the setback and tacitly reassuring readers that it was not the result of Algerian tactical success, but rather of an unfortunate blunder caused by "*un ordre malentendu*".⁽⁷⁴⁾

Further, through careful lexical selection, the *Gazettes* repeatedly represent Spanish victories as the outcome of the good organization of the Spanish army and the effectiveness of its tactics and ruses, e.g.: "This feint succeeded; the enemy having advanced too far, the two flanks folded, and having placed them between two fires, killed many of their men. The rest escaped only with difficulty".⁽⁷⁵⁾ In contrast, when Algerians succeeded in devising effective tactics, such as feigned retreats, flanking maneuvers, and counterattacks, these actions were backgrounded or omitted altogether.

A clear illustration of this partiality appears in the reporting on the decisive battle of November 21, 1732, which resulted in a Spanish victory, but at the cost of losing Oran's general governor Marquis de Santa Cruz and a considerable number of Spanish officers and soldiers. George Logie, the Swedish consul stationed in Algiers between 1729 and 1758, unequivocally states that the Spanish setback was the result of a successful Algerian stratagem:

"...the Spaniards having marched out of Oran with their whole force in order to surprise the Turks and demolish their camp, the latter having notice (by spies) their coming out put themselves in order

for their reception and after making a [...] flight to draw the Spaniards from under their cannon they halted and made several discharges of small arms which their main body by stratagem got between the Spaniards and the town. When finding themselves not so nimble at firing, they drew their sabres or simister? and run precipitately upon the Spaniard with such success that it's credibly reported that in the space of four hours they have killed 2500 of the best Spanish troops in the spot and taken about 800 some say 1000 prisoners among whom are abundance of officers..."⁽⁷⁶⁾

In contrast, the *GA* and *GF* omit such details, disacknowledging the Algerian ruse and attributing the casualties to a Spanish blunder:

"...Les Lettres particulieres d'Oran confirment, que la Sortie que les Espagnols firent le 21. du passé avoit eu d'abord tout le succès qu'on pouvoit souhaiter, les Barbares, qui sur l'avis de l'arrivée du Secours, avoient déjà fait des dispositions pour lever le Siege, ayant abandonné leurs Postes après une legere défense; mais que nos Troupes, encouragées par leur retraite, s'étant un peu trop avancées, les ayant poursuivis pendant 3. quarts de lieues, les Barbares s'étoient ralliez & avoient détaché leur Cavalerie pour couper nos Troupes: Surquoi celles ci avoient reçu ordre de se retirer; mais que ne l'ayant pû exécuter sans que cela causat quelque confusion, les Ennemis en avoient profité & s'étoient jettez avec furie sur notre Gauche, ce qui avoit donné heu à un Combat fort vif: Que le Marquis de Santa Crox, Gouverneur d'Oran, voyant le darger où étoient les Espagnols, s'émis mis à la tête d'un Détachement pour les dégager; ce qu'il avoit exécuté avec beaucoup de bravoure & de succès, mais aux dépens de sa vie..."⁽⁷⁷⁾

Similarly, *GF* reports:

"Les dernieres lettres qu'on a reçues d'Oran, portent que dans la sortie que le Marquis de Santa Cruz fit faire le 21 du mois dernier, il avoit fait attaquer tous les postes occupez par les Turcs & les Maures, & ques'estant apperçû qu'un détachement des troupes Espagnoles avoit esté coupé par un corps de Cavalerie Maure & qu'il estoit en danger d'estre taillé en pieces, il estoit sorti de la place à la telle d'un autre détachement pour le secourir ; qu'il avoit obligé ce corps de Cavalerie à prendre la fuite, qu'en mesme temps les autres troupes Espagnoles avoient chasse les Maures de tous leurs quartiers: que le Marquis de Santa Cruz, Capitaine General Se Gouverneur d'Oran, le Marquis de Valdecanas, Brigadier des Armées du Roy &, le Colonel Don Joseph Pinel ayant eu le malheur d'estre tuez dans ces différentes attaques..."⁽⁷⁸⁾

Another example of the partiality in the gazettes is the exaggeration of Algerian casualties alongside the downplaying of Spanish losses. The table below juxtaposes the reported losses in selected battles. These declared casualty figures remain contestable in the absence of corroborative official estimates, particularly from the Algerian side. Nevertheless, as the table demonstrates, the accounts of J. Morgan and G. Logie challenge the low Spanish death tolls reported in the gazettes in the battles of the fall of Oran (June 30-July 1, 1732) and of November 21, 1732, respectively. Moreover, while all gazettes reported on the engagements leading to the fall of Oran, only the *LG* explicitly mentioned the Spanish casualties, whereas the other gazettes maintained a degree of ambiguity.

Battle casualty reports										
Battles	GF		GA		LG		G. Logie		J. Morgan	
	Algerian losses	Spanish losses	Algerian losses	Spanish losses	Algerian losses	Spanish losses	Algerian losses	Spanish losses	Algerian losses	Spanish losses

The fall of Oran: June 30-July 1, 1732	—	—	"There is reason to believe that their loss is very considerable."	Not specified	"Lost a considerable Number of Men."	30 killed, and about 150 wounded	—	—	Not specified	5000 killed, including 1 French and 1 Irish regiments
July 15-16, 1732	Not specified	The Duc de Saint Blas killed.	About 300 killed. A subsequent report states that 800 killed	300 killed. A subsequent report speaks of 50-60 killed. Lost prominent persons, including the Duc de Saint Blas	—	—	—	—	—	—
October 4-5, 1732	3000 killed, including <i>Būshlagha</i> m's own son and 19 Aghas	Not specified	More than 1000 killed	100 killed. A follow-up report raises the death toll to 400	—	—	—	—	—	—
November 11-12, 1732	400 killed	5 killed	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
November 21, 1732	10000 killed	800 killed	"Very considerable."	500 killed	—	—	Not specified	2500 killed. 800-1000 prisoners	—	—
February 6, 1733	600 killed	"Only 1 Lieutenant of Dragoons and 2 soldiers killed."	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
April 19-20, 1733	1500 killed.	"Only 3 officers and 7 soldiers killed, and about 80 wounded."	3000 killed	Not specified	—	—	—	—	—	—
June 20, 1733	1300 killed, most of them Turks. Lost 2 of their principal leaders.	400 killed or wounded, including prominent officers	1200-1300 killed, the majority Turks	14 Officers and 182 Soldiers killed. 52 Officers and 458 Soldiers wounded	—	—	—	—	—	—
October 23, 1733	"Lost many men."	"Only 1 soldier killed, 1 officer and 7 soldiers wounded."	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 1: A comparison of battles casualty reports in the gazettes

3) The reliance on reports from Spain was a business necessity, not a choice.

It was faster, practical, and more feasible to source news from Spain than from Barbary. Since the 1650s, Spain had been effectively integrated into the broader international postal networks,^(79) rendering the kingdom a key hub within the European network of news dissemination. Additionally, Spanish ports were far more frequented by shipping than those of

Barbary. As a result, major Spanish trading centers such as Seville, Cádiz, and Alicante became the nexus between the expeditionary army in Oran and mainland Spain, with news from the front arriving there regularly before being redistributed to European capitals through dispatches and diplomatic correspondence.

Conversely, despite the increasingly emergent network of European consuls, agents, and merchants in major North African port-cities, the Maghreb in general in the early eighteenth century remained less integrated into this system. This disparity is evident in the amount of time correspondence from the Maghreb typically required to reach European publishing outlets in comparison with reports originating

from Spain. For instance, news concerning a scientific mission that arrived in Algiers from Saxony was dispatched from the North African metropolis to France on February 21, 1732, yet was published in the *GA* more than three months later, on June 13, 1732.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Similarly, news of the same scientific mission arriving subsequently in Tunis was sent on August 29, 1732, but appeared in the *GA* only on October 28, 1732, nearly three months later.⁽⁸¹⁾ Another example is a report originating from Meknes on June 16, 1732, concerning the prospect of an Algerian-Moroccan joint action against Spanish forces in Oran and Ceuta, which was published in the *GA* on September 9, 1732, approximately four months later.⁽⁸²⁾

In comparison, when Spanish troops entered Oran on July 1, 1732, the commander of the Spanish expeditionary army, the Marquis de Montemar, sent letters to Madrid on July 5, 6, and 7 via Seville, announcing that the Algerian town had fallen into his hands. The news reached Paris from Madrid within a week and was published in the *GF* on July 15, 1732.⁽⁸³⁾ The same event was reported in the *LG* on July 18, after reaching London a day earlier on July 17, through the British ambassador at the French court, who had himself received it from “his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at Seville”.⁽⁸⁴⁾

Another letter, dated July 2, and sent from the Spanish camp near Oran, was published in *GA* on July 29, 1732,⁽⁸⁵⁾ indicating that the correspondence could travel from the battlefield in North Africa to Amsterdam via Seville and be printed in less than a month.

Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the dominance of the Spanish narrative in the *Gazettes* was not only the product of an intrinsic Western prejudice against the “Other,” but can also be attributed to the technical and logistical constraints that plagued the news business in the early modern period. These constraints rendered the systematic sourcing of news from less frequented, non-European harbors impractical and often unviable, which in turn helped reinforcing the already prevalent Euro-centric narrative and perception of the Other, characterized by prejudice and partiality.

4. 2. The pamphlets:

Pamphlets, like any other public-intended early modern publications, did not steer away from the common perceptions of the period. They were known to be emotionally charged and prejudiced toward the Other, reflecting the societal norms of their time. Even seemingly factual news pamphlets bore the same Western stereotypes of Islam. Such accounts linked Muslims with violence, treachery, cruelty, and wrath, and consistently depicted them as “irrational and fanatical killers who practice treachery, oath-breaking, double-dealing, enslavement, piracy, and terrorism.”⁽⁸⁶⁾

‘The Spanish Conquest: or, a Journal of Their Late Expedition, From Their First Preparation to Their Embarkation, and from thence to the Taking of Oran and the Surrender of Mazalquivir’ (1733) and *‘A Compleat History of the Present Seat of War in Africa Between the Spaniards and Algerines’* (1732) exemplify these ostensibly factual pamphlets. Both claim to have been penned on the basis of information collated from public and private sources, including Spanish letters on the invasion published in the newssheets. Roberts is careful to state in his introduction that he “collected the whole History of the Affair, without any Embellishments but Truth, and Matter of Fact...,”⁽⁸⁷⁾ while Morgan emphasizes that his account is consolidated by the observations of high-ranking Algerian officials.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Yet, the ‘true’ and ‘factual’ historical events these pamphlets purport to present are interlarded with classical early modern European rhetoric of Otherness, revealing the persistence of prejudice against the other even within claims of factual neutrality.

4. 2. 1. Prejudice and misconceptions in the pamphlets:

The Protestant English public in the early modern era was both anti-Islam and anti-Catholic. It disliked both and viewed positively their clashes against one another.⁽⁸⁹⁾ Roberts’s pamphlet is especially

reflective of these sentiments. Maintaining a certain equidistance from both Algerians and Spaniards, it is critical of their doctrines and not particularly favorable toward either, and it even contains signs of a condescending attitude toward both. Equally important, his text is rich in judgments and ironical nuances, which contributed to perpetuating popular negative representations of the Other among the English-speaking readership.

In the 41-page pamphlet, Algerians are preponderantly described as 'Moors' (44 times), 'Africans' (8 times), 'Algerines' (5 times), 'Turks' (4 times), and 'Arabs' (once). Except for 'Algerine', these were, as shown above, the terms a European would commonly use at the time to refer to Maghrebis. Outright contempt toward Muslims in general is also discernible. Islam is labelled "ignorance and heathenism," and Algerians are called "Barbarians," "heathens," and "Infidels," "if we will allow them to be of any Religion at all," as Roberts contends.⁽⁹⁰⁾

Contempt toward Catholics is more indirect but consistently articulated in Roberts's text through the deployment of argumentative discourse, notably arguments from comparison, argument from analogy, and rhetorical questions. Argumentation constitutes the most significant rhetorical category. It is fundamentally dialectical in nature, aiming to identify the most persuasive arguments by reasoning through an issue via controversy and structured discussion.⁽⁹¹⁾ In Roberts's case, this rhetorical strategy functions to undermine Spanish triumphalism and claims of divine intervention, while simultaneously reaffirming British religious and military superiority for his readership.

To this end, Roberts makes extensive use of the argument from comparison. He juxtaposes the collapse of Algerian resistance before the Spanish army at Oran with the rout of the Spanish Armada by the English fleet in 1588. By doing so, he questions the Spanish interpretation of their success as evidence of divine favor, arguing that if providence explained Spanish victory over the Algerians, the same logic must apply to England's victory over Spain.⁽⁹²⁾ At the same time, Roberts diminishes the military value of the conquest by stressing that the Spaniards did not face a disciplined and resolute adversary such as the English, but rather disorganized and demoralized defenders who, purportedly, abandoned their positions at the enemy's approach, turning the campaign into an enterprise of plunder rather than combat.⁽⁹³⁾

Roberts further reinforces this polemical stance through confessional argumentation, asserting the superiority of Protestantism over both Roman Catholicism and Islam. He presents the "Holy Reformed Religion" as occupying a higher place in the eyes of Heaven than Catholicism, just as Catholicism, in his view, stands above the religion of "Heathens, Turks, and Infidels",⁽⁹⁴⁾ thereby framing Spanish Catholic success as spiritually inferior and morally suspect. This rhetoric of confessional and national superiority has been frequent in English pamphlet literature since at least the first decades of the seventeenth century. Álvarez Recio remarked that some pamphleteers in the 1620s sought to reinforce anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish prejudices already common in England since the mid-sixteenth century in a bid to consolidate the English interior front against the perceived Spanish-catholic threat.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Similarly, Pamphlets that addressed Islam, another scholar argues, were meant to make the English reader thank god for living in the most free country and not living under the tyranny of the Turk, as well as to dissuade them from revolting against their "indulgent, the most gracious of all the Princes of the Universe".⁽⁹⁶⁾

The argument from analogy also plays a central role in Roberts's discourse. By likening the Spaniards to a ravenous fox repeatedly preying upon a flock of geese, he portrays them as a predator who only preys on helpless preys, and whose actions are driven by greed and opportunism rather than a noble cause or strategic necessity.⁽⁹⁷⁾ This metaphor strips the Spanish expedition of any heroic or providential aura and serves as a further expression of contempt toward the Catholic Other.

Morgan, in turn, also conveys the reciprocity of contempt between Catholics and Protestants. In one instance, he recounts how the English consul Robert Cole (1694-1712) was despised by Spanish slaves in

Algiers and accused of being a “heretic and professed enemy to God and the Holy Catholic Belief” because he allegedly assisted the Algerian ‘infidels’ in conquering Oran in 1708.⁽⁹⁸⁾

4. 2. 2. Signs of perception shift towards the Muslim other:

Although the pamphlet literature testifies to the endurance of the rhetoric of alterity in the early modern era, it also presents evidence of a gradual shift in the perception of the Other that began to crystallize in Europe at the close of the seventeenth century. This shift is manifested in more balanced and positive attitudes toward the other, as well as in calls for greater toleration and openness toward Islam by some intellectuals, clergy, and diplomats, resulting from their direct contact with Muslims.⁽⁹⁹⁾

Such balanced views are especially palpable in the works of Morgan, the former English diplomat in Algiers. He positions himself as an impartial and critical observer, distinguishing his work from what he perceives as the biased and often inaccurate accounts of earlier writers, particularly those from Southern Europe. His twenty-year-long experience in North Africa not only made him an erudite in Algerian affairs, as evidenced by his frequent demonstration of conversance with local dialects,⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ but also shaped his generally positive opinions of Muslims in general and Algerians in particular, though he retained prudent views to avoid provoking negative reactions from the still-prejudiced British public.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

According to Thomson, Morgan attempted to strike a balance between sympathy and a desire to enlighten the British public, aiming to lead them to reassess their hostile prejudices and frustrations with Algerian policies. He urged that Algerians be judged by the same standards as the English, arguing that both positive and negative attributes of any people are the result of governance, not of intrinsic inferiority or flaws, and even asserting that the English would probably be worse without strict laws.⁽¹⁰²⁾

In this respect, Morgan defends the Algerian state and its foreign behavior, particularly in the political and military spheres. He portrays it as a formidable and respected power, stating:

“Algiers is very well known to be a powerful Government, which has stood its Ground for more than two Centuries against several vigorous Attacks made upon it... The Algerines must be allowed to be a martial People, whose Amity is sought for, nay courted by the first Potentates of Europe. They make Peace and War like other Nations, and are always in a Condition to make themselves respected and considered.”⁽¹⁰³⁾

Elsewhere, he seeks to dis-alienate Algerians through a rhetoric of reconciliation, emphasizing the peace that had hitherto existed between the Regency and his nation: “We have little to do with the Algerines at present, only as Friends and Allies; nor have we had any other Business with them for almost these last forty Years.”⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

Morgan’s reconciliatory tone and objectivity are further evident in his critique of the deep-seated Christian prejudices against Muslims, which he attributes to the influence of Spanish monks and fraudulent narratives. He writes: “Prejudice against the Turks, and all other Mahometans, is so firmly rooted in the Breast of most Christians, that they seem to want Words to express the Bitterness of their Hearts.”⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ He openly criticizes the “gross Errors” and “palpable Falsities” propagated by “ignorant, enthusiastick Monks, and such like romancing Zealots,”⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ arguing that these writers, driven by religious and cultural prejudices, misrepresented North African societies, particularly the Algerians, as “cowardly skulking Pyrates.”⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

Another sign of the newfound positivity toward the Algerian Other in these pamphlets is the frequent use of terms denoting nationhood, such as ‘Algerine.’ This term, employed fifty times in Morgan’s 144-page pamphlet and five times in Roberts’s 41-page pamphlet, referred not only to the city of Algiers or its

inhabitants but also to the State and Kingdom of Algiers. Such frequent usage can be construed as a recognition of Algerian statehood, representing a departure from the habitual European stereotypes of 'Barbary' as merely a geographic label for piracy practicing and ethnically divided groups living without mature political organization.

Nevertheless, Morgan's attempt to paint a positive image of Islam and rectify unfounded prejudices about Algeria is not entirely intended to whitewash Muslims or Algerians. Rather, it can be discerned as an instrumentalization of the Muslim Other to criticize the Catholic Church. While routinely criticizing Catholicism, he simultaneously exposes perceived defects and shortcomings within Islam and Algerian society, likely to reassure his readership that he harbors no latent favoritism toward Muslims.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ For instance, he notes the hatred the Moors hold toward Spaniards and Turks for their cruelties, while affirming that Spaniards are far more despised.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ In another instance, he rebukes the Moorish fatalistic mindset, in which scores of them 'flocked' to the battlefield against the Spaniards believing it meritorious "to be brained by a Christian," and convinced that God had already predestined their deaths.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

5. Conclusion:

Though seemingly neutral, as their host countries were not direct parties in the conflict, the gazettes and pamphlets in the early eighteenth century nonetheless exhibited forms of bias and prejudice against the Other that were endemic to early modern Europe. Early modern prints are neither entirely objective nor entirely biased. Rather, the gazettes and pamphlets remained imbued with prejudice toward Muslims, even as discernible signs of a gradual shift in perception begin to emerge. This duality necessitates a careful and critical approach to their use as historical sources, reminding us that the study of early modern international conflicts require attention both to events and to the ways those events were narrated.

To conclude, this paper does not claim to exhaust the complexities of such vast topic. It seeks, rather, to open new avenues for examining the representation of the Other in early modern European printed media, particularly through focused case studies that foreground both discourse and context.

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- (44) Dosquet, *op. cit.*, p. 647.
- (45) See for example: Gazette d'Amsterdam, 29 Juillet 1732, 26 Août 1732; La Gazette de France, 1733, pp. 567-572.
- (46) J. E. Richardson, *Analysing Newspapers an Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2007, p. 47.

- (47) Vitkus, **op. cit.**, p. 210; Pomara & Chachia, **op. cit.**, p. 134.
- (48) La Gazette de France, 1732, pp. 606-607; Gazette d'Amsterdam, 02 Janvier 1733; The London Gazette, 8-11 July 1732, 26-29 August 1732.
- (49) For example : La Gazette de France, 1734, pp. 160-161.
- (50) Cutter, *Turks, Moors, Deys and Kingdoms...*, **op. cit.**, pp. 75-76.
- (51) Lewis, **op. cit.**, p. 7.
- (52) Thomson, **op. cit.**, p. 16.
- (53) Lewis, **op. cit.**, p. 19; Pomara & Chachia, **op. cit.**, p. 134.
- (54) Matar, **op. cit.**, p. 8; Cutter, *Peace with Pirates?...*, **op. cit.**, p. 10.
- (55) Lewis, **op. cit.**, p. 7.
- (56) La Gazette de France, 1734, p. 245; Gazette d'Amsterdam, 23 juin 1733; The London Gazette, 15-18 July 1732.
- (57) La Gazette de France, 1733, p. 568.
- (58) Gazette d'Amsterdam, 29 Juillet 1732.
- (59) **Ibid**, 02 Janvier 1733.
- (60) Rétat, **op. cit.**, pp. 256-257.
- (61) La Gazette de France, 1733, pp. 617-618.
- (62) **Ibid**, 1735, p. 596.
- (63) **Ibid**, 1734, p. 428.
- (64) **Ibid**, pp. 364-365.
- (65) **Ibid**, p. 400.
- (66) The London Gazette, 15-18 July 1732.
- (67) **Ibid**, 5-8 August 1732.
- (68) **Ibid**, 30 March 1731.
- (69) Cutter, **op. cit.**, pp. 5-6.
- (70) Richardson, **op. cit.**, pp. 49-51.
- (71) See for example : La Gazette de France, 1734, p. 128; Gazette d'Amsterdam, 11 novembre 1732; La Gazette de France, 1733, p. 366; The London Gazette, 8-11 July 1732.
- (72) See for instance : La Gazette de France, 1733, p. 606; La Gazette de France, 1734, p. 115.
- (73) For example: La Gazette de France, 1734, p. 400.
- (74) For example : **Ibid**, 1733, p. 570.
- (75) **Ibid**, 1734, p. 128 ; see also: **Ibid**, 1735, pp. 171-172.
- (76) Riksarkivet, Diplomata Turcica, Bihang Algerica, Svenska Konsulers Skrivelser, 4 Decembre, 1732.
- (77) Gazette d'Amsterdam, 02 Janvier 1733.
- (78) La Gazette de France, 1733, pp. 617-618.
- (79) N. Schobesberger et. al., *European Postal Networks*, In J. Raymond, & N. Moxham, *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2016, p. 41.
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- (81) **Ibid**, 28 Octobre 1732.
- (82) **Ibid**, 09 Septembre 1732.

- (83) La Gazette de France, 1733, p. 366.
- (84) The London Gazette, 15-18 July 1732.
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- (88) Morgan, **op. cit.**, pp. 133, 135, 138.
- (89) Vitkus, **op. cit.**, p. 211.
- (90) Roberts, **op. cit.**, p. 30.
- (91) M. E. Sánchez Cuervo, *The Opinion Essay as Example of Discourse Analysis: Rhetorical Assessment*, Revista de Lenguas para Fines Específicos(13-14), 2008, p. 226.
- (92) Roberts, **op. cit.**, p. 28.
- (93) **Ibid.**
- (94) **Ibid**, p. 30.
- (95) Álvarez Recio, **op. cit.**, pp. 9, 16.
- (96) Knights, **op. cit.**, pp. 127-128.
- (97) Roberts, 1733, p. 26.
- (98) Morgan, **op. cit.**, p. 134.
- (99) Vitkus, **op. cit.**, p. 226; Pomara & Chachia, **op. cit.**, pp. 133-134.
- (100) For example: Morgan, **op. cit.**, pp. 15, 129, 137.
- (101) Thomson, *Countering Islamophobia...*, **op. cit.**, pp. 105-106.
- (102) **Ibid**, p. 108.
- (103) Morgan, *A Complete History of Algiers*, **op. cit.**, pp. iv-v.
- (104) **Ibid**, p. v.
- (105) Morgan, *A compleat History of the Piratical States...*, **op. cit.**, pp. iv-v.
- (106) Morgan, *A Complete History of Algiers*, **op. cit.**, p. 1.
- (107) Morgan, *A compleat History of the Piratical States...*, **op. cit.**, pp. iv-v.
- (108) Thomson, 2022, **op. cit.**, p. 109.
- (109) Morgan, *A Compleat History of the Present Seat of War...*, **op. cit.**, p. 140.
- (110) **Ibid**, p. 128.