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James Richardson's "Abolitionist and Civilizing" Tour in the Sharifian Empire

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Abstract: This article focuses on James Richardson's accentuation and deployment of different representational tools in his interaction with Moroccans through the smooth intersection of sentiment, evangelism, rhetoric and abolitionism during the nineteenth century. The British launched an international abolitionist campaign, and pressure mounted on Morocco to end the slave trade was initiated in 1842. James Richardson, a well-known British explorer, traveler and anti-slavery activist, undertook the mission to convince the Sultan of Morocco, Mawlay Abderrahman (r.1822-59), to abolish slavery in 1843-44. During his journey, Richardson read to Kaid al-Hajj al-Aarbi al-Tarris, the governor of the port of Essaouira, a petition from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Failing to obtain an audience with the Sultan in Marrakesh, the authorities compelled Richardson to leave Morocco. Richardson regarded himself as the emissary of the "three Cs": civilization, Christianity and commerce. He deploys an anti-slavery discourse as a rhetorical trope and a discursive choice to underprop his abolitionist mission in Morocco. This was a scheme for empire that was undoubtedly believed by some agents of colonialism; these so-called "three Cs", Richardson asserts, are the main prerequisites of emancipating the people of Barbary from primitivism, tribal feudalism, religious bigotry and isolationism.

Keywords: James Richardson, Abolitionism, Philanthropy, Slavery, *Mission Civilisatrice*, Representation, Nineteenth-Century Morocco.

The Background

James Richardson, born in 1806, was educated for the evangelical ministry. His early training and adventurous tendency sparked his curiosity and interest to spread Christianity and suppress the slave trade in Africa. He joined the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society[1] immediately on its inauguration in 1839 by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton and his friends with a view to concentrating his attention on the North African branch of the hideous traffic.[2] And it is significant

1. Two successively related organizations emerged out of the English Anti-Slavery Society: the first was founded in 1823 and was committed to the abolition of slavery in the British Empire. Its official name was the *Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions*. This objective was substantially achieved in 1838 under the terms of the Slavery Abolition Act 1833. A successor organization, the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, was formed in 1839 to fight for global abolition.

2. Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton introduced the trans-Saharan slave trade to the British public in his publication *The African Slave Trade* (1839). Buxton superimposed the abolitionist and the orientalist

that one of the very first things that the new Society did was to submit to the Foreign Secretary the first of its long series of addresses. It urged the abolition of the slave trade in Barbary and the Ottoman Empire. Under the auspices of the Society, Richardson journeyed into Malta, where he involved in the editing of a newspaper and in the studying of the Arabic language and geography. Richardson developed hatred for slavery and the slave trade which never left him.[3]

Great Britain and France had suppressed slavery in their colonies in 1838 and 1848 respectively and foreign pressures had led to the suppression of the slave trade in Tunisia in 1846. Richardson went to Tunis in 1842 to present a "testimonial of gratitude" to Ahmad Bey of Tunisia (r.1837-55), as the first modern Muslim ruler to embrace abolition, on behalf of the British residents in Malta, Gibraltar, Leghorn, Florence, Naples and Tripoli, all of whom were presumably members of the Maltese branch of the Anti-Slavery Society. Richardson also presented a personal address in which he told the Bey that he had achieved more honour by his anti-slavery measures than any Muslim prince had ever done by war or conquest.[4]

Very content with his journey to Tunis, James Richardson decided to make an adventurous attempt to journey into Morocco, a country which was far more dilatory. Sultan Mawlay Abderrahman of Morocco (r.1822-1859) famously proclaimed in 1842 that slavery was a matter on which "all sects and nations have agreed from the time of the sons of Adam." Richardson's travel was sponsored by the Anti-Slavery Society that gave him an address to be presented to the Sultan of Morocco. His first port of call was Tangiers where he disembarked in December 1843. Then he visited the following coast towns: Asila, Laraiche, Mehedia (Kénitra), Sallee, Rabat, Fidallah (Mohammedia) Dar-el-Beida (Casablanca), Azzemour, Mazagan (El Jadida), Safi, Walidiya and Mogador (Essaouira).

In March 1844, James Richardson presented himself to the governor of Mogador. He announced that he was the agent of a "Society" for promoting "the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade in Every Part of the World." His mission was to petition the Emperor of Morocco to join all men in all parts of the world

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discourses on the Sahara, creating a new "reality" that resonated with his public and political audiences. For a discussion of Buxton's book, see A. Adu Boahen, *Britain, the Sahara and the Western Sudan 1788-1861* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 98-101.

3. James Richardson, *Travels in the Great Desert of Sahara in the years of 1845 and 1846* (London: Richard Bentley, 1848), xv.

4. In 1846, the Bey officially decreed the end of both the slave trade and slavery. However, the policy sparked a revolt against the reform on the grounds that abolition was not sanctioned by Islam. Although the Bey signed another treaty with Britain in 1875 promising to more fully implement the decree, the continued presence of slaves in Tunis allowed France to make the persistence of slavery one of its justifications for establishing a protectorate over the country in 1881. See Ennaji, *Serving the Master: Slavery and Society in Nineteenth-Century Morocco* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 43-46; Ehud Toledano, *As if Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); and Y. Hakan Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and its Demise, 1800-1909* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 152-84.

in abolishing a traffic "contrary to the rights of Men and the Laws of God." In response to Richardson's petition to abolish slavery in Morocco, the governor of Essaouira replied that Richardson's mission was "against our religion; I cannot entertain it, think of it or interfere with it in any way whatever." The purchase and sale of slaves was authorized by the Prophet himself. If the governor were even to accept the petition, he told Richardson, the Sultan, he claimed, would order the governor's "tongue to be cut from my mouth."[5] Moreover, recorded the Englishman, were the Moroccan Emperor to agree with the Society and abolish the traffic in slavery throughout his dominions, all the people would rise in revolt against him and the Emperor would be the first to have his head cut off. The governor, he concluded, "politely declined to receive the petition."[6]

In 1842, the Moroccan ruler himself had dismissed a far more modest request from the British Consul-General. The British government requested information on any measures that the Sultan had taken toward the abolition of the African slave trade. The Sultan responded that the traffic was a "matter on which all sects and nations have agreed from the time of Adam," (…). And, because "no sects and nations disagreed on the subject, its acceptability required 'no more demonstration than the light of day.'"[7] Nor could anyone dream, when James Richardson was conversing with the governor of Mogador, that precisely a century later there would be more slaves toiling in his own civilized continent than in all the plantation societies of the Americas.

The sultan continued that not only the making of slaves but also "trading therewith" were sanctioned by the Quran, which "admits not either of addition or diminution." The sultan declined to meet envoys from the Anti-Slavery Society in 1844:[8]

> "It has reached us that four officers arrived from London in the direction of Tangier. They are bearers of messages from English and French societies, and ask to meet with us so that we commit ourselves to their nations to no longer sell or buy slaves. If they arrive with letters, send them to our Cherifian capital and them, you keep them there, because they are intelligent and perceptive people. We must not let them roam our wealthy country. Moreover, their tyrants do not have to meddle with this question for which they came. It stems from their indiscreet curiosity. If you can get us rid of them so that their letters do not reach us, please do so."[9]

5. James Richardson, *Travels in Morocco*, vol. I, 212.

6. Seymour Drescher. *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 3.

7. See Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 3.

8. Mohamed Ennaji and Khalid Ben-Srhir, "La Grande-Bretagne et l'esclavage au Maroc au XIXe Siècle," *Hespéris-Tamuda* XXIX (2) (1991): 249-50.

9. Letter sent by Sultan Mawlay Abderrahman to Bouselham Ben Ali, December 30, 1834, (al-Khizāna al-Ḥassaniyya, Rabat).

His chief minister, Mohammed ben Idris, wrote to the British in the following year, "as we do not interfere in religious principles which you profess, likewise you should not interfere in our religion." Pursuing his universalist claim, the sultan even secured a ruling on slavery from Jewish rabbis.[10]

James Richardson had to admit defeat. Prior to his departure in April 1844, however, he took advantage of his visit to issue a circular to the British merchants resident in Morocco to remind them that any British subject who aided or abetted the slave trade was guilty of felony. He also delivered his usual sermons against the trade and distributed some Arabic tracts on abolition and a few Bibles in Arabic presented by the Abolition Society. He also succeeded in collecting information about slavery and the slave traffic which he subsequently published in the Anti-Slavery Reporter under the title "Slavery and Slave Trade in Morocco." According to Daniel Schroeter, several decades after James Richardson's petition was reected and was compelled to leave Morocco, a number of European residents in Morocco became subscribers to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and began sending regular reports to the society's journal in London about slave trading in Morocco.[11]

The foreign consulates were interested in the development of trade with Morocco, and an important aspect of that trade was trans-Saharan. Consequently, there are reports which try to assess the full extent of the trans-Saharan trade, sometimes including a reference to slaves. Following the extensive research of Jean-Louis Miège,[12] it is now commonly assumed that, in contrast to what might have been the logical result of European expansion on the west coast of Africa – namely, the decline of the trans-Saharan routes – the nineteenth century witnessed a growth in trade between Morocco and the western Sudan. This conclusion is based on the trade reports from the foreign consulates in Morocco's ports. The trans-Saharan trade appeared to be growing because of European trade. Most important of all was the growing demand for ostrich feathers in Europe and the demand for European manufactured textiles all along the southern trade routes. It is now widely recognized that the trans-Saharan trade was very active and even expanded in the nineteenth century because of its importance for Moroccan society.[13]

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10. Daniel Schroeter, "Slave markets and slavery in Moroccan urban society," in *The Human Commodity: Perspectives on the Trans-Saharan Slave Trade,* Elizabeth Savage, ed., (London: Frank Cass, 1992), 202-3, 212. See also Chouki El Hamel, *Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2012); see also his article: "'Race,' Slavery and Islam in Maghribi Mediterranean thought: the question of the Haratin in Morocco," *The Journal of North African Studies* 7 (3) (2002): 29-52.

11. Ibid., 186.

12. Jean-Louis Miège, *Le Maroc et l'Europe, 1830-1894*, 4 vols., (Paris: PUF, 1961-2).

13. C. W. Newbury, "North African and Western Sudan Trade in the Nineteenth Century: A Reevaluation," *Journal of African History* 7 (1966): 223-46.

'*Abīd* (plural of '*Abd*), slaves, were imported into Morocco principally by the overland trans-Saharan route, especially the Western Soudan and Timbuktu. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the main entrepôt (*Souk-el-'Abīd*) in the south east was in Tuat, linked further to the north by Figuig. The latter's trade was disrupted by the French conquest of Algeria and the principal entrepôt moved to Abou Am. In the south west, Tisint, Akka and Tatta were the centers for the trans-Saharan caravans. These towns were eclipsed by Tindouf which, after its foundation in 1852, rapidly became the south-western departure point for the large annual caravan which left for Timbuktu in September and returned in April. Slaves were redistributed throughout Morocco from these southern centers.[14] In addition to these centers, there was in the Sous province a place called Sidi Ahmed ou-Moussa, wherein a great yearly fair was held, which was called "the Amoo Ghur," (*Muggar*).[15]

Richardson's *Travels in Morocco* should be framed within its political and socio-historical time to highlight the complex relational dimensions that negotiate, contest and also appropriate ideologies to endorse varied cultural, political and social arguments. The travel writer made his journey during the embassy of the Consul-General Edward William Auriol Drummond Hay (1829-1845), whose son John Drummond Hay (1845-1886) was to play a decisive role in the modern history of Morocco. The French expansionism, which resulted in the French occupation of Algeria in 1830, gave a new momentum to the strengthening of Anglo-Moroccan political relations and led to a closer rapprochement. It is important to mention that Richardson's peregrination into Western Barbary took place about one year before the Battle of Isly of 14 August 1844 and its repercussions[16] on Moroccans' psyche and on their vision vis-à-vis Christians. As a result, the Treaty of Lala Maghnia of 18 Marsh 1845 between France and Morocco under the advising guides of John Drummond Hay was signed. Hay's diplomatic maneuvers and political shrewdness contributed a great deal to Morocco's loss of independence. He is the ambassador who used to portray himself as the advising friend of the sultans of Morocco, who was well

14. Daniel Schroeter, "Slave markets and slavery in Moroccan urban society," 187.

15. John V. Crawford and Charles H. Allen, F.R.G.S, *Morocco: Report to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* (British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 55, New Broad Street London, B.C., 1886), 9. For more details concerning this yearly fair held in August see Paul Pascon, *La Maison d'Iligh et l'histoire sociale du Tazerwalt*: "Le grand Muggar d'août de Sidi Ahmad ou Moussa, Tazerwalt, septembre 1981. Description d'une foire régionale dans le sud-ouest marocain," 141-222, (Rabat: Société Marocaine des Editeurs Réunis, 1984); Mohammed Ennaji et Paul Pascon, *Le Makhzen et le Sous al-Aqsa: la correspondance politique de la maison d'Iligh, 1821-1894* (Paris: éd. du CNRS-Cahiers du CRESM,1988).

16. Because of his support of the Algerian resistance leader Amir Abd-el-Kader, Mawlay Abderrahman was defeated by an invading French army under General Bugeaud at Wad Isly, Western of the town of Oujda. On 15th August, 1844, the bombardment of Essaouira began. This defeat had a profound impact on Moroccan self-perceptions. See Ahmed ben Khalid al-Nasiri's book *Kitāb al-istiqṣa li-akhbār duwal al-Maghreb al-Aqṣā*, eds. Mohammed Hajji, Ibraim Boutaleb, Ahmed Tawfiq (Casablanca: Ministry of culture, 2001), Vol.8, 61.

aware of the need to mobilize the British to secure new privileges for Britain under an important treaty that would guarantee his country peace with important privileges that would not require war. He favoured the carrot policy over the stick approach, so he practised many pressures-cum-threats on Morocco to get opened to the world of capitalism as a desiring machine of colonialism.[17] The task of this representative was onerous.[18] J.D. Hay had to acquire first-hand knowledge of how the Moroccan state, known as the *makhzan*, worked and the particular weak and strong points of its constituent parts as a complex apparatus. After acquainting himself with Morocco's political, socio-economic and cultural structures, and after getting familiar with Moroccans' mentalities, Hay imposed the signature of a Conventions of "Friendship, Navigation, and Commerce" with Morocco in 1856,[19] a treaty that struck the Moroccan economy and determined its customs revenues and threw Morocco precipitously into a capitalist system that it could not keep up with.

In John Drummond Hay's eyes, the most efficient tool of reinforcing British influence in Morocco at all levels would be a skilfully implemented policy of commercial penetration of the Moroccan market.[20] Therefore, the posthumous publication of Richardson's travel text consciously or unconsciously consolidated the premise that the discourse expressed in this account and others found its legitimacy in colonial climate and in the despised view of Moroccans. Indeed, and as Edward Said has demonstrated in his book *Orientalism*, Christian Europe's long relationship with the mysterious "East" was from the beginning shaped by its conflict with Islam and its fear of the powerful "Ottoman peril."[21] This continued to play into Europe's vision of itself in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, even as the quest for "the other" became more nuanced and pervasive, and Europe's interests became more imperial.

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17. Robert J. C Young. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995).

18. John Drummond Hay's mission in Morocco coincided with that of Lord Palmerston, the British foreign minister "We have no eternal allies, and we have no perpetual enemies"; "Our interests are eternal and perpetual, and those interests it is our duty to follow." Henry John Temple Palmerston, Remarks in the House of Commons, March 1, 1848.

19. The Anglo-Moroccan Commercial Treaty (December 9th, 1856) became the model for subsequent bilateral treaties reached by other countries, mainly France and Spain. The treaty was comprised of thirty-eight articles, the commonest features of which are commercially-oriented. It was signed by J.D. Hay and aimed at supporting British trade and protecting subjects in Morocco. The treaty abolished monopolies controlled by the Sultan and his merchants (*Tujjār as-Sultān*) on imports save tobacco, opium, firearm and other special items. Also, all additional taxes such as gate or market taxes were to be waived for British merchants.

20. See Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco during the Embassy of John Drummond Hay* (Trans. Malcolm Williams and Gavin Waterson. London: Routledge Curzon, 2005). See also Louisa Annette Edla Brooks (Drummond Hay) and Alice Emily Drummond Hay, eds. *A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Hay: Sometime the Minister at the Court of Morocco Based on His Journal and Correspondence* (London: John Murray Albemarle Street, 1896), 357-58.

21. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books Ed., 1979), 58-60.

This article revolves around the reading and analysis of the travelogue of James Richardson, a nineteenth-century entirely neglected pioneer explorer of the Central Sahara, a philanthropist and one of the earliest supporters of the attack on the trans-Saharan slave trade. *Travels in Morocco* contains information related to history, anthropology, sociology, politics, culture, economy and religion. Throughout the account, the travel writer strongly clings to and vociferously advances an anti-slavery discourse, enticing the reader to engage actively with him in this "civilizing mission" and to nurse a sentimental rhetoric of abolitionism, making, therefore, starkly dichotomous constructs between the civilized, modern and rational "us" (Europeans) and the uncivilized, premodern and irrational "them" (Berber/Arab/Muslim). Regarding himself as the emissary of the so-called "three Cs" of civilization, Christianity and commerce, Richardson believed that it was through a combination of these three influences that "savage," primitive Moroccans would be raised to a higher level of material, moral and intellectual progress. As rhetorical, evangelical and epistemological tools of empire, these "three Cs" allow Richardson to represent omnisciently Moorish (Moroccan) people and their space from a negative perspective.

Richardson's Discourse of Abolitionism and Philanthropy

The abolition of the slave trade and slavery served British rulers in many imperialist – and sometimes quite violent – ways. But the fact that it could never divert popular agitation during a crisis demonstrates the severe limitations of abolitionism's utility as an elite's "hegemonic deflector." Indeed, it was at moments of rising crisis that its detractors, both at home and abroad, most effectively branded abolitionism as a hegemonic hoax. We must bear in mind that apart from the Quakers, many of those who became abolitionists in 1787 had other objectives as their highest priority. In the late eighteen and nineteenth centuries, European imperial powers deployed a rhetorically abolitionist discourse in their policies and literary genres.[22] In many respects, British anti-slavery reached its zenith in the decades of the 1830s and 1840s. British abolitionists mobilized five times to petition Parliament or to elect representatives favorable to their cause. The antislavery movement continued to set records for the numbers of petitions and addresses sent to London.

British efforts in multinational diplomacy reached their climax in the months following the world Antislavery Convention of 1840. Foreign Minister Lord Palmerston completed multilateral negotiations for what he told parliament would be a "Christian league against the slave trade." The years just before and after the World Antislavery Convention of 1840 witnessed an acceleration of

22. E. Ann. McDougall "Discourse and distortion: critical reflections on studying the Saharan slave trade." In Traites et esclavages: vieux problèmes, nouvelles perspectives, Edited by Pétré-Grenouilleau, Olivier, *Outre-mers* (89) (336-337) (2002): 196-97; See also Seymour Drescher. "The Shocking Birth of British Abolitionism, Slavery & Abolition," *A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* (33) (4) (2012): 571-93.

British diplomatic efforts to close down the slave trade. By the early 1840s, British diplomatic initiatives against the slave trade were also extended broadly through areas of the Muslim world where slaving was widely practiced, (The recent book on Islam and Slavery) including the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, and the Black Sea. As in Christendom, the brutality involved in fueling the institution had elicited considerable discussion in Islam for a millennium. Nevertheless, Muslim unease had never coalesced into an abolitionist movement before the 1840s. As long as the overwhelming majority of articulate Muslims professed a belief in the divine sanction of the institution, the suppression of slavery proved to be "a labour of Sisyphus."[23]

The travelogue includes both a preface written by a family friend, Lt. Trent Grave, and an introduction written by his wife, both of whom justify the publication of the work due to contemporary nationalistic-cum-capitalistic interests. Grave suggests that we must read Richardson's travel narrative to better know one's enemy, stressing that the Moroccan Other, who regards the British and Christians as "dogs," is in need of civilization and education.[24] This thesis posits England as the location where civilization resides. Richardson's wife underlines the humanitarian nature of the author's missions, which are, of course, totally in harmony with British nationalistic interests and commercial prospects. This is the intention of his journey in the country and the motive for which he petitions aid of the British Council at Tangier to press his business to the court. From a humanitarian and Buxtonian standpoint, Richardson's mission was inherent in the evidence that his moral tour in Western Barbary aims at enlightening the Moorish (Moroccan) tribes and people, raising up degraded Moors to the standard of civilized Europe and so expect in humility favor and blessings of Almighty God upon the British as a nation and the world at large.

In his *Travels in Morocco,* Richardson regards himself as the agent of the so-called "three Cs" civilization, Christianity and commerce. This was a maneuver for empire that was genuinely believed by some agents of colonialism; for many others, however, it was merely a pretext with which to justify the appropriation of territory and natural resources. As a member of a committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, James Richardson made his journey into Morocco to persuade the Sultan of Morocco, Mawlay Abderrahman, to abolish slavery in Morocco. The traveler speaks of "the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society an address to the Emperor of Morocco, praying him to enfranchise the Negro race of his imperial dominions."[25] During his stay in Mogador, James Richardson sent a letter to the current Sultan Mawlay Abderrahman to get rid of slavery addressing him in such a manner:

23. William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *Islam and the Abolition of Slavery* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006).
24. Richardson, *Travels in Morocco*, vol. 1, ix-x.
25. Ibid., 21.

> "Now we, the society in England aforesaid, address your Majesty for the successor and protection of this cruelty oppressed portion of the human race, and in order that you may be graciously pleased to remove the claim of bondage from those of unfortunate victims of violence and cupidity of wicked men, who, in defiance of all justice and mercy, claims them as their property, and buy and sell them as cattle."[26]

In the preface to the account, Mrs Richardson puts forward that France or Spain can conquer the Moorish Dominion to bring civilization, because its people live in a state of perpetual warfare. Besides, the traveler claims the number of Christian slaves who perished in the South of Morocco is unknown, adding that these slaves demand the attention of the governments of Europe.

Education was one of the principal spheres in which colonialism's cultural imperialism worked its most effective ideologies. The debates around the theme of education for the natives were organized around various binaries: rational/secular versus religious/Christian; imagination versus empiricism; literature versus religion; English language versus native/vernacular language; romantic versus classical; indigenous versus cultural imports. Despite these contradictions, conflicts, and internal debates a set of common themes can be identified in the colonial discourse of education: (1) the British Empire's responsibility to give European education to the natives; (2) the refusal of native education systems as merely religious, romantic, and superstition-ridden (i.e. irrational).

This educational/philanthropic discourse is infused with a humanitarian overtone. The purpose of this philanthropist discourse is to convince the reader of what the traveler is driving at during his mission in Morocco. There is juxtaposition between Britain as an imperial power that should dictate all aspects of order on the rest of humanity and Morocco as a periphery and a land wherein cruelties and maltreatment are still wreaked upon its subjects. Evangelical leaders, particularly William Wilberforce and the "Clapham Sect," were central to the narratives of generations of historians in the nineteenth and early twentieth century who viewed abolitionism as a godly crusade that awoke the moral conscience of the nation. It is perhaps out of fear of being accused of resurrecting this hagiographic narrative that many recent historians have largely downplayed the contributions of evangelicals to abolitionism. Among scholars who have focused on evangelicals, there are generally two explanations for why antislavery became a popular cause among this group. The first is that there was something intrinsic to the evangelical worldview that generated opposition to slavery. The most eloquent proponent of this interpretation was Roger Anstey, who claimed that the evangelicals saw in enslaved Africans their own spiritual

26. Ibid., 146-47.

bondage prior to conversion; working to free slaves, therefore, was a way of externalizing their personal spiritual deliverance.[27]

Mrs Richardson states in the "Preface" that her husband makes the journey into Morocco for evangelical purposes. The evangelical discourse is based on the principal idea that all human beings are equal before God, but the traveler does not spare any effort to stress the argument that the Moors are "sub-humans" and need to be conquered and salvaged. Therefore, we can say that this abolitionist discourse the author uses in his account is a representational discursive strategy that, on the one hand, enables the author to show the "noble" purpose of his "civilizing mission" in Morocco and, on the other, casts the Moroccan Other as primitive, uncivilized and fanatic. In this manner, and in his book *The Embarrassment of Slavery*, Michael Salman points out that slavery is treated as "the modern world's trope for impermissible forms of domination."[28] Richardson, like other Western ideologists, denounced slavery as a root cause of Islamic moral decadence and social decay, justifying diplomatic bullying or colonial conquest.[29]

From the outset, Richardson sees Moroccan people as a religiously, socially and culturally different Other. It is important to see the construction of difference as a colonial move: showing how Morocco was inferior permitted the English to justify any colonial attempt and any intervention be it social, cultural or economic as necessary for Morocco's "improvement." Morocco was constructed in British travel writing and colonial discourse as the radical other, irreducibly different from temperate Europe. Difference here is symbolic but also political because it is the symbolic representation of primitive and pre-modern Morocco that allows the next step to colonial control. This process of highlighting Moroccan difference was, of course, part of the colonial project whereby to underscore difference was to put in place a clear dichotomy.

Although Morocco is adjacent to Gibraltar, a British outpost, it is not affected at all by the civilizational influences of the British. Besides, Richardson compares Morocco to China; the Sharifian Court was able to contain foreign penetration and create an economic enclave in the same manner that the Chinese were able to do in their treaty ports. In China, foreigners were confined to a specific quarter in Canton, and not allowed to travel elsewhere (except on special tributary missions to bring gifts to the Emperor) nor trade with other ports. Foreign trade became a

27. Roger Anstey. *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition 1760-1810* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1975).

28. Michael Salman. *The Embarrassment of Slavery: Controversies over Bondage and Nationalism in the American Colonial Philippines* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila Press, 2001), 266.

29. Norman Daniel. *Islam, Europe and empire* (Edinburgh University Press, 1966); Michael Salman, *The Embarrassment of Slavery*, 95. In his book, *Britain, the Sahara and the Western Sudan, 1788-1861,* Adu Boahen states that "The readiness with which the Sultan of Turkey and the Bey of Tunis granted the British Government's urgent requests, and the refusal of the Shah of Persia and the Sultan of Morocco, show quite clearly that the determining factor in these negotiations was not a ruler's religious convictions, but rather his political and bargaining power *vis-à-vis* the British Government" (148).

state monopoly, and European merchants were compelled to trade with official Chinese intermediaries. Treaty ports grew rapidly in China in the nineteenth century, though their impact on the traditional Chinese economy remained limited.[30] Ahmed Idrissi Alami dwells more clearly on these philanthropic or missionary concerns when he asserts that the latter "contribute to an image of Moroccan culture belonging to the past, to the tribal concerns of the desert," adding that nineteenth-century Moroccans, from Europeans' perspective, clung to certain archair and inhuman practices which need to be rid of by the active participation of interested and caring Europeans.[31]

Richardson neatly combines the commercial with the Christian into evangelical discourse of empire, calling upon the Englishmen to ensure that trade and the Gospel go together. To use Nayar's expression, the "Salvific precolonial"[32] in the discourse of improvement works through two stages: the first "established" the primitive nature of the barbaric Muslim religion and the second offered Christianity as the only means of improvement. Other missionaries were quick to see this relative "purity" of the tribes as a call for Christianizing them and thereby saving them from the imminent assault of "Mohamedanism": the cruelty of Islam against Christians. For Richardson, Morocco is characterized by its arcane landscape but it is glutted by the evil practices of Islam and the absence of true faith. Their religion is stained with superstition, a feature of the missionary narratives of Richardson. The colonial missionary text suggests a transition from the discord, difference, and variegated landscape/people/beliefs of Morocco into a smooth, uniform, unified Christian land. The discourse of salvation thus involved: (1) speaking about the necessary "rescue" of barbaric natives and bringing them into the true light of Christianity; (2) demonstrating the failures of "Mohamedanism" by focusing on its supposedly empty rituals and the alleged mystificatory and superstitious elements; and (3) presenting Christianity as order and harmony.

The Moorish Court as a Trade Partner with Britain

Richardson suggests that the Moroccan Empire is a worthy business partner, claiming, over and against the beliefs of his literary predecessor in Morocco, John Drummond Hay, that the Moorish Court "would always concede a just demand if it were rightly and vigorously pressed, and if the religious fanaticism of its people were not involved in the transaction."[33] The occupation of Algeria by the French and its repercussions on Morocco contributed to making Morocco

30. See Rhoads Murphey, *The Outsiders: the Western Experience in India and China* (Ann Arbor, 1977), 81, 104-5.

31. Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccan and European Travel Writing* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2013), 151.

32. Pramod K. Nayar. *Colonial Voices: The Discourses of Empire* (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 178.

33. Richardson, *Travels in Morocco,* vol. 14.

open to the outside world. In his book, *Le Maroc et L'Europe*, Jean-Louis Miège has described Morocco before 1830 as "an increasingly closed world on the margins of a Europe on the verge of the industrial revolution."[34] He continued on to claim that the effect of the French invasion of Algeria and the commercial changes introduced by Mawlay Abderrahman together defined a fundamental break with the past. The Moroccan sultan did his best to follow the footsteps of his predecessor, Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah (r.1757-90),[35] by trying to get rid of the policy of Sultan Mawlay Slimane (r.1790-1822), who decreased the commercial exchanges with European countries because of certain grounds, among of which are economic, social, ideological and religious. Indeed, during Mawlay Abderrahman's reign the ports were opened to commerce, and Moroccan exports of such things as grain, wool, skins, wax and gum doubled and redoubled.[36]

Richardson situates Morocco not only in terms of its own internal geography, but more importantly, in terms of its interaction with other nations, particularly through conflicts with France and Spain. For example, he accentuates the military strategies of the nation. Such a perspective is complemented by a description of the economic side of the empire.[37] The author sheds light on the commercial situations in Morocco; commerce in Morocco is monopolized by the Sultan and his merchants or what he dubs "Imperial Merchants" (*Tujjar as-sultan*).[38] Such commercial monopoly has made Morocco practically isolated and intact by foreign encounter. For the author, the main reason lying behind this state of exclusion and isolation is the religious fanaticism of the Moors. One of the ideological and colonial theses which most travelers and Europeans try to propagate on Morocco in the second half of the nineteenth century is the idea that Morocco as a secluded and introverted entity looks upon all strangers with distrust and suspicion.

According to Richardson, Gibraltar as a British outpost played a very important role at the level of commerce. Indeed, an immense quantity of European products was imported from Gibraltar to Fez, Tangier and other larger towns. Besides, "the garrison and the population of Gibraltar" obtained

34. Jean-Louis Miège. *Le Maroc et L'Europe*, 4. vols (Paris: PUF, 1961-63), vol2, 12. See also Daniel Schroeter's *Merchants of Essaouira*, 1-2. In this context, Susan Gilson Miller states in her book *A History of Modern Morocco* that starting from the year 1830 Europe became "an omnipresent reality looming over political events, the economy, and even social life" (7).

35. Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah gave incentives to foreign merchants to settle in Essaouira by lowering duties and made large loans to Moroccan merchants (*Tujjar as-sultan*), mostly Jews, to conduct trade from the new town.

36. C.R. Pennell. *Morocco form Empire to Independence* (Oxford: One world publications, 2003), 119.

37. Ibid., 9-10.

38. These royal merchants' "special relationship to the Sultans gave them particular advantages over other traders, and at certain periods, they maintained a quasi-total monopoly of the import-export trade. The Sultan's merchants (*tujjar as-Sultan*) had the opportunity to make considerable profits, yet at the same time, they depended on the official recognition and patronage of the palace," (Schroeter, *Merchants of Essaouira*, 21).

more than two-thirds of their provision from Tangier and other northern parts of Morocco, including "bullocks, sheep, butcher's meat, fowls, eggs, game and pigeons, grain and flour."[39] The importance of the "Rock" is manifested in a letter sent by Mawlay Abderrahman to Mohammed Ash'ash, the governor of Tetuan, just few months after the Battle of Isly:

> "Regarding Gibraltar, it has become necessary to take care to appoint an energetic agent [*wakil*] there who can take care of the affairs of the merchants, the pilgrims who come there and others, because it dominates our trade and is the gateway of exports and imports […]. Our servant Hajj Haddu Gassus [40] has become too old and weak for it, and we decided to appoint our servant, the intelligent Hajj Muhammad al-Razini, as agent there when we heard of his excellent conduct, his resolute ambition and his knowledge of the laws which attends his constant presence there undertaking the affairs of his trade."[41]

From this letter, we can state it is clear that the Moroccan consuls at Gibraltar during the first half of the nineteenth century shared a number of features that facilitated their role as the *Makhzan*'s representatives there. These consuls have had extensive experience of Mediterranean trade and peculiarly Gibraltar's role linking Morocco to its wider commercial networks. Besides, these consuls' linguistic skills allowed them to be important go-betweens between different cultures that made up this world. The British Consul General, John Drummond-Hay, made it clear that his support for the *Makhzan* after the defeat at Isly in 1844 depended on opening Morocco to trade. By 1848, J. D. Hay had managed to get both import and export duties reduced, and in December 1856 he finished lengthy negotiations on a trade treaty between Britain and Morocco that abolished most monopolies,[42] reduced import duties to ten per cent and fixed export duties.

Imperial nations deployed trade as a tool of penetration in Morocco.[43] The economic structures of Europe and Morocco at that time were very asymmetrical, pushing Morocco precipitously to the heart of a capitalistic world in which Moroccans were unable to compete. Immediately after the French bombardment

39. Ibid., 161.

40. For more information on Gassus, see *Journey to Morocco in 1826* by the British officer and traveler, George Bouclerck, who traveled from Gibraltar to Rabat in the comapany of Gassus for about two weeks in 1826. Bouclerk spells his name as "El Hadge Hadoud Kissouse" (3). (London : William Harrison Ainsworth, 1828), 13,19, 25-7 &85.

41. Quoted in J. A. O. C. Brown, "Anglo-Moroccan relations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with particular reference to the role of Gibraltar (Doctoral thesis), 2009, 2. See also Mohamed Daoud, *Târîkh Titouan,* vol.8, 303-4.

42. The following is a list of the monopolies which Sultan Mawlay Abderrahman sells, either to his own employers or to native and foreign merchants: Leeches, wax, bark, the coining of copper money, millet, and other small seeds, as well as cattle (Richardson, 162-63-64).

43. As an example, see Ben-Srhir's "A Document Advocating the Introduction of Economic Liberalism in Morocco," *Hespéris-Tamuda*, XXX, (2) (1992): 75-98.

of the port of Mogador, 1844, a French writer succinctly expressed the new power relation that had emerged between France and Morocco as follows:

> "The commercial alliance which we have signed with the Sheikh of Wad Noun, the brilliant feat of arms of our navy at Mogador, and finally, the victory at Isly in which the nicest result will be to hasten the return of normality between Fez and Tlemcen, have already established our moral influence over the two far ends of this region. It is a good beginning for our future relations: it only depends on time and wisdom to develop our interests in Morocco and Algeria."[44]

The French colonialists saw in Morocco a potential trade partner as a country adjacent to the French Algeria; their British counterparts, in the person of its engineer, John Drummond Hay, did their best to change this track so as to domineer the new influx of capital, leading, therefore, to the signing of Anglo-Moroccan Treaty in Tangier on December 9th, 1856 and giving major concessions to British interests, and set a precedent. The treaty abolished the Makhzen's monopoly, and definitively opened trade in Morocco.[45]

"Orientalizing" Barbary Jews in Richardson's Account

Richardson's widow paves the way for different issues that the travel narrator will discuss in his travelogue. She wants to confirm that Christianity is the only suitable and right religion that can bring and offer all aspects of justice and peace for the Jews. This is an evangelical discourse which is based on the idea of the civilizing mission. The travel narrator proclaims that this religious minority is marginalized. In his view, Jews are maltreated by the Moors (Moroccan Muslims), and this is due to Islam, which regards the Jews as *ahl al-dhimma* (people of the covenant), who enjoyed freedom of religious practice while confessing the superiority of Islam.

For the author, regarding Barbary Jews as inferior to Muslims, the sharifian Empire was obliged to protect them provided that they accepted their subordinate status and paid their annual capitation tax (*jizya*). In this respect, the Jewish *tujjar* were in many respects seen as the property of the ruler in Morocco; these Jewish merchants were always in debt to the sultan regardless of much profit they were able to make for themselves.[46] The sultan's Jewish *tujjar* were seen as a valuable source for the sharifian treasury because of their function as a tax-paying body; these Jewish merchants managed to monopolize the trade between Morocco and

44. Raymond Thomassy, *Le Maroc et ses caravanes ou relations de la France avec cet Empire* (Paris: Firmin-Didot frères,1845), 71. See also Susan Gilson Miller's "Crisis and Community: The People of Tangier and the French Bombardment of 1844," *Middle Eastern Studies* 27 (4) (Oct., 1991): 583-96.

45. Odile Moreau, ed. *Réforme de l'État et réformismes au Maghreb (XIXe-XXe siècles)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009), 83.

46. Daniel Schroeter, "Royal Power and the Economy in Precolonial Morocco: Jews and the Legitimation of Foreign Trade," in *In the Shadow of the Sultan: Culture, Power, and Politics in Morocco,* Rahma Bourqia and Susan G. Miller, eds. (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999), 85.

Europe. This privilege increased in the second half of the nineteenth century as the protégé system markedly mushroomed. The concentration of the European trade in the hands of the Jewish *tujjar* was a strategy ensued by the Moorish Court to control and limit contact with European countries and meanwhile benefiting from any possibility proffered by this encounter because the Moroccan *ulama* at that time looked at Europe as the land of the infidels (*bilad al-kuffar*). By investing in *ahl al-dhimma* instead of Muslim merchants, the sultan could swerve the criticism of the *ulama*, who, as protectors of Islamic faith, warned against excessive intermingling between Muslims and Christians.[47]

For Mrs. Richardson, the Moor's religion is based on exclusion and debasement as it downplays Jews. The traveler's one main aim here is that the Jews should be taken into account so that they could live in peace in Morocco. Richardson claims that the Jews live in persecution as they are obliged to live in a secluded quarter, called *Mellah*, wear black garb, forbidden from riding horses. Also, they should pass barefooted when they approach mosques. These depictions deployed by the author have been percolated from one generation to another.[48] This textual collage is a technique used by travel writers to endorse their discourse about the Other. European writings about Jews in pre-colonial Morocco practically abided by lachrymose narrative. As Colette Zytnicki has observed, European travelers to the Morocco adopted a set of stereotypes about Jews, including the idea that Jews were oppressed by their Muslim rulers.[49] This condition was seen by the Europeans as a justification for their intervention on behalf of Jews and, eventually, to argue for the necessity of Western colonization.

Richardson is also careful to keep his "Christian" hands clean in the process of dealing with these people who are so "other." The means by which he can do this is through the promotion of trade via the Jews of Morocco – neither Christian nor Muslim, a group with already established ties across Europe and in England itself.[50] Indeed, the sultan's Jews are the principal medium of commerce between Morocco and European Jews, especially those of London and Marseilles.[51]

47. Ibid., 95.

48. The travel writer culls from the travelogue *Travels in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Turkey, between the years 1803 and 1807* (1816), by the Spanish traveler, Ali Bey al-abbassi (1766-1818), the assumed name of Domingo Badia y Leblich, to describe the wretched conditions of Barbary Jews (vol.2, 2-4).

49. Colette Zytnicki, *Les Juifs du Maghreb: Naissance d'une historiographie coloniale* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2011). See also Mohammed Kenbib, *Juifs et musulmans au Maroc, 1859-1948. Contribution à l'histoire des relations inter-communautaires en terre d'Islam* (Rabat: Faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines, 1994).

50. While the Moroccan Sultan Abderrahman ben Hicham tried to win the Jewish traders' support and their skills in this field, European countries resorted to all strategies possible to urge Moroccan wealthy Jewish traders to help these countries in different domains. For more information, see Hafsa El Hayel, '"Nukhbat al-tujār al-yahūd wa al-ttaḥaoulāt fī Maghrib mā qabla al-ḥimāya," *Hespéris-Tamuda* LI (2) (2016): 399-422.

51. For more information, see Daniel J. Schroeter, *The Sultan's Jew: Morocco and the Sephardi World* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2002); Jessica Marglin, *Across Legal Lines: Jews and Muslims in Modern Morocco* (London: Yale UP, 2016).

The Moorish Other and the Jews are juxtaposed together, emphasizing the idea that this Other, either Berber or Arab, is in a position which requires a kind of intervention from the European self to teach and civilize him to enter the march of history. Besides, the Jews are harbingers of European capitalism in North Africa, so they should be salvaged and encouraged in this manner. Capitalism is very important in that it is the "determining motor of colonialism, and the material violence involved in the process of colonization."[52] Europeans, mainly the British, benefited from the influential presence of the Jews and the latter's interactions with the Moorish Court to impart their colonialist agendas.

As previously mentioned, Gibraltar was a very important commercial center, so many Jews made Gibraltar their home for longer or shorter periods of time, setting up partnership with different merchants there that also facilitated their access to foreign goods and markets. These Jews spoke different languages such as French, English, Spanish and Arabic. Among these Jews were families like Benider, Hassan and Benoliel, who were to become notable names in Gibraltar. Historically speaking, the Jewish community on Gibraltar was re-established after the conquest of the town in 1704 primarily by Jews from Morocco. Therefore, Jews on both sides of the straits played an important role as economic and social mediators. These mediators and other North African Jews who circulated between the two rims of the Mediterranean Sea were part of what Schroeter has coined a "trans-regional network of connected Jewish communities."[53]

In addition to Gibraltar, Richardson devotes ample pages to talking about the Jews who lived in Mogador, especially after the bombardment of the latter by the French (15th August, 1844). This event left many Jews prone to the rapacious fury of the savage Berbers and Arabs.[54] By portraying the Jews in this pandemonium, Richardson aims to stress the savagery of Moroccan marauders and plunders (both Arabs and Berbers) and their barbarous cruelty towards this minority. As a result, most of the Jews stayed away for an even longer period, and some emigrated permanently, finding their way to Gibraltar, Algiers, and probably other Mediterranean ports.

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52. Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), 158. See also Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), and Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1966).

53. Daniel J. Schroeter, "Identity and Nation: Jewish Migrations and Intercommunity Relations in the Colonial Maghrib," in *La Bienvenue et l'adieu: Migrants juifs et musulmans au Maghreb, XVe-XXe siècles: Actes du colloque d'Essaouira migrations identité et modernité au Maghreb*, ed. Karima Dirèche and Frédéric Abécassis, 1: 125-39 (Casablanca: Karthala, 2012), 98.

54. For the bombardment of Tangier and Mogador, see the first-hand account of the French surgeon Dr A-H. Warnier, *Campagne du Maroc*, 1844 (Paris: Henry-René D'Allemagne, ed., 1899). Also, P. de Cossé Brissac, *Les rapports de la France et du Maroc pendant la conquête de l'Algérie*, *1830-1847* (Paris: Larose, 1931), 82-103 and F.R. Flournoy, *British Policy Toward Morocco in the Age of Palmerston* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1935) Ch. IV, for general background to the period.

The city of Tangier, called the "gateway to North Africa" by Moroccans, was a sensitive node of contact between Morocco and the outside world. This "city protected of the Lord" was also prone to the French bombardment in 1844. According to Richardson, during this time a lot of Jews preferred to settle in Tangier because of its bustling commerce. They emigrated mainly from the towns of Tetuan and Meknes. These Jews lived and moved freely in this city as they did not have a secluded quarter or *Mellah* in contrast to other Moroccan larger towns, so their role was ubiquitous, serving Europeans, mainly the French, as go-betweens and dragomen; Jews exploited their "native multilingualism" to become adept translators.[55] In Tangier and the other port cities in particular, Jews filled a vibrant economic role essential to the proper functioning of trade and commerce. The French Bombardment on the city pushed about one-fifth of the Jewish population to flee in French, British and Spanish vessels. The sultan was aware of the essential role these Jews played in the commercial activity to the port, so after things were returned to normal he tried to encourage them to come back by promising them to offer safety. This essential role of the Jews and their flight are expressed plaintively and angrily by the Moroccan Sultan in a letter he sent to the governor of Tangier:

> "The reason for the fright in Tangier was the people of the *dhimma*, God make them repulsive, who incited and increased the commotion of the Muslims. A group of them went to Gibraltar, about 150 of them who are not employees (*muta'aliq*) of the Christians, and that is why Tangier is completely empty of them (…). Tell the inspector of the port only to allow those who are employed by the Christians and no others to leave, and that is my order (…) as for the others who are not employees, when they return they should be settled elsewhere, some in Fes, the rest in Meknes, in order to cleanse the port and get some rest from them (…) for whatever commotion took place only suits the purpose of the Jews, may God curse their sect (…)."[56]

Concerning Barbary Jews' standpoint on slavery and its abolition, the rabbinical authorities in Morocco gave slavery a religious rationale,[57] even though in theory they were not supposed to possess slaves. Jews might find a Muslim to purchase the slave in his name.[58] The author claims that most of Jews believed that they were sovereigns of God and the latter permitted to make make slaves of both Mahometans and Christians.[59] We can state that travel writers,

55. Jessica Marglin and Matthias Lehmann, Eds. *Jews and the Mediterranean* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020), 5.

56. Quoted in Susan Gilson Miller's "Crisis and Community: The People of Tangier and the French Bombardment of 1844," 588.

57. Richardson, *Travels in Morocco*, Vol. 1, 244-8.

58. Arthur Leared. *Morocco and the Moors: Being an Account of Travels, with a General Description of the Country and its People* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1876), 228.

59. Daniel Hershenzon. "Jews and the Early Modern Mediterranean Slave Trade," in *Jews and the Mediterranean* Jessica Marglin and Matthias Lehmann, Eds., (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020), 83.

such as James Richardson, European Jewish scholars and institutions such as the French *Alliance Israélite Universelle* deploy a series of negative vignettes to "orientalize" Maghrebi Jewries, portraying these communities as backward in order to "modernize" them and rescue them from their traditions.[60] Richardson subsumes in the fold of his account a variety of instances that lucidly buttresses the imperial thesis that Moroccan Jews are in need of Westernization. The bombardment of the city of Tangier and Mogador by the French and the latter's rescue of Tangerian Jews in European vessels indicated the degree of the Jews' indebtedness and appreciation for the French *mission civilisatrice.*

Conclusions

The campaign to uproot slavery became a strategy in service to colonial political interests and an important part of propaganda in the foreign policy of the British and the French. Underpinning the abolition of slavery was gaining momentum in Western Europe in part because of the Enlightenment, which brought with it many humanitarian reforms, and in part because of the growth of industrial capitalism, which brought with it new labor relationships based on wages rather than servitude. This Western European economic development helped to shape the argument for the European invasion of Africa as a civilizing and modernizing mission. Richardson's "civilizing" attempts and abolitionist discourse in Morocco were shattered by the French, who managed to impinge on Moroccan territories one year after his journey in the Battle of Isly (1844), turning a deaf ear, therefore, to his "civilizing and philanthropist" intentions. Besides, the socio-political contexts that gave rise to the abolitionist and orientalist discourses were racist and imperialist. They promoted confrontation and colonialism.

In the 1880s, a new campaign to abolish slavery in Morocco was launched at a time when the sovereignty of the country was being eroded by foreign intervention, especially in the southern parts of the country through which the slave caravans passed. Among the leading advocates for the abolition of slavery in Morocco were men like Donald Mackenzie, who sought to undermine the Moroccan government to advance their own commercial advantages in the country. The anti-slavery cause was a means to this end, by accelerating pressure simultaneously on the Moroccan and the British governments. Mackenzie succeeded, where Richardson failed, in conveying a message from the Anti-

60. Jessica Marglin, "Between Tolerance and Persecution: North Africans on North African Jewish History," in *After Orientalism: Critical Perspectives on Western Agency and Eastern Re-Appropriations*, ed. François Pouillon and Jean-Claude Vatin (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 64-65. On the same process, see Richard C. Parks, *Medical Imperialism* in *French North Africa: Regenerating the Jewish Community of Colonial Tunis* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017); Colette Zytnicki, "The 'Oriental Jews' of the Maghreb: Reinventing the North African Jewish Past in the Colonial Era," in *Colonialism and the Jews*, ed. Ethan B. Katz, Lisa Moses Leff, and Maud S. Mandel (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 30; Ivan Davidson Kalmar and Derek Penslar, ed. *Orientalism and the Jews* (Waltham, ma: Brandeis University Press, 2005), xviii.

Slavery Society to the Sultan.[61] Anti-slavery activists pressured the Foreign Office which in turn enjoined its representatives in Morocco to petition the Sultan to abolish slavery. This had little effect on the institution and the Moroccan authorities, as before, continued to justify slavery as consistent with customs and the *shari'a.* The most influential foreign representative in Morocco in the nineteenth century, Sir John Drummond Hay (like his father who had earlier been a diplomatic agent in Morocco), saw such pressures as futile. Hay justified the institution of slavery to the Anti-Slavery Society by noting that manumitted slaves preferred to remain in the families of their late masters. Clearly, Hay's principal concern was maintaining the pre-eminence of the British diplomatic position, faced with competition from other powers, particularly France. Thus, the British representative's petitions to the Sultan, going back as far as 1841, were delivered with little insistence in order not to offend the Moroccan government.

Richardson crossed the Straits, one of the world's cultural dividing lines. The latter reflect a kind of historical and cultural separations of two religions and cultures. Although Britain and Morocco were separated by a body of water epitomized by the "Rock" as an English outpost, they were closely and cogently intertwined by a set of complex political, economic and social interactions. These interactions were not formed by the arrival in Morocco of foreigners who defined their nature and the pace of their developments, but by the crossing and re-crossing of the straits from each side to the other.

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61. Donald Mackenzie, *The Khalifate of the West: Being a General Description of Morocco* (London: Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and CO., LTD, 1911).

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Titre: Le voyage à vocation "abolitionniste et civilisatrice" de James Richardson dans l'empire chérifien

Résumé: Cet article a pour objet l'étude et l'analyse du dépoilement de différents éléments de représentation par James Richardson dans son interaction avec les marocains et à travers l'intersection harmonieuse du sentiment, de l'évangélisation, de la rhétorique, et de l'abolitionnisme au XIX^{ème} siècle. Les britanniques ont lancé une campagne abolitionniste internationale, avec une pression sur le Maroc initiée en 1842 en vue mettre fin à l'esclavage et à sa traite. James Richardson, un explorateur britannique, bien connu, voyageur et militant anti-esclavagiste se donne pour mission de convaincre le sultan du Maroc, Mawlay Abderrahmane (1822-1859), d'abolir l'esclavage en 1843-1844. Au cours de son voyage, Richardson a porté à la connaissance du Kaid al-Hajj al-Arbi al-Tarris, le gouverneur du port d'Essaouira, le contenu d'une pétition de la société britannique anti-esclavagiste sur cette question très épineuse. N'ayant pas obtenu d'audience avec le sultan à Marrakech, les autorités ont contraint Richardson de quitter le Maroc. Richardson se considérait comme étant l'émissaire des "trois C": **C**ivilisation, **C**hristianisme, et **C**ommerce. Il a déployé un discours anti-esclavagiste comme un trope rhétorique et un choix discursif pour appuyer sa mission abolitionniste au Maroc. En réalité, il s'agissait d'un projet qui avait certainement des visées impérialistes, et auquel certains agents du colonialisme croyaient sans aucun doute. Ces soi-disant "trois C" affirme Richardson, sont les principales conditions préalables à l'émancipation des peuples de la Berberie (Maroc et Afrique du Nord) du primitivisme, du féodalisme tribal, du sectarisme religieux et de l'isolationnisme.

Mots-clés: James Richardson, abolitionnisme, philanthropie, esclavage, mission civilisatrice, représentation, Maroc du XIX^{ème} siècle.

العنوان: رحلة جيمس ريتشاردسون "المؤيدة لإلغاء الاسترقاق ونقل الحضارة" عبر أراضي الإمبراطورية الشريفة (المغرب)

يقتفي هذا المقال بعضا من خطوات الجولة التي قام بها أحد الرحالة والمستكشفين البريطانيين إلى المغرب في النصف الأول من القرن التاسع عشر، اسمه جيمس ريتشاردسون، والذي كرس جهوده لمناهضة العبودية وتجارة الرقيق، مبرزا تفاعله مع المغاربة في هذه القضية. وقد أطلق الإنجليز، في هذا السياق، حملة

دولية استهدفوا من خلالها التمكن من إلغاء الرق وتجارته عبر العالم، خلال القرن التاسع عشر، فكان المغرب من بين الدول التي وقع الضغط عليها في محاولة يائسة لإنهاء تجارة الرقيق في عام 1842. وفي هذا الإطار قام جيمس ريتشاردسون برحلة إلى المغرب ما بين 1843-1844، بهدف إقناع سلطان المغرب، المولى عبد الرحمن بن هشام (1822-1859)، لإلغاء الاسترقاق وتجارة العبيد. وعند وصوله إلى المغرب، أطلع ريتشاردسون القايد الحاج العربي الطريس، أمين مرسى مدينة الصويرة وقتئذ، على ملتمس من الجمعية البريطانية والأجنبية لمكافحة الرق وتجارته. وبالرغم من محاولاته المتكررة الرامية إلى ملاقاة السلطان شخصيا في مراكش لمفاتحته في الموضوع، فقد فشل في تحقيق هذا المسعى؛ بل إن المخزن نجح في إجباره على مغادرة المغرب. ومهما كانت الأمور، فقد اهتمت هذه الورقة بمناقشة الاعتبارات التي استند إليها الرحالة ريتشاردسون، حين اعتقد واثقا من نفسه، ومدعوما بدعاة الحركة الأمبريالية، في حمله لرسالة تتكون من "عناصر ثلاثة" هي: الحضارة، والمسيحية، والتجارة، بغية اتخاذها كمفاتيح لتحرير بلاد المغرب وسكانه لتخليصه مما وصفته تلك الكتابات بالحالة البدائية وممارسات الإقطاع القبلي، والتعصب الديني والانعزالية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: جيمس ريتشاردسون، الرق، العمل الخيري، الحضارة، المغرب في القرن التاسع عشر.