

## LE BARON DE RIPPERDA ANCIEN MINISTRE DE PHILIPPE V AU MAROC 1731-1737

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Durant son séjour aux Pays-Bas, l'amiral 'Abd al-Kader Pérez, ambassadeur du sultan du Maroc auprès des Etats Généraux, fit la connaissance d'un personnage singulier et au fait des questions politiques qui agitaient la Méditerranée occidentale au début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: le baron de Ripperda<sup>(1)</sup>. Fasciné par la vivacité, la qualité des analyses et la vaste culture de l'homme, le diplomate marocain l'invita à l'accompagner et lui promit un avenir à la hauteur de ses compétences dans la cour du sultan Moulay 'Abd Allah. Dans son for intérieur Pérez pensait que cet homme serait d'un grand conseil dans le cas où l'on poursuivrait la politique de récupération des terres occupées, amorcée par Moulay Ismaël. Mais l'idée de l'ambassadeur serait-elle au goût de son maître? La proposition intéressa Ripperda qui pensait déjà qu'il allait prendre sa revanche sur le monarque espagnol qui l'avait humilié. Il saurait montrer aux autorités marocaines la meilleure stratégie pour mettre en déroute les forces espagnoles affectées aux territoires de Sebta et Mèlillia. Muni de lettres de recommandations produites par Pérez, le baron de Ripperda décida de quitter l'Europe sans attendre.

### **Qui était le baron de Ripperda?**

Jan Willem baron de Ripperda naquit à Groningue, en Hollande, en 1680. Il eut une formation militaire dans l'armée des Provinces-Unies où il atteignit le grade de colonel. Une mission diplomatique, au nom du gouvernement hollandais, le conduisit à Madrid en 1715. Il s'y lia d'amitié avec de nombreuses personnalités, dont Alberoni<sup>(2)</sup>, qui lui ouvrirent la porte de la société politique madrilène. Plus tard, il abandonna ses fonctions de diplomate néerlandais et passa au service du roi d'Espagne. Son ambition le poussa à faire des concessions pour gravir les échelons. Il abandonna le protestantisme, sa première religion, pour le catholicisme afin d'accéder aux hautes charges de l'Etat dans son nouveau pays d'adoption. Par cet acte, il acquit la confiance du roi et des personnalités religieuses. A cet homme nouveau et pressé on confia des tâches parfois délicates comme le redressement des fabriques des draps de Guadalajara en crise. Ses succès le rendirent bientôt populaire dans le pays et commença à faire de l'ombre à ses anciens amis qui devinrent des adversaires politiques. Tenant compte de ses qualités de diplomate, le roi le chargea en 1724 de négocier à Vienne le mariage de l'Infant avec l'archiduchesse autrichienne. Le rapprochement des deux capitales par le mariage était un prétexte. L'objet véritable de l'ambassade de Ripperda était de faciliter

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<sup>(1)</sup> Tout au long de ce travail nous garderons le titre de baron même si des changements interviendront au cours de la période que nous évoquons. Nous respecterons l'orthographe d'origine Ripperda et non Ripperda rapportée dans de nombreux documents.

<sup>(2)</sup> Prêtre d'origine italienne, ministre de Philippe V, roi d'Espagne.

les rapports entre Philippe V et l'Empereur Charles. Un traité austro-espagnol fut signé en 1725. Le succès valut au négociateur d'être créé grand d'Espagne et duc. Il devint dès lors le favori du roi et de la reine.

Cette rapide réussite disparut aussi vite qu'elle apparut. L'accord avec l'Autriche fut une malheureuse supercherie que le roi eut du mal à admettre. Pour laver l'affront, Philippe V accusa Ripperda de trahison et le disgracia le 14 mai 1726. Vexé et trahi par ses méthodes douteuses, ce dernier calomnia le roi. A la suite de cela, il fut mis aux arrêts, enfermé au château de Ségovie, et tomba dans l'oubli jusqu'en 1728, année de son évasion et de son retour à la vie civile.

### **L'arrivée du baron de Ripperda au Maroc**

Le désir de se venger de l'Espagne et l'espoir de se constituer une nouvelle fortune poussèrent Ripperda à des extrémités dans ses actes. Il pensa monnayer ses services et pourquoi pas au Maroc? Or les connaissances qui furent les siennes sur la monarchie et la noblesse espagnoles et européennes ne pouvaient être appliquées à la monarchie marocaine dont le mode de fonctionnement était différent. Et sa pensée touchant à l'universalité des idées politiques sous un gouvernement monarchique risquait d'être battue en brèche dès la traversée du détroit de Gibraltar<sup>(3)</sup>.

Il débarqua à Tanger venant d'Amsterdam au début du mois de novembre 1731. Il était accompagné de nombreux serviteurs. Officiellement le baron était au Maroc pour conclure un traité de paix et de commerce entre ce pays et les Pays Bas. Mais les observateurs européens dans les villes du Déroit n'étaient pas dupes: aucune visite à caractère diplomatique n'était annoncée dans la région. Et l'ambassadeur du sultan 'Abd al-Kader Pérez, en Hollande, n'était pas encore de retour de sa mission. Deux jours à peine après son débarquement, le baron se rendit à Meknès sous une escorte envoyée par Moulay 'Abd Allah. Il fut reçu avec une grande solennité<sup>(4)</sup>. La cour du sultan ne donna aucune information sur l'objet de cette visite. Les observateurs à Meknès tentèrent de recueillir et d'analyser quelques rumeurs mais les résultats furent maigres. On remarqua seulement que le visiteur passait beaucoup de temps en compagnie d'un renégat nommé 'Ali<sup>(5)</sup>, bien connu dans la ville et qui était, paraît-il, un confident de Moulay 'Abd Allah. Après des semaines à Meknès la situation de l'aventurier ne changea pas.

On apprit par la suite qu'il avait soumis au sultan un plan pour reconquérir la ville de Sebta et son espace sous contrôle espagnol. Le projet n'eut pas d'écho du côté

<sup>(3)</sup> A son retour de Vienne, Ripperda fut nommé ministre d'Etat et des Affaires étrangères, mais il aspirait à une fonction plus prestigieuse encore. Il voulait qu'on créât pour lui un ministère universel. Mais on ignore ce que devaient être les fonctions de ce ministère.

<sup>(4)</sup> Ordinairement, à leur arrivée à Tanger, les ambassadeurs étaient reçus par Ahmed ben 'Ali al-Rifi, le gouverneur de la province, connu sous le titre de vice-roi dans la documentation européenne. Il dépêchait à Meknès un courrier annonçant au sultan l'arrivée d'un visiteur de marque. On attendait souvent pendant plusieurs semaines le retour du courrier qui apportait le laissez-passer royal.

<sup>(5)</sup> On se demandait depuis la publication de *Documents inédits sur l'Histoire du Maroc*, par Chantal de La Véronne, T. II, Paris Geuthner 1975, qui pouvait bien être ce personnage. Faute de réponse probante on supposa qu'il pouvait être le gouverneur de la province du nord Ahmed ben 'Ali ar-Rifi. Le travail sur Ripperda nous conduit à la personne restée pendant longtemps énigmatique. Il s'agirait en réalité d'un moine célestin défroqué et débauché, d'origine espagnole. Il a quitté son ordre pour se rendre en Angleterre et embrasser le protestantisme. Mécontent de ce choix, il se convertit à l'islam en arrivant au Maroc. Voir John Campbell, *Memoirs of the duke de Ripperda*, London, J. Stagg & D. Browne, 1740, p. 270.

du sultan, du moins en apparence. On pensa que le silence du souverain s'expliquait par les difficultés qui naîtraient de l'introduction brutale de méthodes allogènes de combat. Au Maroc, la tactique de combat à l'européenne serait inefficace en raison du manque de formation, de matériel et d'encadrement professionnel aguerri. Ici, on pratiquait l'offensive en rangs dispersés, le harcèlement et le combat au corps à corps. Autres handicaps, la faiblesse de l'artillerie marocaine et son état de dépendance de l'étranger. Malgré ces manques (jamais évoqués) Ripperda, qui se maintenait toujours à Meknès, demanda le 1<sup>er</sup> février 1732 au sultan un corps d'armée pour reprendre Sebta. Mais sa demande n'a pas été satisfaite. Cependant l'idée de la reconquête des zones occupées n'était pas abandonnée. Elle hantait l'esprit des anciens qui vécurent le siège de cette place sous le règne de Moulay Ismaël, et celui des nouvelles générations parmi les membres des tribus mobilisables à tout moment. Le bacha Ahmed ar-Rifi, homme de terrain et d'expérience, rassembla environ 5 000 hommes<sup>(6)</sup> près de Sebta, dès qu'il apprit l'absence de réponse du sultan au sujet du plan de Ripperda.

Le séjour du baron commençait à intriguer les observateurs présents dans les villes de part et d'autre du détroit de Gibraltar. Certains états européens intéressés par l'évolution politique marocaine, tels la Hollande, la Grande-Bretagne, la France, et l'Espagne montraient de l'intérêt pour le moindre soubresaut dans la région. D'ailleurs, les relations avec ces états étaient souvent mouvementées. Les corsaires marocains, par exemple, continuaient leurs prises en dépit des accords et des traités<sup>(7)</sup>. Et les nouvelles en provenance de Meknès vers l'Europe occidentale étaient rares, ce qui accentuait le mystère de la présence de Ripperda près du sultan. Le gouverneur espagnol, en place à Sebta, montra de la nervosité dès la vue des préparatifs marocains autour de la garnison après des années de quiétude. Au mois d'août 1732, on apprit par une correspondance du gouverneur de la garnison à son homologue de Cadix que le sieur Ripperda avait fixé sa résidence marocaine à Tétouan. Il attendait selon la même source « 20 ingénieurs anglais et hollandais pour conduire le siège<sup>(8)</sup>... » Et pour renforcer ses troupes qui ne disposaient pas d'artillerie suffisante, Moulay 'Abd allah décida d'envoyer un contingent du corps des 'Abid. Mais ceux-ci refusèrent de donner suite à l'ordre du souverain. On mobilisa d'autres troupes complémentaires qui furent acheminées sous un commandement plutôt inattendu. Ce fut le Caïd 'Ali, sur l'instigation de Ripperda<sup>(9)</sup>, qui était chargé de conduire vers la place à assiéger 33 canons et 10 000 hommes.

La participation du baron à cette campagne fut une surprise. Mais on ignore son rôle véritable et les documents dignes de foi sont muets sur cette question<sup>(10)</sup>. En revanche, l'arrivée du renégat 'Ali sur la scène, investi du titre de caïd, est

<sup>(6)</sup> Journal de Verdun du mois de novembre 1732, p. 350-351. Voir extrait dans *Documents inédits de l'Histoire du Maroc*, T. II ... op. cit.

<sup>(7)</sup> La monarchie marocaine était en crise. Les prétendants au trône se succédaient sans pouvoir mettre en place une paix sociale durable. Les sultans avaient besoin d'argent et de munitions de guerre qu'ils ne pouvaient se procurer qu'à l'étranger. La libération contre rançon des captifs pris en mer par les corsaires était le moyen principal de faire face aux dépenses.

<sup>(8)</sup> Lettre de M. Caylus à Maurepas, Perpignan le 27 août, *Archives nationales*, Paris, Guerre A1 2688, pièce 140.

<sup>(9)</sup> Les documents nous avisent de la présence de Ripperda mais sans autre explication.

<sup>(10)</sup> Nous disposons de nombreux documents accordant à Ripperda un rôle bien plus important dans cette campagne mais les détails qu'ils relatent sont de l'ordre de l'imaginaire et peu crédibles. Voir *Memoirs of the duke...* op.cit.

incompréhensible quand on se penche sur son passé et son expérience militaire quasiment nulle. Rien dans le passé de cet homme ne le prédestinait à endosser la fonction de « Caïd ». Et comme les deux hommes étaient politiquement proches<sup>(11)</sup> et francs soutiens du souverain marocain, ils prirent l'engagement de lui remettre la ville de Sebta et son territoire dans les six mois à venir<sup>(12)</sup>. Leur optimisme et leur confiance en l'avenir attestait qu'ils disposaient d'atouts qui leur assureraient la victoire. En effet, le baron avait envisagé la mise en place de moyens permettant de connaître les forces de l'ennemi et l'organisation interne de la garnison. Il comptait pour cela sur d'hypothétiques complices qui se chargeraient d'ouvrir les portes de la ville à un moment déterminé. Le baron envoya son fils naturel, qui lui servait aussi de domestique, comme espion à l'intérieur de la ville assiégée. Arrêté et bousculé, le jeune homme, Jacob, avoua qui il était et donna des renseignements sur ce qui se préparait de l'extérieur des murailles. Ainsi, les effets de la pièce maîtresse de la stratégie de Ripperda favorisèrent les plans et l'action de l'ennemi. A moins que l'apprenti espion n'ait joué que le rôle qui lui était destiné au départ et sans le savoir. Le vrai espion n'était pas celui qu'on croyait mais son maître<sup>(13)</sup>.

Le roi d'Espagne fut le plus courroucé des chefs d'Etat face à l'attitude de Ripperda. Sachant que celui-ci détenait des informations militaires confidentielles qu'il pourrait livrer à l'ennemi, il s'empressa de fournir à la garnison les moyens pour mettre en échec les plans du transfuge. Le « Second régiment de Saint Jacques » et « le Second bataillon du régiment de Galice » reçurent l'ordre de s'embarquer de Barcelone pour Sebta dès la fin du mois d'août 1732<sup>(14)</sup>. Et les forces espagnoles, trop fortes et mieux organisées, défirent les troupes marocaines. Lors de l'engagement des deux troupes, Ripperda était absent, malade, dit-on. La goutte qui le faisait souffrir depuis longtemps l'avait contraint au repos à Tétouan. Cette absence le jour de l'affrontement, accentue nos doutes sur la sincérité et/ou les compétences de celui qui était venu au Maroc pour venger son honneur. D'autre part, les ingénieurs du génie qu'on attendait de l'étranger et qui devaient conduire le siège ne vinrent jamais. Existaient-ils vraiment ? Les manquements relevés justifient les hésitations et les doutes à l'égard de Ripperda. Tous ces éléments rendent fragiles la crédibilité de ce dernier. En Espagne, le roi le destitua des titres dont il l'avait gratifiés c'est-à-dire duc et grand d'Espagne.

### **Le baron de Ripperda, un simple particulier à Tétouan**

L'activité autour de Sebta reprit avec fébrilité, du côté marocain, au début de l'année 1734. Les troupes espagnoles furent, semble-t-il, numériquement réduites. Les corps d'armée envoyés par le roi en renfort, en 1732, furent rapatriés après avoir rempli leur mission. Les autorités marocaines de leur côté ont confièrent les travaux de construction d'abris et d'une batterie à un officier qui répondait au nom de Braus Alleman, qui se trouvait être une créature de Ripperda. Cet officier déserta son régiment (en 1733) basé à Malaga pour suivre son maître jusqu'en terre d'islam. Le nouvel

<sup>(11)</sup> Lire l'extrait de *Memoirs of the duke...* infra.

<sup>(12)</sup> Voir copie de la lettre du gouverneur de Ceuta au gouverneur de Cadix, 23 août 1732, *Archives nationales* Paris, *Affaires étrangères* B1 243.

<sup>(13)</sup> Le stratagème a bien réussi à Lépante, ce qui a bouleversé la géopolitique de la Méditerranée orientale.

<sup>(14)</sup> Le mois d'août 1732 est riche en événements touchant le siège de Sebta et la présence du baron de Ripperda au Maroc.

ingénieur ne jouissait pas vraiment de la confiance de tous. Il fit l'objet d'une «étroite surveillance au sein des troupes marocaines»<sup>(15)</sup>.

Etant donné les circonstances, le baron a dû changer de registre de ses activités. Ceux qui le côtoyaient relevèrent son apparence soucieuse et préoccupée. Tous les documents émanant des observateurs des villes du détroit indiquaient le mal être de l'homme qui essayait d'évacuer ses soucis et ses préoccupations. Il annonça à ceux qui le côtoyaient qu'il aspirait désormais à mener une vie paisible, moins mouvementée et plus sereine, comme s'il voulait se repentir de quelques actes difficiles à supporter<sup>(16)</sup>. Il écrivit même, en Hollande, pour qu'on lui envoyât une femme<sup>(17)</sup>, son épouse légitime étant toujours à Madrid.

Après les échecs de l'armée dont on lui fit endosser la responsabilité, Ripperda abandonna son idée de vengeance et ne parla plus de siège ni de campagne militaire contre l'Espagne. Il partageait son temps et sa vie entre les villes de Tétouan et Tanger, rendant fréquemment visite au gouverneur Ahmed ar-Rifi. Les deux hommes avaient une passion commune: l'argent. Ils mirent en place une entreprise et organisèrent des échanges commerciaux entre le Maroc et l'Andalousie. L'un faisait jouer ses relations en Espagne et l'autre facilitait l'entrée des produits européens en les exonérant des droits de douane. Leur association fit du tort aux commerçants professionnels. Certains n'hésitèrent pas à qualifier leur activité de contrebande. Entre les deux hommes s'était installée une certaine complicité mais la confiance mutuelle n'est pas leur préoccupation essentielle. Selon Montanié, consul de France à Gibraltar, Ripperda prêta 10 000 piastres<sup>(18)</sup> (pour animer probablement ce commerce) à son associé, ce qui était bien étrange, car le gouverneur possédait une grande fortune.

A Tétouan, Ripperda commença à mener la vie d'un homme aisé. Apparemment, il était à l'abri du besoin sur le plan matériel. La vie mondaine était pratiquement inexistante dans la ville. Les jours s'égrenaient et se ressemblaient. La monotonie était brisée de temps à autre par le retour ou le départ d'une embarcation de commerce ou de corsaire. Les nouvelles de l'Espagne et de l'Europe, en général, arrivaient fréquemment de Gibraltar, situé à quelques encablures. Les dimanches, les ressortissants européens se retrouvaient dans une chapelle ou la maison d'un consul pour célébrer les offices ou toute autre fête religieuse. Durant les beaux jours, certains marchands organisaient des sorties dans les campagnes environnantes. Les activités de loisirs, qu'elles fussent à l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur des agglomérations se déroulaient dans un climat tendu. La peur de choquer limitait les mouvements et les manifestations bruyantes. Le manque de liberté d'expression du corps et de l'esprit et de loisirs simples furent probablement les causes de la morosité de Ripperda. Pour tromper cet état d'âme et aussi l'oisiveté, il créa, à Tétouan, son propre "salon de rencontre" où étaient conviés les Européens les plus en vue de la ville. Il lui arrivait souvent de se pavaner dans les rues, habillé à la manière des autochtones, ce qui provoqua l'étonnement de beaucoup et a fait dire à

<sup>(15)</sup> Voir Nouvelles de Malaga, lettre adressée à Maurepas le 9 février 1734. *Archives nationales* (Paris), *Affaires étrangères*, B1 806, fol. 191 et suiv.

<sup>(16)</sup> Voir lettre de Montanié à Maurepas du 8 octobre 1735, *ibid* *Aff. Etr.* B1 602.

<sup>(17)</sup> Lettre de Montanié du 12 nov. 1735, *ibid*.

<sup>(18)</sup> Lettre de Montanié à Murepas du 2<sup>e</sup> juillet 1734. *ibid*.

d'autres qu'il a « pris le turban ». Cette dernière image, divulguée par les gazettes, a fait le tour de l'Europe occidentale et fait croire pendant longtemps que le baron de Ripperda s'était converti à l'islam. Tout ce déploiement d'énergie pour transformer son quotidien mélancolique, n'a pas suffi à emplir le vide de son existence.

En 1737 Ripperda fit au bacha une suggestion, aussi hardie qu'insensée, qui lui permettrait d'améliorer ses revenus: majorer les droits de douanes des ports de sa juridiction de deux points. Le gouverneur accepta. Aux protestations de la communauté des marchands, le baron répondit que ce n'est là que le début d'un programme de grande envergure qui avait pour but de transformer les ports de Tanger et Tétouan et de les mettre à l'image des grands ports européens. Heureusement pour le commerce, l'auteur du projet n'eut pas le temps de mettre son idée en place. Il fut rattrapé par une affaire qui risquait de le démolir. Il s'était porté caution pour 1800 piastres en faveur d'un fermier de la cire. Suite à l'insolvabilité de ce dernier, on réclama la somme à Ripperda. Il refusa de faire face à cette dette. Menacé de prison par le bacha, son ancien associé, il se réfugia dans le sanctuaire d'un saint vénéré dans la ville de Tétouan et menaçait même de se convertir à l'islam si cette poursuite se maintenait. On lui fit savoir que la conversion ne le libérerait pas de ses obligations et responsabilités<sup>(19)</sup>. On lui accorda trois mois pour régler la dette exigée. Mais les événements prirent une autre tournure avant l'expiration du délai. Le baron de Ripperda mourut le 15 novembre 1737 à Tétouan<sup>(20)</sup>. Ses biens furent confisqués par le gouverneur et les domestiques du défunt furent arrêtés. Il se développa alors en Europe une légende autour du personnage. Durant son séjour au Maroc, on le fit général en chef de l'armée de Mouley Abdallah, premier ministre, commandant en chef des troupes lors du siège de Sebta. Osman-Pacha, comme on l'avait baptisé dans les gazettes<sup>(21)</sup>, demeura une énigme qu'on aimerait élucider. Illuminé, aventurier, mégalomane ou rêveur inconscient, le souvenir du baron de Ripperda est resté longtemps vivace dans la mémoire des habitants de Tétouan. Et le consul de France au Maroc, André Chénier, en a apporté la preuve lors de son enquête sur ce personnage<sup>(22)</sup>. L'analyse de *Memoirs of the duke de Ripperda*<sup>(23)</sup>, nous aiderait, peut-être à pénétrer la personnalité du baron et les causes réelles de son séjour au Maroc.

<sup>(19)</sup> Voir lettre de Montanié à Maurepas Lettre du 27-30 septembre 1737. *Ibid.*

<sup>(20)</sup> Dans *Memoirs, op. cit.*, p. 37. On lit qu'il est mort le 17 octobre 1737.

<sup>(21)</sup> Voir la *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, année 1732, 29 juillet, 26 août, 2 et 9 septembre.

<sup>(22)</sup> *Recherches historiques sur les Maures et sur l'histoire de l'Empire du Maroc*, Paris 1787, Vol 3. Voir les p. 455-457 du Vol. III.

<sup>(23)</sup> *Op.cit.*

### Extrait de *Memoirs of the duke de Ripperda*

L'ouvrage, *Memoirs of the duke de Ripperda* publié à Londres en 1740 relate les événements significatifs de l'activité politique de Ripperda depuis 1715 (ambassadeur des Provinces-Unies à Madrid) jusqu'à sa mort en 1737 à Tétouan. Il était né baron, mourut baron et sa dignité de duc en Espagne n'a été endossée que pendant une courte période de son existence. Son activité et quelques éléments de sa vie au Maroc nous sont connus grâce à la correspondance des consuls de France en poste à Cadix et à Gibraltar, correspondance adressée à leur ministre de tutelle Maurepas. Ces sources sont fragmentaires mais les informations sont fiables. Dans "Memoirs ..." Campbell, l'auteur, consacre presque un tiers de l'ouvrage à la vie de Ripperda au Maroc. Les éléments qu'il avance ne corroborent pas entièrement ceux de la correspondance consulaire. Cependant on y relève des rumeurs et nouvelles colportées par les élites et la presse de l'époque. L'extrait ci-dessous, décrit les circonstances dans lesquelles le baron a décidé de s'installer au Maroc ainsi que ses premiers contacts dans le pays. Le contenu de ces pages est le seul, dans l'ensemble de l'ouvrage, qui rappelle la réalité historique sur notre personnage durant son séjour au Maroc.

(P. 254.)<sup>(24)</sup>

*The design of this journey was to confer once again with admiral Perez, and to receive from him letters recommendatory to his Master the Emperor of Fez and Morocco. It is not to be expressed how much that old courtier Perez was amazed and pleased at the sight of the duke de Ripperda, and the news he told him. He conceived immediately, that the recommendation of himself, as carrying in it an incontestible proof of the industry, fidelity, and dexterity with which he had conducted his negociation. We need not wonder therefore that he said and did all that lay in his power to confirm the Duke in his intention, and to overcome all the scruples, which out of affectation, rather than any real spirit of doubting, that artful statesman pretended to raise. These conferences were held with all the secrecy possible, and it is extremely doubtful, whether any thing that past in them did at this time transpire; but there is reason to believe, that the sum of what Perez now and heretofore represented to the Duke, in order to determine him to this strange step, is contained in the following discourse; the substance of which was taken from the Duke de Ripperda's own mouth, by a person whom he honoured with his friendship at Mequinez, and to whom he spoke more than once upon the subject.*

*Prejudice, wherever it appears, is alike blameable; if the inhabitants of Morocco and Fez are with any justice stiled barbarous, on account of the strange notions they entertain of Europeans, it seems to follow from the same maxim, that so far as the Europeans treat the inhabitants of those African Kingdoms with unjust contempt, they too are barbarians in their way: and to speak my own sentiments freely, I think the people on both sides (P. 255) have suffered alike from these prejudices, these wilful and witless departures from true knowledge and right reason. For, if on the one hand, the people who inhabit Barbary are in a great measure unacquainted with the sciences, which have rendered Europe flourishing and happy, the Europeans are no less ignorant of the great advantages which might redound to them from a thorough knowledge of that country, and a more intimate acquaintance with those who inhabit it.. For this, my Lord, you may depend on, that neither the country nor the people are unworthy of their Creator, but are both capable, by a proper cultivation, or rendering him in their effects the same Glory and Honour, which he derives from those other lands and people, more known to those who think themselves most wise.*

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<sup>(24)</sup> Numéro de pages correspondant à l'édition de 1740.

*It is needless to tell you how those Kingdoms are situated, or to speak of their provinces and their extent. The ports of Salle and Tetuan on the Mediterranean, and those of Arzilla, Alcassar, Azamor, Saffia and Santa Cruz, on the Ocean, offer its inhabitants all the benefits of a most extensive trade, as the rich commodities they have of their own, and the much greater stock they might have, seem more than worthy the attention of strangers. For instance, gold, copper, steel, indigo, wool, morocco skins, wax, coral and horses; besides a multitude of other things, which are brought thither from the of Africk. I say nothing of the beauty and fertility of the country, the sumptuous palaces that are to be seen in their cities, and those magnificent gardens of pleasure, which excel any thing I have seen in Europe. Ought a country like this to be despised? Can any reasonable man pretend to say, that a person is punished with banishment, who is sent thither from Italy or Greece? If the southern parts of France; if some (P. 256) spots in Spain are accounted so many paradises; sure some better epithets, than are usually bestow'd upon them, ought to be devised for the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco.*

*But the inhabitants, it is said, want genius, learning and politeness. Where is the happy country in which people derive all these from nature? I know very well, that genius is in Europe understood to be a gift from above; but, for my own part, I look upon it to be the effects of that part of education which is little attended to, and yet even this education is wanting to most of the inhabitants of Barbary. As for learning, it is to be met with in great cities, such as Fez, Morocco and Mequinez. You will say, that the dreams of the Arabians ought not to be called learning. If it be so, to what end have so many of your learned men and grave professors waked so many nights to interpret these dreams? As to the mathematical sciences, without all question, the Arabians are now as deficient in them as formerly were the Europeans; but as for Rhetorick, History, Poetry, and all other education of that sort, those who are intimately acquainted with them, would not despise the knowledge of a learned Moor. Politeness is not the same thing every where. What is in one country barbarous, appears civil enough in another; and methinks, before the Europeans brand us with so harsh a name, they ought to consider how well, the difference of customs being remembered, this epithet would fit the manners of their Fathers; and of consequence whether the customs of a few men in a certain place, ought to be made the standard of politeness to all men, in all ages, and in all places.*

*The people throughout Morocco and Fez, are by no means stupid, or so much as slow in understanding. They are generally speaking brave, patient, (P. 257) and where they are well treated, faithful. That there is a want of a proper policy, and from the want thereof, a multitude of ill consequences flow. I am as sensible as can be, but sure this evil might be rectify'd, and as these people have the form and figure of men, nay, as they have the souls and capacities of men, they might be reduced to order, civilized by learning, and made in all respects, both a happy and a potent people. I make no doubt, but they will be so, if your excellency continues in this resolution, and if his sublime highness my master admits your excellency to that confidence, which your great abilities merit, and which, I make no doubt, will appear with the same extraordinary lustre in his eyes as in mine.*

*It is true, that to speak freely, the emperor is not so absolute a prince as he is generally understood to be. There are in his dominions many cities, so rich and populous, that they maintain themselves in a kind of independence; there are likewise scatter'd up and down many little principalities, which are hereditary, and which, though they are held from the emperor, pay no other acknowledgment than a small tribute, and some honorary acts of homage. There are besides numbers of people, who live in a manner without government at all, who call all obedience slavery, and out of their great zeal for liberty, cut one another's throats daily, because they may do it with impunity. Here then, my friend, is a proper scene for such an heroic genius as yours to display itself. Go! Teach the most noble of monarchs, whose veins boil with the blood of the most illustrious ancestors, to rule by solid and equitable maxims, to exert properly that mighty power to which he*

*was born, and to compel those wandering herds of distracted Libertines to make themselves (P. 258) happy, by submitting to his sway. Go ! Sir, like a legislator into Africk, govern her princes and reform her sons; teach them to know the value of what they possess, and of themselves, and then direct them to the favourable point of their wishes and your own, the renewing their ancient claim to the Spains, which, under your auspices, may they again subject ! Need we wonder, that these flattering discourses of our statesman, should incline him to overlook all the numerous difficulties, all that train of scandal and reflection, which a conduct like this would naturally load him with? Need we, I say, wonder at this who see the same thing every day, and if we pleased to employ our thoughts thereon, might every one of us be able to reckon up a multitude of Ripperdas in private life ?*

*When all things were settled, and the duke had received his necessary Letters and instructions, he set out immediately for Amsterdam, where, at certain inn, he found the fair Castilian, waiting impatiently for his coming. His stay here was but for a few days, and even that short space was much against his will, both because he earnestly wished to be in Barbary, and on account of the fear he was under of being discovered, and thereby exposed to the visits of his friends, which appeared to in the light of most impertinent interruptions, a light they never fail to appear in, when a man is engaged in illicit designs. His apprehensions were however not ill founded; for a relation of his having heard, that there was a certain person of distinction incognito at an inn, whose servant never went abroad, and who himself declined seeing any company, this Dutch gentleman immediately began to suspect that it must be the Duke de Ripperda, of whom no news had been heard since (P. 259) his departure from the Hague. In order to discover whether his conjecture was well or ill founded, he went to the in about Dinner-time, and thereby gained an opportunity of seeing the Duke as he passed from one room to another; and tho' he had taken a great deal of care to disguise himself, yet he easily knew him, and an hour after sent him a billet, by the feigned name he was known by in the inn, informing him, that he would wait on him in the evening; and as it would be to no purpose, so he expected he would not be denied. To this the Duke returned a verbal answer, that he should be glad of the Gentleman's Company as soon as he pleased. Upon this message, the Gentleman came immediately to the inn, and the Duke making a virtue of necessity, embraced him; and affected the utmost joy at the sight of him; though we presume, he would have been well pleased to have escaped this visit, especially considering that his relation was a very intelligent person, and a very free speaker; one whose character was without blemish, and who could not with any patience see a man of quality, and of great abilities, acting a part no way suited to either.*

*The first ceremonies over, the Duke knowing the Gentleman's temper, carried him into a little closet which was in his bed-chamber, and enter'd there with him into a kind of discourse, which , though it contained nothing material, yet seemed to be as open and ingenious as could be desired. But his friend was not thus censured, he told him plainly, and therefore it became him, if what they said was true, to reform, or to refuse all they alledged, if it was false. The Duke had admitted this, but said, it was impossible to return particular answers to a general charge, and that he had constantly observed, that such a conduct had turned (P.260) to the prejudice of every man, who had ventured upon it out of tenderness to his reputation. But, Sir, reply'd the Gentleman, the charge is not so general as you apprehend. It is, in the first place, said, that you did not execute, as became you, your office of ambassador from the states-general; do you think this is not particular enough to deserve an answer? It is, reply'd the duke provided it were well founded, in respect to authority. For, Sir, you cannot but know, that the behaviour of an ambassador cannot be properly judged by any but his masters! Now to these I acquitted my self with honour. I returned into Holland when my time was expired, I gave an account of my negociations, and was so happy as to see them approved. To the world, I must rest on this defence; but in speaking to you, Sir, I will go farther. These never was an ambassador in Spain, who either exerted himself more than I, or did it at a less expence to his country. Sometime after I arrived at Madrid, with the character of Envoy Extraordinary, I found a superior Title necessary. Of this, I*

*informed the states but at the same time signified, that, as in desiring this character, I had nothing but their Service in view, so the giving me the title would suffice, without adding any thing to my appointments. With this proposition they comply'd, nor did I during my residence in Spain, directly or indirectly, solicit the smallest augmentation. In my private letters, I gave a constant account even of the most secret transactions in that court, which accounts were not only useful to my masters, but to their allies. As for instance, in 1715, when the Chevalier de St George was about to pass into Scotland, and all Europe was solicitous to know what the sentiments were of the spanish court, I wrote an account of his catholick Majesty's refusing to supply the chevalier (P. 261) with money, and of his declaring, that he would in all things deport himself as a good ally to king George. In many matters of commerce I succeeded beyond hopes; and in those wherein I had not the like success, I gave a clear account of the causes which have been since made use of. Well, Sir! said the gentleman, I am satisfied on this head; but permit me to tell you, that it is likewise said, you betrayed the king of Spain at a time when he reposed the utmost confidence in you, and to those for whom you had professed the greatest aversion. Is this too a calumny? If it be, make me sensible of it, I assure you it will give me extraordinary pleasure. You cannot but know, Sir, said the Duke, that a minister never yet was disgraced, but in the opinion of his cotemporaries he deserved it. Posterity indeed hath done justice even to these unhappy men, and where just grounds have appeared, have ventured to absolve them, even at the expence of kings. From posterity I expect this justice, the rather because I have a plain and clear title to it. The Council of Castile declared me a traitor to his Catholick Majesty, and then established a commission to hear, or rather to find proofs of it, which, with all their industry, they have not been able to do. On what evidence then can any impartial man believe me guilty? On the evidence, returned his friend, of the British Minister, who charges you in his Memorials with betraying the concrets of private treaties. Hold, Sir, said the Duke de Ripperda, those Memorials prove nothing against me; on the contrary, when they are thoroughly understood, they will prove me innocent. I did not betray any private treaties; for in truth there were to be accountable for every thing he says in conversation (P. 262) he must either resolve to continue obstinately silent, or be in reality guilty or betraying his master's secrets. While such differences subsisted between the courts of Madrid and London, as necessarily arose from the treaty of Hanover, such discourses as are fixed upon me might very well become a spanish minister. On the one hand, the imperial ministry spoke of that treaty as a direct breach of the Elector Hanover's duty to the emperor and Empire; and on the other hand, it was natural for the Spanish court to magnify as much as possible, the mischiefs they could do the king of Great Britain, in case he continued to act as he did, in sending squadrons to affront his catholick Majesty, and to distress his subjects. This Sir, is my apology, and perhaps it would not be a difficult thing for me to account as well as the design I am now about to execute. I know the different reports of the world, and I despise them, I know it was said, that I became a protestant in England, and that I am now disposed to become Jew, Turk, or Pagan. But it is my comfort, that other peoples thoughts will not affect me. Depend upon it, Sir, that the Duke de Ripperda's head hath as much brains, in it as heretofore, and that he will not commit any frantick actions, meerly to make good the character his enemies have given him, that he is a political madman. But, Sir, said his relation, if things be as you represent them, why are you here incognito? My being incognito, returned the Duke, necessarily obliges me to conceal myself. To you, Sir, I shall be always visible, till such time as these reasons shall lose their force, and I think proper to appear publickly.*

*The discourses of the Duke de Ripperda had such an effect on the bonnest gentleman who converse (P. 263) with him, that he really inclined to pity him, to disbelieve what he had heard, and to have no longer any apprehensions of his being disposed to undertake such chimerical designs as were imputed to him. The common discourse, after he had disappeared at the Hague, being to this effect, that he had thoughts of going to Rome, to offer his service to the Chevalier; to Constantinople, in order to make a friendship with Bashaw Bonneval; to Algiers, with a view of employing his money in fitting out vessels to cruize on the Spaniards; to*

*Persia, to implore the protection of Kouli Khan, or to Morocco, in order to support Muley Abdalla, on the throne by his wise counsels. From his own discourse, nothing of this sort could be gathered, and therefore his friend, when he heard such things mentioned, treated them not only as fables, but as calumnies, set on foot merely to blacken the character of a man not near so culpable as unfortunate. He continued also his visits daily to the Duke, who told him the last time he saw him, that it would not be long before he returned to the Hague, and appeared as publicly as usual. The Next evening, when the Gentleman went again to inquire for the Duke, he was told, that the Nobleman he visited sent his equipage away the day before, and that himself and his lady departed that morning, whither they could not tell. This opened the Gentleman's eyes, who saw plainly that the Duke had amused him only, and that the person he had with him must be the lady who assisted him in his escape; for, as for the Duchess de Ripperda, he was well satisfied, that she remained at Madrid. He therefore dropt from this time forward all his apologies, and because the most open and the most irreconcilable ennemy he had. (P. 264)*

*As soon as the captain of the vessel, which, as I have elsewhere observed, had been purchased for the Duke by his correspondent at London, had acquainted his excellency that the wind was fair for getting out of the Texel, he instantly went on board, as having nothing more at heart than to deliver himself from the inquiries of his relation, who daily exercised his parts by a multitude of puzzling questions. The lady was extremely well accomdated in the cabbin, and the Duke had the company of some Jews whom he had directed the captain to grant a passage on purpose that he might enjoy their conversation, because he knew they had resided long in the country, and were related to one of the richest Jews at Miquinez. By this, he had a double advantage, he received a perfect account of the State of Morocco as it then stood, and he secured an interest in a family which was afterwards of great use to him. The name of one of these Jews was Moses Henriquez, a native of Arragon, and who had studied in the University of Alcalá. His Father was a physician, and had lived without suspicion of his being a Jew; but his Mother, who was descended from the famous Isaac Abrabanel, after her husband's death, fell into the hands of the Inquisition, and died in prison. This Son of hers was then about nine years old, and had been christned by the name of Sebastian. A certain priest had charged himself with the care of his education, and sent him to be brought up at a distance from his relations, that he might have no tincture of Judaism. But when the young Henriquez had arrived at the age of nineteen, he found means on the Priest's death, to possess himself of twelve thousand pieces of eight, which descended to him from his father, and applying himself to the Earl of Peterborough for a pass, retired first into England, and from thence went to Barbary, (P. 265) where his Mother's brother having escaped from Lisbon, was settled, and carried on a considerable trade. This Henriquez became very intimate with the Duke de Ripperda, on account of his hating the Spaniards, if possible, more than he. But in other respects, it did him some hurt; for he no sooner perceived that the Duke had a leaning to the moorish interest, than he began to magnify the power of that empire beyond all bounds, and to fill the Duke's head with such notions of the forces, wealth, and martial disposition of the inhabitants of Fez and Morocco, as induced him to imagine, that should be quickly in a condition of evenging himself on his enemies by fire and sword; which he could not more ardently wish, than did his companion Henriquez, who deceived him rather in consequence of his own bigotry, than from any disign, as appeared afterwards by his launching our considerable sums in support of the Duke's projects.*

*There was nothing very considerable happened in the voyage, and therefore there is no necessity for dwelling long upon it. On their arrival at Tangier, the Duke took up his quarters with his friends the Jews, who treated him with all the respect imaginable, and who promised to conduct him themselves to Mequinez. They had however some business to dispatch there and at Tetuan, which constrained them to make a short stay, and there by gave the Duke an opportunity of looking about him. A man of his penetration did not require much time to discern, that pictures which he had hitherto seen of this country and its inhabitants, were*

*drawn very much to their advantage. The Moors appeared on a very short acquaintance in their proper colours, that is to say, haughty, insolent, full of caprice, cruelty and revenge. As he lived among the Jews, he could not avoid penetrating (P. 266) the miserable fear, constant anxiety, and wretched dependence, in which they pass'd their time, meerly for the sake of amassing of a little money, which it required more care to hide than to get. The suspicion of being rich, holding in a Jew the place of a capital crime. As for the christian captives, the putting them before his eyes not only to the most servile labours, but also to such as are only fit for beasts, struck him with respect to their masters, and with the deepest compassion for themselves. He relieved them generously for the present, and formed in his mind a settled resolution of delivering them from all their miseries if once he attained supreme power. As for the lady, many of the Jews wives were spanish women, and the flattery of their caresses, in which it is well known they excel, easily took off her thoughts from the friends she had made in other places. Besides, seeing there were christian merchants settled in Barbary, she laid aside all apprehensions, supposing that it would not be a difficult thing for her to return into Europe in case the Duke died. The small time therefore that they remained at Tangier was spent in a way equally agreeable and useful; but this did not hinder the Duke from being a little impatient, as he generally was, when he continu'd long in a place, for which reason he hurried his friends, who, to shew him the great consideration they had for him, departed at his request, tho' they had not absolutely finished their affairs, referring such as were of least importance to their return.*

*In his journey to Mequinez, the Duke had leisure and opportunity to make his observations on the soil and climate, which he did with all the accuracy possible; not so much with a design to satisfy himself in their properties, as that he (P. 267) might judge of the sincerity of admiral Perez in other respects, by the truth he found in his descriptions of these. When they came to the city, the Duke chose rather to lodge at the house of a french merchant than with the Jews, when he saw to be a despised people, and therefore he thought it no longer his interest to live among them. He certainly chan'd for the better, the french merchant's house being one of the best situate in Mequinez, with a pleasant garden, and fountains almost in every room. The mistress of the house was a Spaniard, about eighteen years old, a native of Burgos, and the sworn friend of her country-woman the fair Castilian, from the first hour of their conversing together. As for the merchant, he was a man of good manners and good sense; the first inclined him to receive the Duke de Ripperda into his house, as an illustrious stranger, and the latter taught him how to make a proper use of so extraordinary a guest. He was hardly settled in his house, before he began to inquire of the merchant, by what means he might best obtain an audience of the emperor. To which the merchant frankly answered, that it would be easier to obtain an audience, than to be certain of the manner in which he might be treated therein. Your excellency must see (continued he ) that the Moors are not the politest people in the world, and you may credit me when I tell you, that the emperor is as whimsical, and as little to be accounted for in his actions as any of them. The Duke was not all astonished at this; but with great gravity answered, that all countries had their customs, and all princes their humours; that he no more expected to find in Africk a monarch of perfect good sense, and ceremonious politeness, than he hoped to meet with a climate as moderate as that of France: but that as he found no difficulty in living where he (P. 267) was, so he persuaded himself he should not find much trouble in accompmmodating his disposition to that which reigned in his imperial majesty's court. That he had letters recommendatory from admiral Perez, and that all he wanted was an opportunity for being admitted to the royal presence, which the merchant promised to procure, and was quickly after as good as his word.*

*At this audience the Duke not only delivered the letters he had received from Perez, but gave a short account also of the reasons which had induced him to retire into Barbary, and a distinct declaration of his hatred to the Spaniards, and his earnest desire to expose his life in the service of his majesty against them, either in Africa, or in Europe. It so happened, that Muly Abdalla was extremely serious that day, and*

more inclined to think than usual; he therefore answered the Duke very properly, though in a less gracious manner than he expected. He informed him, that he was not ignorant either of his quality or adventures, that he had a great confidence in admiral Perez; but that as the matters he proposed were of the utmost consequence, he ought to have patience till they could be deliberated on, that in the mean time he would do well to think of quitting his errors, and embracing the true religion, which would be the first step for his favour, and without which he could not so much as hope for his protection; but said the emperor at parting, this I suppose will cost you little pain, the Doctrines of our law being so clear and so self-evident, that you cannot help apprehending, and being convinced of their truth when you have once heard them, I will make choice of a person proper to instruct you. Though it cannot be conceived, that the Duke had any reason to be pleased with so jejune an answer, yet is certain, that he returned with all (P. 269) the marks of joy in his countenance, that could have been expected from the most favorable reception. This had a proper effect, it absolutely confounded the merchant, and it raised exceedingly the spirit of the fair Castilian, as well as of his valet, who made no question that all his master's promises would be quickly fulfill'd, and that he should in a very short space become a minister of State; for which however he was but indifferently qualified, being scarce able to read, and having forgot how to write. The next evening, the Duke sent for his host to his apartment, and having by adroit compliments to himself and his wife, high professions of gratitude, and distant promises, fixed both his attention and his confidence, he began to enter more frankly into his own affair than he had formerly done, and to give the merchant to understand, that he should quickly be considered in another light than that of a private person. There needed nothing more to astonish the Frenshman, and put him almost out of his wits. He looked upon his excellency from that moment as upon a devil incarnate, knowing well that there was no obtaining preferment from a moorish prince, on any other terms than that of parting with the christian faith at the first step. But he had presence of mind enough to conceal his surprize, or rather the apprehension he was under from his having to do with a man of this stamp, filled him with caution. He therefore treated him with more respect than ever, and gave him a sincere detail of the State of the court, and of the general characters of the principal persons therein; adding at the close, that one of the emperor's principal favourates was a french renegade, whose name was Ali. At this, as the merchant foresaw, the Duk immediately catched, and desiring to be acquainted with this man's character, and it possible, to be introduced (P. 270) to his acquaintance; both which his host very chearfully promised, as conceiving it the only way to rid himself of a formidable inmate, from whose principles an honest man had all thing to fear.

This Ali, Sir, said the merchant, was a monk, a celestine, I think but a scandalous debauchée, insomuch (sic) that finding it impossible to reside amongst Catholicicks, he took a resolution of flying to England, where he turned protestant; but not having found his account in his change of religion, he fled hither and turned Mohammetan. By this mean he gained admittance to the emperor's court, wherein at present there is no body more considerable. He is without question a man of parts, of an insinuating temper, gay, sprightly, and full of buffoonry, which diverts Muley Abdalla so much, that he suffers him to say and do what he pleases. Have you any correspondence, said the Duke de Ripperda, with this man? Yes, return'd his host. He comes hither frequently; and if your excellency thinks fit, I will introduce you to him to-morrow. The Duke signified his assent civilly, but without expressing the great joy this proposition gave him; for he now hoped to see all his difficulties removed, to besiege the emperor with new sollicitations, and to make himself considered in the light he desired to be considered, that is, as the most zealous servant of the king of Morocco, and the most determined enemy of Spain.

The merchant was as good as his word, for having made a magnificent entertainment, he invited Ali to participate thereof, and before the feast introduced him to the Duke de Ripperda. They sate together at table, conversed with, drank to each other, and before they rose were as good friends, as if they been twenty years acquainted. (P. 271) The next day the Duke went to wait upon Ali, who regaled him with great

*magnificence. He told the Duke, that nothing could possibly give him greater pleasure than to meet in this part of the world with so great a man. I have, said he, for a long time supported my self with the emperor by dint of a reasonable assurance, which I kept up rather by the strength of my natural temper, than any other way. I abhor these Barbarians, I detest their customs, and I have no opinion of their understandings, and I say this every day to their faces; the emperor laughs at it, and they, if they durst, would send me to the flames; but no matter for that, while I enjoy the protection of Muley Abdalla, I am in no great pain about their resentments. But methinks, said the Duke, this is an odd way of making court to the emperor, who, for aught I perceive, is not much more polite than the rest of his subjects. You are mistaken, said the renegade, he is both more polite, and more knowing than any of them, and would be yet more capable of governing, if he was not so much inclined to indolence and ease. For my part, I have no hopes but in the emperor, which I endeavour to demonstrate by my conduct. He is sensible of this, and therefore protects me as a man on whom he may always depend, because he knows I have reason to speak of him as you do; but to deal freely with you, I never had an audience which pleased me so little, as that he honoured me with. Very possible, returned Ali, he is not a very active prince, and consequently does not relish extraordinary projects. However in time, perhaps, he may come to be of another opinion: I will try what I can do for you, it may be I may obtain for you a second audience, wherein he will treat you better. (P. 272) But let me tell one thing by the way; in this country there is nothing to be done without presents; a little well laid out this way is one of the shortest methods of coming at a fortune. O! mighty well, reply'd the Duke, I was apprized of that before I left Europe, and wherever you find them necessary I shall not be deficient. This conversation ended, the Duke took his leave, big with mighty hopes, which for once were not disappointed.*

*A few days after Ali came and acquainted him, that, according to his promise, he had mentioned him to the emperor, who very readily granted another audience, for which he desired he would prepare himself the next day. Prepare myself, said the Duke, how? What sort of ceremonies are in fashion at this court? Or how shall I be instructed in them? Why, reply'd Ali, all have their ceremonials, and this among the rest. You must yourself be dressed magnificently, your servant also must have on a habit of ceremony, and your host, I warrant you, will furnish you with some people to compleat your train. This, with a moderate present to the introducer of ambassadors, and another worthy of the emperor's acceptance is all you need.*

*The Duke was ready very early, being drest in a suit of Crimson velvet trimm'd with gold. M. St. Martin also was very handsomely equipt, and much more impatient than his master, supposing that preferment was now at hand, and having too much good manners to let it wait for him. The merchant sent three of his servants in the best garb they had, and with this retinue he went first to the house of Ali, and from thence to court; where, with much ceremony, he was introduced to the emperor, who made a very splendid appearance, and who received him much in the same (P. 273) manner he had done before. After a quarter of an hour's attendance, those who waited in the emperor's presence were dismissed, and the Duke and his friend Ali left alone, each of them having a cushion presented for them to sit on. This being done, the emperor, who spake spanish very well, addressed himself to the Duke de Ripperda: Ali, "said he, hath assured me, that you are a person who well deserve my favour, I accept the offer you have made me of your service, and as soon as Perez shall return, whom I suddenly expect, orders shall be given for examining the schemes you may propose, and effectual care shall be taken that nothing be wanting capable of contributing to our desire of avenging ourselves upon the Spaniards". The Duke thank'd His Majesty in the most submissive terms; and would willingly have entered into a more particular discourse, but the emperor waved it, that as he could do nothing till admiral Perez arrived, so the Duke would do well to consider and revive his projects, without communicating them till then. In which, since there was no help for it, the Duke acquiesced. At the close of the audience, he presented the emperor with a ring, which, instead of a jewel, had a watch nicely set, wherewith the moorish monarch was prodigiously pleased, and even condescended to inform*

*him, that it would not be long before he received marks of his regards for him. When they retired, his friend Ali invited him to dinner, which he accepted, and went with all his train in ceremony to that renegade's house.*

*When the entertainment prepared on this occasion was over, Ali advised the Duke to send for the fair Castilian, and to make use of an apartment in his house, which he was large, pleasant, well furnished, and which he was assured he might command as much as it if it was his own. The Duke (P. 274) consented, and the merchant thereby reaped the benefit of the contrivance, the Duke quitting his house the very next day, and making him a very handsome present when he quitted it. From this time forward, the Duke wore the habit of the country, and conformed himself in all outward respects to the manners of the people with whom he lived. As for the Castilian, she lived pleasantly enough. Ali had two wives, one of whom, a girl of sixteen, was from Castile also, had been taken by a corsair, and presented to the emperor, who, as a mark of his favour, was pleased to bestow her upon Ali. If the Duke had so pleased, he might also have had a Seraglio; but in his particular he shewed some moderation; and either from gratitude to her, who had rescued him from bondage at the hazard of her life, or from a sense that his constitution did not qualify him for amorous adventures, he chose to make no use of that privilege, which bath tempted so many others to abjure their faith. Thus the private concerns of the Duke were compleatly settled to his satisfaction. He had a man with whom he could converse freely, and who thought just in his own way; the Castilian was perfectly quiet, and began to recover that beauty which had been impaired by the chagrin she had lately endured; to which perhaps, this did not a little contribute, that every body at Mequinez treated her as Dutchess of Ripperda. One may wonder at this, considering that the christians establish'd at Morocco, could not but know that the Duke had a wife living at Madrid, and that consequently this lady was nothing less than Duchess of Ripperda. However, if we reflect on the State Ripperda was now in, and the manner in which he lived, we need not wonder that the christians did any thing to obtain his favour; for in that country, where the frown of a prince is attended with (P.275) immediate destruction, those who are for a time in his favour, not only obtain respect, but a kind of adoration.*

*In his publick character, the Duke was as fortunate; for by frequent conversations he gained such an ascendancy over the mind of Muley Abdalla, that he told him frankly, he was desirous of seeing him at the head of his armies, and of reviving the spirit of the Moors by a war with Spain; but that he looked upon such a step to be inexpedient till the arrival of admiral Perez, because, in fact, none of his council but he had a capacity for transacting such an affair; and besides he was so much beloved by the people, that it was of great consequence they should see he entered into and approv'd these measures. As to the rest, the Duke was heard with attention in council, the more intelligent of the Moors were captivated by his manner of speaking, and the Duke knew so well how to accomodate his discourse to each man's particular way of thinking, that in a few weeks, he directed all things without having the envied title of Prime Minister, or even being thought to direct them by those he governed; so artfully did he represent his own notions as borrowed from them, and with such address did he place their complecence for his sentiments in the light of opinions purely their own.*

*The more he considered the temper and capacity of Muley Abdalla, the more the Duke was at a loss how to conduct himself; he saw that prince had great faults, especially indolence, and the love of women, together with a timorous aversion for war, springing from the remembrance of what had past in the opening of his reign, when a cruel and most bloody struggle fixed him upon the throne. But with all this he was very far from being sunk in those vices, which in a manner stupified Muley (P.276) Ahmedy his predecessor. For the reigning Emporor, tho' he drank sometimes with his favourites, yet never attempted to do any business when he had indulged himself in his cups. He was besides slow in speaking; thoughtful, when not with his women, and so just to his word, that the Fathers of Mercy in their transactions with him about slaves, would trust to*

*his honour, which was more than ever they thought fit to do with respect to any of his predecessors. In the eyes of any body but the Duke de Ripperda, these qualities would have render'd him amiable; but our politician would have been better pleased, if the emperor had been more a Barbarian, provided his fury might have been pointed against the Spaniards, and the whole force of Morocco poured first on the spanish garisons in Africk, and then transported into Europe. As it was, the schemes he offerd for blocking up Ceuta and Melilla, for ruining the spanish coasts, and for uniting all the piratical States of Barbary in a League, to transport an army of Moors into Spain, could not quicken either the emperor or his council, who, tho' they were well pleased with these overtures, were of themselves incapable of carrying them into execution, and did not as yet see any cause to trust the Duke absolutely in all things, who in respect to them was a perfect stranger, and in outward appearance a christian . While things were in this situation, the Duke, though he had nothing which ought properly speaking to have given him pain (Remorse of conscience excepted) yet was he so chagrin'd at his being forced to live so long in quiet, that he began to grow as melancholy as he had been in Segovia, as if to him rest and peace had been a prison."*

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