




A
Map
of part of
AFRICA.
Drawn from the latest authorities
to illustrate the narrative of
Captain James Riley.

 John H. Eddy,
 New York,
 1816.

SCALE.
 Geographical Miles. 0 100 200 300 400 500
 Statute Miles. 0 100 200 300 400 500
 Days Journey of the Caravan. 0 20 40 60

L O S S

OF

THE AMERICAN BRIG COMMERCE,

WRECKED ON THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA, IN
THE MONTH OF AUGUST, 1815.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

TOMBUCTOO,

AND OF

THE HITHERTO UNDISCOVERED GREAT CITY

OF

WASSANAH.

BY

J A M E S R I L E Y,

LATE MASTER AND SUPERCARGO.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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24, Broad Street Buildings.

25th March, 1817.

SIR,

IF my opinion respecting Mr. Riley and his Narrative can be of any importance, it is much at your service: and in compliance with your request I shall now state for your information, such circumstances as have come to my knowledge.

The first intelligence I received relating to Mr. Riley was from Mr. Willshire, (who conducts my commercial establishment at Mogadore,) who, as a matter of course, informed me of the Shipwreck and subsequent ransom from slavery of Mr. Riley and his fellow-sufferers.

About three months ago I received a letter from Mr. Riley dated from New York, informing me of his intention to publish his Narrative, and on my mentioning the circumstance to my friend Mr. Green, His Majesty's Consul-General at Tangier, then lately arrived in England, he spoke of Mr. Riley, with whom he became acquainted at Tangier, in the highest terms, and assured me he considered him as a very intelligent and well informed man, and very capable of giving an accurate account of his observations.

BKW

Soon after this I received letters from the American Consul-General at Tangier, James Simpson, Esq. whose account of Mr. Riley was equally favourable with Mr. Green's, and from the well known judgment and experience of both these Gentlemen, and their personal knowledge of the Author, I think great weight will be attached to such very respectable testimony in his favour.

I also received a short time ago a letter from Mr. Willshire of Mogadore, of which the following is an extract:—
“ I shall always reflect with pleasure on the day that made
“ me acquainted with Mr. Riley; and it gives me great
“ satisfaction to learn that he intends to publish an Edition
“ of his Work in England, for which he not only possesses
“ ability, but has also very considerable influence with his
“ own government, and in consequence of it Mr. Simpson
“ has been empowered (by the Government of the United
“ States) with very extensive limits to redeem American
“ shipwrecked citizens in this country.”

With respect to the Narrative itself, it is with great deference that I submit any opinion of mine on its merits; but having resided several years at Mogadore, and having travelled several times over a considerable part of the country he describes, it is but a common act of justice to say, that I think he has given a very accurate descrip-

tion of what he has seen. Judging, therefore, from that part of his travels which accords with my own personal observations, it is I think fair in me to conclude that the remainder is described with equal veracity. His description of the country from Santa Cruz to Mogadore, and from thence to Tangier, his account of the Arabs and observations of their manners and customs are, I think, very correct.

I am not able to form a judgment of his friend Sidi Hamet's account of Tombuctoo, but I must confess that in the principal points it agrees with the descriptions I have heard related by several Moorish merchants that have been there.

I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

JAMES RENSHAW.

John Murray, Esq.
Albemarle Street.

TO THE READER.

THE following Narrative of my misfortunes and sufferings, and my consequent travels and observations in Africa, is submitted to the perusal of a candid and an enlightened public with much diffidence, particularly as I write without having had the advantages derived from an academic education, and being quite unskilled in the art of composing for the press. My aim has been merely to record in plain and unvarnished language, scenes in which I was a principal actor, of real and heart-appalling distresses. The very deep and indelible impression made in my mind by the extraordinary circumstances attending my late shipwreck and the consequent miserable captivity and wretchedness of myself and my surviving shipmates, and believing that a knowledge of many of these incidents might prove useful and interesting to the world, as well as peculiarly instructive to my sea-faring brethren, together with the strong and repeated solicitations of many valuable friends, among whom was the Honourable James Munroe, Secre-

tary of State, and several distinguished members of Congress; urged by these considerations, and with a view of being enabled by my labours to afford some relief to the surviving sufferers and the destitute families of that part of my late crew whose lot it was to perish in Africa, or who are still groaning out the little remains of their existence in the cruel bonds of Barbarian slavery, I was induced to undertake the very arduous and difficult task (though labouring under such disadvantages) of preparing and publishing a work that proves to be so large and expensive.

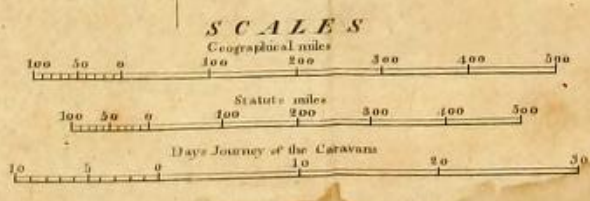
The Narrative, up to the time of my redemption, was written entirely from memory unaided by notes, but I committed the principal facts to writing in Mogadore when every circumstance was fresh in my memory, (which is naturally a retentive one,) and I then compared my own recollections with those of my ransomed companions; this was done with a view of showing to my friends the unparalleled sufferings I had endured, and not for the express purpose of making them public by means of the press. It should be remembered by the reader that the occurrences here recorded took place out of the common and ordinary course of a sailor's life; and that each particular event was of a nature calculated to impress itself so powerfully on the mind, as not easily to be effaced.



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Having in the course of my life visited and travelled through several foreign countries, my mind was by no means unaccustomed to pay attention to, and make observations on whatever came within the reach of my notice, and for this reason the strange events of the Desert and the novel objects and scenes which I had an opportunity of witnessing in the country of the Moors, were not suffered to pass without awakening and exercising my curiosity as well as interest, and becoming the subject of a careful and habitual reflection.

Respecting my conversations with the Arabs, I have put down what I knew at the time to be their exact meaning as nearly as I could translate their words and signs combined. I had previously learned the French and Spanish languages both by grammar and practice, and had also been accustomed to hear spoken the Russian and different dialects of the German as well as the Portugueze, Italian, and several other languages, so that my ear had become familiar with their sounds and pronunciation. Perceiving an affinity between the Arabian and Spanish, I soon began to learn the names of common things, in Arabic, and to compare them in my mind with those I had met with in Turkish and other oriental history. I had no hope of ever being redeemed unless I could make myself understood, and I therefore took the utmost care to treasure up every word

and sentence I heard spoken by the Arabs, to reflect on their bearing, and to find out their true meaning, by which means, in the course of a very few days, I was enabled to comprehend the general tenor and drift of their ordinary conversation, and to find out the meaning of their signs and gestures. My companions, however, could scarcely comprehend a single word of Arabic even after they were redeemed.

In regard to the route, and various courses of our travel, I would observe, that after I was purchased by the Arabian merchants, and taken off across the Desert, I was suffering under the most excruciating bodily pains, as well as the most cruel privations; it will not therefore be a matter of wonder if on this vast, smooth and trackless Desert I should have mistaken one eastern course for another, or have erred in computing the distances travelled over; for I was frequently in such agony and so weighed down with weariness and despair, that a day seemed to me of endless duration. A long experience on the ocean had before taught me to ascertain the latitude by the apparent height of the polar star above the horizon, so that in this particular I could not be much mistaken; and the trending of the coast where our boat was driven on shore, proves it must have been near Cape Barbas. After we approached the sea coast again, I became more attentive to the surrounding

objects as my hopes of being ransomed increased, so that not only the courses but the distances as I have given them, will agree in all their essential points.

In compiling the Map particular care has been taken to consult the best authorities, but I considered at the same time that the information I received from my old Arabian master, was sufficiently correct, and would warrant me in giving full scope to my consequent geographical impressions, in tracing the river Niger to the Atlantic ocean. Admitting that my idea hereafter prove to be just, and that this river actually discharges its waters with those of the Congo into the gulph of Guinea, I am of opinion that not less than one fourth of the whole distance in a straight line should be added for its bends and windings in order to calculate its real length.

While I was at Mogadore a number of singular and interesting transactions took place, such as do not often occur even in that country ; and a person might reside there for many years without having an opportunity of witnessing a repetition of them ; yet their authenticity, as well as of all the other circumstances I have related, can be substantiated by many living witnesses, men of respectability and unquestionable veracity.

My observations on the currents that have heretofore proved fatal to a vast number of vessels and their crews on the Western Coast of Africa, are made with a view to promote the further investigation of this subject, as well as to caution the unwary mariner against their too often disastrous effects.

With respect to the extraordinary circumstance mentioned in the narrative of the sudden subsiding of the surf when we were about committing ourselves to the open sea in our shattered boat, I am aware that it will be the subject of much comment, and probably of some raillery. I was advised by a friend to suppress this fact, lest those who are not disposed to believe in the particular interposition of Divine Providence should make use of it as an argument against the correctness of the other parts of my narrative. This probably would have been good policy in me as a mere Author, for I am pretty sure that previous to this signal mercy, I myself would have entertained a suspicion of the veracity of a writer who should have related what to me would have appeared such an improbable occurrence. Sentiments and feelings however of a very different kind from any that mere wordly interest can excite, forbid me to suppress or deny what so clearly appeared to me and my companions at the time, as the immediate and merciful act

of the Almighty, listening to our prayers and granting our petition at the awful moment when dismay, despair and death were pressing close upon us with all their accumulated horrors. My heart still glows with holy gratitude for his mercy, and I will never be ashamed nor afraid to acknowledge and make known to the world the infinite goodness of my Divine Creator and Preserver. "The waters of the sea had well nigh covered us: the proud waves had well nigh gone over our soul. Then cried we unto thee, O Lord, and thou didst deliver us out of our distresses. Thou didst send forth thy commandment; and the windy storm ceased, and was turned into a calm."

JAMES RILEY.



NARRATIVE,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

A brief Sketch of the Author's Life and Education, up to the month of May, 1815.

I WAS born in the town of Middletown, in the State of Connecticut, on the 27th of October, in the year 1777, during the war between England and America, which terminated, in 1783, with the acknowledgment by the mother-country of the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the thirteen United States. My father, Asher Riley, who still lives in the same place, was bred to the farming business, and at an early age married my mother, Rebecca Sage, who is also yet living. I was their fourth child. Owing to an attack of that dangerous disorder, the liver complaint, my father was rendered incapable of attending to his usual employment for several years, during which time, his property, very small at first, was entirely expended; but after his recovery, in 1786, he was enabled, by industry and strict

economy, to support his increasing family in a decent manner.

It may not be improper here, before I speak of my education, to give a general idea of what was then termed a common education in Connecticut. This state is divided into counties and towns, and the towns into societies ; in each of which societies, the inhabitants, by common consent, and at their common expense, erect a school-house in which to educate their children. If the society is too large for only one school, it is again subdivided into districts, and each district erects a school-house for its own accommodation. This is generally done by a tax levied by themselves, and apportioned according to the property or capacity of each individual. It being for the general good, all cheerfully pay their apportionment. Thus prepared, they hire a teacher to instruct their children in reading and writing, and some of them are taught the fundamental rules of arithmetic. They, for the most part, hire a male teacher for four months in the year, say from October to March, and his compensation (at the time I am speaking of) was from six to ten dollars a month, with his board. In order to obtain his board, he was under the necessity of going to each of his employers' houses in rotation, making his time in each family as equal as possible and in proportion to the number of children therein. In this way all the parents became acquainted with the master or mistress. In the summer, one

of the best informed girls in the neighbourhood was selected to teach the youngest children. To defray the expense arising from this system, a tax was laid, and every man, whether married or unmarried, with children or without them, was obliged to pay the sum at which he was rated, and in this manner every one contributed for the good of the whole. In each society one or more meeting-houses were established, whose congregations were either Presbyterians or Congregationalists, and a minister (as he is called) regularly ordained and located for a yearly stipend or salary, and generally during life. This was an old and *steady habit*. The minister was considered as the head of the school, as well as of the meeting, and his *like* or *dislike* was equivalent to a law. All the children in each district, whether rich or poor, went to this school: all had an equal right to this kind of country education. To one of these district schools I was sent at the age of four years, where I continued, learning to spell and read, until I was eight years old, when my father's family had increased to seven or eight children, with a fair prospect of more, (it afterwards amounted to thirteen in number.)

Finding it difficult to support us all as he wished, and I having become a stout boy of my age, he placed me with a neighbouring farmer to earn my living, by assisting him in his work. From the age of eight to fourteen years I worked on the land with different farmers in our neighbour-

hood, who having received but a very scanty education themselves, conceited, nevertheless, that they were overstocked with learning, as is generally the case with the most ignorant, and in this, their fancied wisdom, concluded that much less than they themselves possessed would answer my purpose, as I was but a poor boy! Finding therefore that they would lose my labour during school hours, (for they had always taken great care to keep me fully employed in hard drudgery every moment I was out of school, scarcely allowing me the usual hours of refreshment and sleep,) they kept me from school, merely because, as they stated, they could not get along with their work without my help. When my parents remonstrated against such conduct in those who had come under a most solemn agreement to give me a *plenty of schooling*, they were assured "that I was a very forward boy; that I could spell and read as well as any of the boys of my age; that I could repeat whole chapters in the Bible by heart, and knew all the Catechism and Creed, viz. the Presbyterian, which then was, and still is considered, all important in that section of the union called New England: that I could sing psalms in the *separate meetings* full as well as those who had learned to sing by note, 'though indeed he cannot write, (said they,) because he has no turn for writing.'" These representations tended in some measure to allay the anxiety of my parents, who wished me above all things to have a good common country education,

as they at that time had no prospect of being able to give me any thing better. They had taught me, both by precept and practice, that to be honest, industrious, and prudent; to govern my passions; (which were violent;) to feel for and relieve the distresses of others when in my power; to be mild and affable in my manners, and virtuous in all my actions, was to be happy; and they generally had instilled into my youthful mind every good principle.

I had now attained my fifteenth year; was tall, stout, and athletic for my age; and having become tired of hard work on the land, I concluded that the best way to get rid of it, was to go to sea and visit foreign countries. My parents endeavoured to dissuade me from this project, and wished me to learn some mechanical trade; but finding that I could not fix my mind upon any other business, they, with great reluctance, consented to my choice; and I, accordingly, shipped on board a sloop bound to the West Indies. Having no friend to push me forward, no dependence but on my own good conduct and exertions, and being ambitious to gain some distinction in the profession I had chosen, I contrived to acquire some knowledge in the art of navigation, theoretically as well as practically, and at the age of twenty years had passed through the grades of cabin boy, cook, ordinary seaman, seaman, second mate, and chief mate, on board different vessels. I was now six feet and one inch in height, and proportionably strong and athletic, when finding

the sphere I then moved in to be too limited for my views and wishes, (it extending only from Connecticut River or New London to the West Indies, and back again,) I went to New York, where I was soon appointed to the command of a good vessel, and since that time have continued in similar employment ; making voyages in all climates usually visited by American ships ; traversing almost every sea, and travelling by land through many of the principal states and empires of the world. For several years I had charge of the cargoes as well as of the vessels I sailed in, and had a fair share of prosperity until the month of January, 1808, when my ship, the *Two Marys* of New-York, was seized by the French, as I took shelter in Belle Isle, in the Bay of Biscay, from some English men of war, being bound for Nantz ; and the ship, with her valuable cargo, was confiscated, under the memorable Milan Decree of the 17th December, 1807, founded on the well known Orders in Council, of the 11th November, of the same year. I remained in France until the ship and cargo were condemned, and did not return to my native country and family, till the latter part of the year 1809, with the loss, it is true, of nearly all the property I had before acquired, but wiser than I went out ; for I had learned to read, write, and speak both the French and Spanish languages ; had travelled pretty much all over France, where I had opportunities of witnessing many important operations in the science of war,

calculated to attract my attention to the principles upon which they were founded, and I, at the same time, took lessons in the school of adversity, which tended to prepare and discipline my mind for the future hardships I was destined to undergo. I now strove with all my power to stem the tide of misfortune, which began to set in against me with impetuous force. I had become a husband and the father of four children, who looked up to me for support, and I strained every nerve to retrieve my lost fortune, by trading to sea; but it was of no avail; every thing proved adverse, and after an absence of two years to Spain, Portugal, the Brazils, Rio de la Plata, or River of Silver, in South America, the West Indies, New Orleans, &c. I returned home at the commencement of the late war (1812) penniless. Unarmed commerce on the ocean, my element, was at an end in an honourable way, and I could not obtain a station I wished for in the navy, nor could I obtain the command of a private armed vessel that suited my views, owing to the want of funds; nor would I accept the command of a vessel and the consignment of a cargo navigated contrary to the laws of war under foreign licences: this I considered would derogate from the character I always wished to support, that of a true friend to my country, (whether in prosperity or adversity,) and a firm supporter of its laws and institutions, which I had proved by long experience in the ways of the world to be as good (at least) as

those of any country under heaven. Though the offers that were made me were great and tempting, so that my acceptance of them could scarcely have failed of producing me a handsome fortune, and that in a very short period, yet I remained at home during the whole war, making use of all my faculties to gain a decent subsistence for my family. Soon after the burning of the Capitol and other public and private buildings at the seat of government, by the enemy, in August, 1814, when their commanders loudly threatened to destroy every assailable place on the seaboard, I believed the time was near when every arm would be required for the general defence, particularly at the exposed seaport towns; and having enrolled myself in a volunteer company of military exempt artillerists, composed chiefly of masters and mates of vessels and seamen, I had the honour of being chosen their captain. But our services were not needed in the field.

CHAPTER II.

Voyage in the Commerce from Connecticut River to New-Orleans.

AFTER the close of the war, in April, 1815, being then in my native state, I was employed as master and supercargo of the brig Commerce of Hartford, in Connecticut; a vessel nearly new and well fitted, of about two hundred and twenty tons burden, belonging to Messrs. Riley and Brown, Josiah Savage and Co. and Luther Savage of that city. A light cargo was taken on board, and I shipped a crew, consisting of the following persons, namely: George Williams, chief mate, Aaron R. Savage, second mate, William Porter, Archibald Robbins, Thomas Burns, and James Clark, seamen, Horace Savage, cabin boy, and Richard Deslisle, (a black man,) cook. This man had been a servant during the late war to Captain Daniel Ketchum, of the 25th regiment of United States' infantry, who distinguished himself by taking prisoner the English Major-General Rial, at the dreadful battle of Burlington Heights, in Upper Canada, and by several other heroic achievements.

With this crew I proceeded to sea from the mouth of

Connecticut River, on the sixth day of May, 1815, bound for New-Orleans. We continued to steer for the Bahama Islands, as winds and weather permitted, until the twentieth of the same month, when we saw the southernmost part of the island of Abaco, and passing the Hole in the Wall, on the twenty-first, entered on the Grand Bahama Bank to the leeward of the northernmost Berri Islands; from thence, with a fair wind and good breeze, we steered W. S. W. twelve leagues; then S. S. W. about forty leagues, crossing the Bank, in from three to four fathoms water. On the morning of the twenty-second we saw the Orange Key on our starboard beam; altered our course, and ran off the Bank, leaving them on our starboard hand, distant one league. The water on this Great Bank, in most places, appears as white as milk, owing to the white sand at the bottom gleaming through it, and is so clear that an object, the size of a dollar, can be easily seen lying on the bottom in four fathoms water, in a still time. Having got off the Bank, we steered W. S. W. for the Double-headed Shot Bank, and at meridian found ourselves, by good observations, in the latitude of 24. 30. being nearly that of the Orange Keys. In the afternoon it became nearly calm, but a good breeze springing up, we continued our course all night W. S. W. I remained on deck myself, on a sharp look-out for the Double-headed Shot Bank, or Keys, until four o'clock A. M. when judging by our distance we must be far past them,

and consequently clear of that danger, I ordered the chief mate, who had charge of the watch, to keep a good look-out, on all sides, for land, white water and breakers; and after repeating the same to the people, I went below to take a nap. At about five (then fair daylight) I was awakened by a shock, and thought I felt the vessel touch bottom. I sprang on deck, put the helm to starboard, had all hands called in an instant, and saw breakers ahead and to southward, close on board; apparently a sound on our right, and land to the northward, at about two leagues distance. The vessel's head was towards the S. W. and she running at the rate of ten miles the hour. I instantly seized the helm, put it hard to port, ordered all sails to be let run, and the anchors cleared away. The vessel touched lightly, three or four times; when I found she was over the reef, let go an anchor, which brought her up in two and a half fathoms, or fifteen feet water, which was quite smooth. We now handed all the sails, and lowered down the boat. I went in her with four hands, and sounded out a passage; found plenty of water to leeward of the reef; returned and got under way, and at seven o'clock A. M. was in the open sea again, with a fresh breeze.

This being the first time, in the course of my navigating, that any vessel which I was in had struck the bottom unexpectedly, I own I was so much surprized and shocked, that my whole frame trembled, and I could scarcely believe that

what had happened was really true, until by comparing the causes and effects of the currents in the Gulph Stream, I was convinced that during the light winds, the day before, when in the Santarem Channel, the vessel had been drifted by the current that runs N. N. W. (and at that time very strong) so far North of the Double-headed Shot Bank; that my course in the night, though the only proper one I could have steered, was such as kept the current on the larboard bow of the vessel, which had horsed her across it sixty miles out of her course in sixteen hours, and would have landed her on the S. W. part of the Carysford Reef in two minutes more, where she must have been totally lost. As so many vessels of all nations who navigate this stream have perished with their cargoes, and oftentimes their crews, I mention this incident to warn the navigator of the danger he is in when his vessel is acted upon by these currents, where no calculation can be depended upon, and where nothing but very frequent castings of the lead, and a good look-out, can secure him from their too often fatal consequences.

Having settled this point in my own mind, I became tranquil, and we continued to run along the Florida Keys from W. S. W. to West by South, in from thirty to forty fathoms water, about four leagues distant, seeing from one to two leagues within us many rocks and little sandy islands, just above the water's edge, with a good depth of water all around them, until noon on the 24th, when we doubled the dry Tortugas Islands in ten fathoms, and on the 26th ar-

rived in the Mississippi River, passed fort St. Philip at Plaquemines the same night, having shown my papers to the commanding officer of that post (as is customary.)

My previous knowledge of the river and the manner of getting up it, enabled me to pass nearly one hundred sail of vessels that were in before me, and by dint of great and continued exertions, to arrive with my vessel before the city of New-Orleans, on the first day of June. Here we discharged our cargo, and took another on board, principally on freight, in which I was assisted by Messrs. Talcott and Bowers, respectable merchants in that city. This cargo consisted of tobacco and flour. The two ordinary seamen, Francis Bliss and James Carrington, now wished for a discharge, and received it. I then shipped in their stead John Hogan and James Barrett, both seamen and natives of the state of Massachusetts.

With this crew and cargo we sailed from New-Orleans on the twenty-fourth of June; left the river on the twenty-sixth, and proceeded for Gibraltar, where we arrived on the ninth of August following, and landed our cargo. About the thirteenth the schooner ——, Captain Price, of and from New York, in a short passage, came into the Bay, and the captain on his landing told me he was bound up to Barcelona, and that if I would go on board his vessel, which was then standing off and on in the Bay, he would give me a late New-York Price Current, and some newspapers. I was in great want of a Price Current for my guide in making pur-

chases, and accordingly went on board. The wind blowing strong in, and the vessel far out, I had to take four men with me, namely, James Clark, James Barrett, William Porter, and John Hogan. Having received the Price Current, &c., I left the schooner about sunset, when they immediately filled her sails and stood on. As we were busied in stepping the boat's mast to sail back, a toppling sea struck her, and nearly filled her with water; we all jumped instantly overboard in the hope of preventing her from filling, but she filled immediately. Providentially the captain of the schooner heard me halloo, though at least a mile from us; put his vessel about, came near us, sent his boat, and saved our lives and our boat, which being cleared of water, and it being after dark, we returned safe alongside of the brig by ten o'clock at night. When the boat filled, we were more than three miles from the Rock, in the Gut, where the current would have set us into the Mediterranean, and we must have inevitably perished before morning, but we were spared, in order to suffer a severer doom, and miseries worse than death, on the barbarous shores of Africa.

We now took on board part of the cargo of brandies and wines, and some dollars, say about two thousand, and an old man, named Antonio Michel, a native of New Orleans, who had previously been wrecked on the island of Teneriffe, and was recommended to my charity by Mr. Gavino, who at that time exercised the functions of American Consul at Gibraltar.

CHAPTER III.

Voyage from Gibraltar towards the Cape de Verd Islands, including the Shipwreck of the brig Commerce on the coast of Africa.

WE set sail from the bay of Gibraltar, on the 23d of August, 1815, intending to go by way of the Cape de Verd Islands, to complete the lading of the vessel with salt. We passed Cape Spartel on the morning of the 24th, giving it a birth of from ten to twelve leagues, and steered off to the W. S. W. I intended to make the Canary Islands, and pass between Teneriffe and Palma, having a fair wind; but it being very thick and foggy weather, though we got two observations at noon, neither could be much depended upon. On account of the fog, we saw no land, and found, by good meridian altitudes on the twenty-eighth, that we were in the latitude of 27. 30. N. having differed our latitude by the force of current, one hundred and twenty miles; thus passing the Canaries without seeing any of them. I concluded we must have passed through the intended passage without discovering the land on either side, particularly, as it was in the night, which was very dark, and black as pitch; nor could I believe otherwise from having had a fair wind all the

way, and having steered our course ever since we took our departure from Cape Spartel. Soon after we got an observation on the 28th, it became as thick as ever, and the darkness seemed (if possible) to increase. Towards evening I got up my reckoning, and examined it all over, to be sure that I had committed no error, and caused the mates to do the same with theirs. Having thus ascertained that I was correct in calculation, I altered our course to S.W. which ought to have carried us nearly on the course I wished to steer, that is, for the easternmost of the Cape de Verds; but finding the weather becoming more foggy towards night, it being so thick that we could scarcely see the end of the jib-boom, I rounded the vessel to, and sounded with one hundred and twenty fathoms of line, but found no bottom, and continued on our course, still reflecting on what should be the cause of our not seeing land, (as I never had passed near the Canaries before without seeing them, even in thick weather or in the night.) I came to a determination to haul off to the N. W. by the wind at 10 P. M. as I should then be by the log only thirty miles north of Cape Bojador. I concluded on this at nine, and thought my fears had never before so much prevailed over my judgment and my reckoning. I ordered the light sails to be handed, and the steering sail booms to be rigged in snug, which was done as fast as it could be by one watch, under the immediate direction of Mr. Savage.

We had just got the men stationed at the braces for hauling off, as the man at the helm cried "ten o'clock." Our try-sail boom was on the starboard side, but ready for jibing; the helm was put to port, dreaming of no danger near. I had been on deck all the evening myself: the vessel was running at the rate of nine or ten knots, with a very strong breeze, and high sea, when the main boom was jibed over, and I at that instant heard a roaring; the yards were braced up—all hands were called. I imagined at first it was a squall, and was near ordering the sails to be lowered down; but I then discovered breakers foaming at a most dreadful rate under our lee. Hope for a moment flattered me that we could fetch off still, as there were no breakers in view ahead: the anchors were made ready; but these hopes vanished in an instant, as the vessel was carried by a current and a sea directly towards the breakers, and she struck! We let go the best bower anchor; all sails were taken in as fast as possible; surge after surge came thundering on, and drove her in spite of anchors, partly with her head on shore. She struck with such violence as to start every man from the deck. Knowing there was no possibility of saving her, and that she must very soon bilge and fill with water, I ordered all the provisions we could get at to be brought on deck, in hopes of saving some, and as much water to be drawn from the large casks as possible. We started several quarter casks of wine, and filled them with water. Every

man worked as if his life depended upon his present exertions ;—all were obedient to every order I gave, and seemed perfectly calm ;—The vessel was stout and high, as she was only in ballast trim ;—The sea combed over her stern and swept her decks ; but we managed to get the small boat in on deck, to sling her and keep her from staving. We cut away the bulwark on the larboard side so as to prevent the boats from staving when we should get them out ; cleared away the long-boat and hung her in tackles, the vessel continuing to strike very heavy, and filling fast. We, however, had secured five or six barrels of water, and as many of wine,—three barrels of bread, and three or four of salted provisions. I had as yet been so busily employed, that no pains had been taken to ascertain what distance we were from the land, nor had any of us yet seen it ; and in the meantime all the clothing, chests, trunks, &c. were got up, and the books, charts, and sea instruments, were stowed in them, in the hope of their being useful to us in future.

The vessel being now nearly full of water, the surf making a fair breach over her, and fearing she would go to pieces, I prepared a rope, and put it in the small boat, having got a glimpse of the shore, at no great distance, and taking Porter with me, we were lowered down on the larboard or lee side of the vessel, where she broke the violence of the sea, and made it comparatively smooth : we shoved off, but on clearing away from the bow of the vessel, the boat was

overwhelmed with a surf, and we were plunged into the foaming surges : we were driven along by the current, aided by what seamen call the undertow, (or recoil of the sea,) to the distance of three hundred yards to the westward, covered nearly all the time by the billows, which, following each other in quick succession, scarcely gave us time to catch a breath before we were again literally swallowed by them, till at length we were thrown, together with our boat, upon a sandy beach. After taking breath a little, and ridding our stomachs of the salt water that had forced its way into them, my first care was to turn the water out of the boat, and haul her up out of the reach of the surf. We found the rope that was made fast to her still remaining ; this we carried up along the beach, directly to leeward of the wreck, where we fastened it to sticks about the thickness of handspikes, that had drifted on the shore from the vessel, and which we drove into the sand by the help of other pieces of wood. Before leaving the vessel, I had directed that all the chests, trunks, and every thing that would float, should be hove overboard : this all hands were busied in doing. The vessel lay about one hundred fathoms from the beach, at high tide. In order to save the crew, a hawser was made fast to the rope we had on shore, one end of which we hauled to us, and made it fast to a number of sticks we had driven into the sand for the purpose. It was then tautned on board the wreck, and made fast. This being done, the long-boat (in

order to save (the provisions already in her) was lowered down, and two hands steadied her by ropes fastened to the rings in her stem and stern posts over the hawser, so as to slide, keeping her bow to the surf. In this manner they reached the beach, carried on the top of a heavy wave. The boat was stove by the violence of the shock against the beach; but by great exertions we saved the three barrels of bread in her before they were much damaged; and two barrels of salted provision were also saved. We were now four of us, on shore, and busied in picking up the clothing and other things which drifted from the vessel, and carrying them up out of the surf. It was by this time daylight, and high water; the vessel careened deep off shore, and I made signs to have the masts cut away, in the hope of easing her, that she might not go to pieces. They were accordingly cut away, and fell on her starboard side, making a better lee for a boat alongside the wreck, as they projected considerably beyond her bows. The masts and rigging being gone, the sea breaking very high over the wreck, and nothing left to hold on by, the mates and six men still on board, though secured as well as they could be, on the bowsprit and in the larboard fore-channels, were yet in imminent danger of being washed off by every surge. The long-boat was stove, and it being impossible for the small one to live, my great object was now to save the lives of the crew by means of the hawser. I therefore made signs to them to

come, one by one, on the hawser, which had been stretched taut for that purpose. John Hogan ventured first, and having pulled off his jacket, took to the hawser, and made for the shore. When he had got clear of the immediate lee of the wreck, every surf buried him, coming many feet above his head; but he still held fast by the rope with a deathlike grasp, and as soon as the surf was passed, proceeded on towards the shore, until another surf, more powerful than the former, unclenched his hands, and threw him within our reach; when we laid hold of him, and dragged him to the beach; we then rolled him on the sand, until he discharged the salt water from his stomach, and revived. I kept in the water up to my chin, steadying myself by the hawser, while the surf passed over me, to catch the others as they approached, and thus, with the assistance of those already on shore, was enabled to save all the rest from a watery grave.

CHAPTER IV.

Description of the natives.—They make war upon the crew, and drive them off to the wreck.

ALL hands being now landed, our first care was to secure the provisions and water which we had so far saved, knowing it was a barren, thirsty land; and we carried the provisions up fifty yards from the water's edge, where we placed them, and then formed a kind of a tent by means of our oars and two steering sails. I had fondly hoped we should not be discovered by any human beings on this inhospitable shore, but that we should be able to repair our boats, with the materials we might get from the wreck, and by taking advantage of a smooth time, (if we should be favoured with one,) put to sea, where by the help of a compass and other instruments which we had saved, we might possibly find some friendly vessel to save our lives, or reach some of the European settlements down the coast, or the Cape de Verd Islands.

Being thus employed, we saw a human figure approach our stuff, such as clothing, which lay scattered along the beach for a mile westward of us. It was a man! He began

plundering our clothing. I went towards him with all the signs of peace and friendship I could make, but he was extremely shy, and made signs to me to keep my distance, while he all the time seemed intent on plunder. He was unarmed, and I continued to approach him until within ten yards.

He appeared to be about five feet seven or eight inches high, and of a complexion between that of an American Indian and negro. He had about him, to cover his nakedness, a piece of coarse woollen cloth, that reached from below his breast nearly to his knees; his hair was long and bushy, resembling a *pitch mop*, sticking out every way six or eight inches from his head; his face resembled that of an ourang-outang more than a human being; his eyes were red and fiery; his mouth, which stretched nearly from ear to ear, was well lined with sound teeth; and a long curling beard, which depended from his upper lip and chin down upon his breast, gave him altogether a most horrid appearance, and I could not but imagine that those well set teeth were sharpened for the purpose of devouring human flesh! particularly as I conceived I had before seen in different parts of the world, the human face and form in its most hideous and terrific shape. He appeared to be very old yet fierce and vigorous: he was soon joined by two old women of similar appearance, whom I took to be his wives. These looked a little less frightful, though their two eye-teeth stuck

out like hogs' tusks, and their tanned skins hung in loose plaits on their faces and breasts; but their hair was long and braided. A girl of from eighteen to twenty, who was not ugly, and five or six children, of different ages and sexes, from six to sixteen years, were also in company. These were entirely naked. They brought with them a good English hammer, with a rope-laniard through a hole in its handle. It had no doubt belonged to some vessel wrecked on that coast. They had also a kind of axe with them, and some long knives slung on their right sides, in a sheath suspended by their necks. They now felt themselves strong, and commenced a bold and indiscriminate plundering of every thing they wanted. They broke open trunks, chests, and boxes, and emptied them of their contents, carrying the clothing on their backs up on the sand hills, where they spread them out to dry. They emptied the beds of their contents, wanting only the cloth, and were much amused with the flying of the feathers before the wind from my bed. It appeared as though they had never before seen such things.

I had an adventure of silk-lace veils and silk handkerchiefs, the former of which the man, women, and children tied round their heads in the form of turbans; the latter round their legs and arms, though only for a short time, when they took them off again, and stowed them away among the other clothing on the sand hills. They all seemed

highly delighted with their good fortune, and even the old man's features began to relax a little, as he met with no resistance. We had no fire or side-arms, but we could easily have driven these creatures off with handspikes, had I not considered that we had no possible means of escaping either by land or water, and had no reason to doubt but they would call others to their assistance, and in revenge destroy us. I used all the arguments in my power to induce my men to endeavour to conciliate the friendship of these natives, but it was with the greatest difficulty I could restrain some of them from rushing on the savages and putting them to death, if they could have come up with them ; but I found they could run like the wind, whilst we could with difficulty move in the deep sand. Such an act I conceived would cost us our lives as soon as we should be overpowered by numbers, and I therefore permitted them to take what pleased them best, without making any resistance ; except our bread and provisions, which, as we could not subsist without them, I was determined to defend to the last extremity. On our first reaching the shore I allowed my mates and people to share among themselves one thousand Spanish dollars, for I had hauled my trunk on shore by a rope, with my money in it, which I was induced to do in the hope of its being useful to them in procuring a release from this country in case we should be separated, and in aiding them to reach their homes. We had rolled up the casks of water.

and wine which had been thrown overboard and drifted ashore. I was now determined to mend the long-boat, as soon and as well as possible, in order to have a retreat in my power, (or at least the hope of one,) in case of the last necessity. The wind lulled a little in the afternoon, at low water, when William Porter succeeded in reaching the wreck and procured a few nails and a marline spike; with these he got safe back to the shore. I found the timbers of the boat in so crazy a state, and the nails which held them together, so eaten off by the rust, that she would not hold together, nor support her weight in turning her up in order to get at her bottom. I tacked her timbers together, however, as well as I could, which was very imperfectly, as I had bad tools to work with, and my crew, now unrestrained by my authority, having broached a cask of wine, and taken copious drafts of it, in order to dispel their sorrows, were most of them in such a state, that instead of assisting me, they tended to increase my embarrassment. We, however, at last, got the boat turned up, and found that one whole plank was out on each side, and very much split. I tacked the pieces in, assisted by Mr. Savage, Horace, and one or two more. We chinned a little oakum into the seams and splits with our knives, as well as we could, and worked upon her until it was quite dark. I had kept sentinels walking with handspikes, to guard the tent and provisions during this time, but the Arabs had managed to rob us of one of our sails from

the tent, and to carry it off, and not content with this, they tried to get the other in the same way. This I would not permit them to do. They then showed their hatchets and their arms, but finding it of no effect, they retired for the night, after promising, as near as I could understand them, that they would not molest us further till morning, when they would bring camels down with them. We had previously seen a great many camel tracks in the sand, and I of course believed there were some near. One of the children had furnished us with fire, which enabled us to roast a fowl that had been drowned, and driven on shore from the wreck, on which, with some salt pork, and a little bread and butter, we made a hearty meal, little thinking that this was to be the last of our provisions we should be permitted to enjoy. A watch was set of two men, who were to walk guard at a distance from the tent, to give an alarm in case of the approach of the natives, and keep burning a guard fire. This we were enabled to do by cutting up some spars we found on the beach, and which must have belonged to some vessel wrecked there before us.

Night had now spread her sable mantle over the face of nature, the savages had retired, and all was still, except the restless and unwearied waves, which dashed against the deserted wreck, and tumbled among the broken rocks a little to the eastward of us, where the high perpendicular cliffs, jutting out into the sea, opposed a barrier to their violence, and

and wine which had been thrown overboard and drifted ashore. I was now determined to mend the long-boat, as soon and as well as possible, in order to have a retreat in my power, (or at least the hope of one,) in case of the last necessity. The wind lulled a little in the afternoon, at low water, when William Porter succeeded in reaching the wreck and procured a few nails and a marline spike; with these he got safe back to the shore. I found the timbers of the boat in so crazy a state, and the nails which held them together, so eaten off by the rust, that she would not hold together, nor support her weight in turning her up in order to get at her bottom. I tacked her timbers together, however, as well as I could, which was very imperfectly, as I had bad tools to work with, and my crew, now unrestrained by my authority, having broached a cask of wine, and taken copious drafts of it, in order to dispel their sorrows, were most of them in such a state, that instead of assisting me, they tended to increase my embarrassment. We, however, at last, got the boat turned up, and found that one whole plank was out on each side, and very much split. I tacked the pieces in, assisted by Mr. Savage, Horace, and one or two more. We chinned a little oakum into the seams and splits with our knives, as well as we could, and worked upon her until it was quite dark. I had kept sentinels walking with handspikes, to guard the tent and provisions during this time, but the Arabs had managed to rob us of one of our sails from

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Night had now spread her sable mantle over the scene. In the distance, the savages had retired, and all was silent but the restless and unwearied waves, which dashed against the wreck, and tumbled among the fragments of the vessel eastward of us, where the high surf was breaking out into the sea, opposed a

threatened, at the same time, inevitable and certain destruction to every ill fated vessel and her crew that should, unfortunately, approach too near their immovable foundations : these we had escaped only by a few rods. From the time the vessel struck to this moment, I had been so entirely engaged by the laborious exertions which our critical situation demanded, that I had no time for reflection ; but it now rushed like a torrent over my mind, and banished from my eyes that sleep which my fatigued frame so much required. I knew I was on a barren and inhospitable coast ; a tempestuous ocean lay before me, whose bosom was continually tossed and agitated by wild and furious winds, blowing directly on shore ; no vessel or boat sufficient for our escape, as I thought it impossible for our shattered long-boat to live at sea, even if we should succeed in urging her through the tremendous surges, that broke upon the shore, with such violence, as to make the whole coast tremble ; behind us were savage beings, bearing the human form indeed, but in its most terrific appearance, whose object I knew, from what had already passed, would be to rob us of our last resource, our provisions : and I did not doubt but they would be sufficiently strong in the morning, not only to accomplish what they meditated, but to take our lives also, or to seize upon our persons, and doom us to slavery, till death should rid us of our miseries.

This was the first time I had ever suffered shipwreck. I

had left a wife and five young children behind me, on whom I doated, and who depended on me entirely for their subsistence. My children would have no father's, and perhaps no mother's care, to direct them in the paths of virtue, to instruct their ripening years, or to watch over them, and administer the balm of comfort in time of sickness; no generous friend to relieve their distresses, and save them from indigence, degradation, and ruin. These reflections harrowed up my soul, nor could I cease to shudder at these imaginary evils, added to my real ones, until I was forced mentally to exclaim, "Thy ways, great Father of the universe, are wise and just: and what am I! an atom of dust, that dares to murmur at thy dispensations."

I next considered that eleven of my fellow-sufferers, who had entrusted themselves to my care, were still alive and with me, and all but two of them (who were on the watch) lying on the ground, and wrapped in the most profound and apparently pleasing sleep; and as I surveyed them with tears of compassion, I felt it was a sacred duty assigned me by Providence, to protect and preserve their lives to my very utmost. The night passed slowly and tediously away; when daylight at length began to dawn in the eastern horizon, and chased darkness before it, not to usher to our view the cheering prospect of approaching relief, but to unfold new scenes of suffering, wretchedness, and distress. So soon as it was fairly light, the old man came down, accompanied by his

wives and two young men of the same family—he was armed with a spear of iron, having a handle made with two pieces of wood spliced together, and tied with cords: the handle was about twelve feet long. This he held balanced in his right hand, above his head, making motions as if to throw it at us; he ordered us off to the wreck, pointing, at the same time, to a large drove of camels that were descending the heights to the eastward of us, his women running off at the same time, whooping and yelling horribly, throwing up sand in the air, and beckoning to those who had charge of the camels to approach. I ran towards the beach, and seized a small spar that lay there, to parry off the old man's lance, as a handspike was not long enough. He in the meantime came to the tent like a fury, where the people still were, and by slightly pricking one or two of them, and pointing at the same time towards the camels, he succeeded in frightening them, which was his object, as he did not wish to call help, lest he should be obliged to divide the spoil. The crew all made the best of their way to the small boat, while I parried off his spear with my spar, and kept him at a distance. He would doubtless have hurled it at me, but for the fear of losing it.

The small boat was dragged to the water, alongside our hawser, but the people huddling into her in a confused manner, she was filled by the first sea, and bilged. I now thought we had no resource, except trying to get eastward

or westward. Abandoning, therefore, our boats, provisions, &c., we tried to retreat eastward, but were opposed by this formidable spear, and could not make much progress; for the old man was very active: he would fly from us like the wind, and return with the same speed. The camels were approaching very fast, and he made signs to inform us, that the people who were with them had fire-arms, and would put us instantly to death; at the same time opposing us every way with his young men, with all their weapons, insisting on our going towards the wreck, and refusing to receive our submission, while the women and children still kept up their yelling. We then laid hold of the long-boat, turned her over, and got her into the water; and as I would suffer only one at a time to get on board, and that too over her stern, we succeeded at length, and all got off safe alongside the wreck, which made a tolerable lee for the boat, though she was by this time half filled with water.

All hands got on board the wreck except myself and another; we kept bailing the boat, and were able to keep her from entirely filling, having one bucket and a keg to work with. The moment we were out of the way, all the family ran together where our tent was; here they were joined by the camels and two young men, which we had not before seen, apparently about the ages of twenty and twenty-six. They were armed with scimitars, and came running on foot from the eastward. The old man and women ran to meet

them, hallooing to us, brandishing their naked weapons and bidding us defiance. They loaded the barrels of bread on their camels, which kneeled down to receive them; the beef and all the other provisions, with the sail that the tent was made of, &c. &c. and sent them off with the children who drove them down. The old man next came to the beach; with his axe stove in all the heads of our water casks and casks of wines, emptying their contents into the sand. They then gathered up all the trunks, chests, sea instruments, books, and charts, and consumed them by fire in one pile. Our provisions and water being gone, we saw no other alternative but to try to get to sea in our leaky boat, or stay and be washed off the wreck the next night, or to perish by the hands of these barbarians, who we expected would appear in great force, and bring fire-arms with them, and they would besides soon be enabled to walk to the wreck on a sand bar that was fast forming inside of the vessel, and now nearly dry at low water. The tide seemed to ebb and flow about twelve feet. We had now made all the preparations in our power for our departure, which amounted to nothing more than getting from the wreck a few bottles of wine, and a few pieces of salt pork. No water could be procured, and the bread was completely spoiled by being soaked in salt water. Our oars were all lost except two that were on shore in the power of the natives. We had split a couple of plank for oars, and attempted to shove off, but a surf striking

the boat, came over her bow, and nearly filling her with water, drifted her again alongside the wreck. We now made shift to get on board the wreck again, and bail out the boat; which when done, two hands were able to keep her free, while two others held her steady by ropes, so as to prevent her from dashing to pieces against the wreck.

CHAPTER V.

The natives seize the author by perfidy, and then get possession of the money—the author's critical situation on shore—He escapes to the wreck—Antonio Michel is massacred.

THE sight of our deplorable situation seemed to excite pity in the breasts of the savages who had driven us from the shore. They came down to the water's edge, bowed themselves to the ground, beckoning us, and particularly me, whom they knew to be the captain, to come on shore; making at the same time all the signs of peace and friendship they could. They carried all their arms up over the sand-hills, and returned without them. Finding I would not come on shore, one of them ran and fetched a small goat or dog skin, which, by signs, they made me understand was filled with water, and all retiring to a considerable distance from the beach, except the old man who had it: he came into the water with it up to his armpits, beckoning me to come and fetch it and drink. He was nearly naked, and had no weapons about him. Being very thirsty, and finding we could not get at any water, and no hope remaining of our being able to get out through the surf to sea, I let myself

down by the hawser, and went by means of it to the beach, where the old man met me and gave me the skin of water, which I carried off to the wreck, and the people hauled it up on board. This done, he made me understand that he wished to go on board, and me to remain on the beach until his return.

Seeing no possible chance of escaping or of preserving our lives in any other way but by their assistance, and that that was only to be obtained by conciliating them—telling my men my mind, I went again to the shore. The young men, women, and children, were now seated unarmed on the beach, near the water—the grown people nearly, and the children entirely naked. They made all the signs of peace they knew of, looking upwards, as if invoking heaven to witness their sincerity. The old man advancing, took me by the hand, and looking up to heaven, said, “*Allah K. Beer.*” I knew that Allah was the Arabic name for the Supreme Being, and supposed *K. Beer* meant, “our friend, or father.” I let him pass to the wreck, and went and seated myself on the beach with the others, who seemed very friendly, lacing their fingers in with mine, putting my hat on one another’s heads, and returning it to me again, stroking down my trowsers, feeling my head and hands, examining my shoes, and feeling into my pockets, &c.

When the people had hauled the old man on board, I endeavoured to make them understand that they must keep

him until I was released, but they did not comprehend my meaning, owing to the noise of the surf, and after he had satisfied his curiosity by looking attentively at every thing he could see, which was nothing more than the wreck of the contents of the hold floating in her, inquiring for baftas, for fire-arms, and for money, as I afterwards learnt, and finding none, he came on shore. When he was near the beach, and I about to rise to meet him, I was seized by both arms by the two stoutest of the young men, who had placed themselves on each side of me, for the purpose of safe-keeping. They grasped my arms like lions, and at that instant the women and children presented their daggers, knives and spears to my head and breast. To strive against them was instant death: I was therefore obliged to remain quiet, and determined to show no concern for my life, or any signs of fear. The countenance of every one around me now assumed the most horrid and malignant expressions; they gnashed their teeth at me, and struck their daggers within an inch of every part of my head and body. The young men still held me fast, while the old one seizing a sharp scimitar, laid hold of my hair at the same instant, as if to cut my throat, or my head off. I concluded my last moments had come, and that my body was doomed to be devoured by these beings, whom I now considered to be none other than Cannibals that would soon glut their hungry stomachs with my flesh. I could only say, "Thy will be done,"

mentally, and felt resigned to my fate, for I thought it could not be prevented. But this conduct on their part, it soon appeared, was only for the purpose of frightening me, and as I had not changed countenance, the old man, after drawing his scimitar lightly across the collar of my shirt, which he cut a little, released my head, bidding me by signs to order all the money we had on board to be brought directly on shore.

My mates and people then on the wreck had witnessed this scene, and had agreed, as they afterwards informed me, that if I was massacred, which they did not doubt from appearances would soon be the case, to rush on shore in the boat, armed in the best manner they were able, and revenge my death by selling their lives as dearly as possible.

When the old man had quit his hold, and I hailed my people, their hopes began to revive, and one of them came on the hawser to know what they should do. I told him all the money which they had on board must be instantly brought on shore. He was in the water at some distance from me, and could not hear, on account of the noise occasioned by the surf, what I added, which was for them not to part with the money until I should be fairly released. He went on board, and all hands hoping to procure my release, put their money which they still had about them, to the amount of about one thousand dollars, into a bucket, and slinging it on a hawser, Porter shoved it along before him.

near the beach, and was about to bring it up to the place where I sat. With considerable difficulty, however, I prevented him, as the surf made such a roaring, that he could not hear me, though he was only a few yards distant; but he at last understood my signs, and staid in the water until one of the young men went and received it from him. The old man had taken his seat alongside of me, and held his scimitar pointed at my breast.

The bucket of dollars was brought and poured into one end of the old man's blanket, when he bade me rise and go with them, he and the young men urging me along by both arms, with their daggers drawn before, and the women and children behind with the spear, and their knives near my back. In this manner they made me go with them over the sand drifts, to the distance of three or four hundred yards, where they seated themselves and me on the ground. The old man then proceeded to count and divide the money. He made three heaps of it, counting into each heap by tens, and so dividing it exactly, gave to the two young men one-third or heap—to his two wives one-third, and kept the other to himself. Each secured his and their own part, by wrapping and tying it up in some of our clothing. During this process, they had let go of my arms, though they were all around me. I thought my fate was now decided, if I could not by some means effect my escape. I knew they could outrun me, if I should leap from them, and would

undoubtedly plunge their weapons to my heart if I attempted, and failed in the attempt. However I resolved to risk it, and made a slight movement with that view at a moment when I thought all eyes were turned from me ; but one of the young men, perceiving my manoeuvre, made a lunge at me with his scimitar. I eluded the force of his blow, by falling backwards on the ground ; it however pierced my waistcoat. He was about to repeat it, when the old man bade him desist.

The money being now distributed and tied up, they made me rise with them, and were all going together from the beach, holding me by the arms, with naked daggers all around me. There appeared now no possible means of escape, when the thought suddenly suggested to me, to tempt their avarice. I then, by signs, made them understand that there was more money in the possession of the crew. This seemed to please them, and they instantly turned themselves and me about for the beach, sending the money off by one of the young men and a boy. When they approached to within one hundred yards of the beach, they made me seat myself on the sand between two of them, who held me by the arms, bidding me order the money on shore. I knew there was none on board the wreck, or in the boat, but I imagined if I could get Antonio Michel on shore, I should be able to make my escape. I hailed accordingly, and made signs to my people to have one of them come near

the shore; but as they saw, by every movement of the natives, that my situation was dreadfully critical, none of them were inclined to venture, and I waited more than an hour, was often threatened with death, and made to halloo with all my might, until I became so hoarse as scarcely to make myself heard by those around me. The pity of Mr. Savage at last overcame his fears. He ventured on the hawser, and reaching the beach in safety, was about to come up to me, where he would have been certainly seized on as I was, when I endeavoured to make him understand, by signs, that he must stay in the water, and keep clear of the natives, if he valued his life; but not being able to hear me, my guards, who supposed I was giving him orders to fetch the money, obliged me to get up and approach him a little, until I made him understand what I wanted: he then returned on board the wreck, and I was taken back to my former station.

Antonio came to the shore, as soon as he knew it was my wish, and made directly towards me. The natives, expecting he would bring more money, flocked about him to receive it, but finding he had none, struck him with their fists and the handles of their daggers, and stripped off all his clothing: the children at the same time pricking him with their sharp knives, and all seemed determined to torment him with a slow and cruel death. He begged for his life upon his knees, but they paid no regard to his entreaties. In hopes

of saving him from the fury of these wretches, I told him to let them know by signs that there were dollars and other things buried in the sand, near where our tent had stood, and to endeavour to find them by digging. A new spy-glass, a hand saw, and several other things, had been buried there, and a bag containing about four hundred dollars at a short distance from them. He soon made them understand that something was buried, and they hurried him to the spot he had pointed out, and he began to dig. I had imagined that if this man would come on shore, I should be enabled to make my escape; yet I knew not how, nor had I formed any plan for effecting it.

I was seated on the sand, facing the sea, between the old man on my left, with his spear uplifted in his left hand, pointing to my breast, and the stoutest young man on my right, with a naked scimitar in his right hand, pointing to my head—both weapons were within six inches of me, and my guards within a foot on each side. I considered at this time, that so soon as any thing should be found by those who were digging, they would naturally speak and inform those who guarded me of it; (these had let go of my arms some time before;) and as I was pretty certain that both of them would look round as soon as the discovery of any treasure should be announced, I carefully drew up my legs under me, but without exciting suspicion, in order to be ready for a start. The place where they were digging, was

partly behind us on our right, and upon their making a noise, both my guards turned their heads and eyes from me towards them, when I instantly sprang out from beneath their weapons, and flew to the beach. I was running for my life, and soon reached the water's edge: knowing I was pursued, and nearly overtaken, I plunged into the sea, with all my force, head foremost, and swam under water as long as I could hold my breath; then rising to the surface, I looked round on my pursuers. The old man was within ten feet of me, up to his chin in water, and was in the act of darting his spear through my body, when a surf rolling over me, saved my life, and dashed him and his comrades on the beach. I was some distance westward of the wreck, but swimming as fast as possible towards her, whilst surf after surf broke in towering heights over me, until I was enabled by almost superhuman exertion to reach the lee of the wreck, when I was taken into the boat over the stern by the mates and people.

I was so far exhausted that I could not immediately witness what passed on shore, but was informed by those who did, that my pursuers stood motionless on the beach, at the edge of the water, until I was safe in the boat; that they then ran towards poor Antonio, and plunging a spear into his body near his left breast downwards, laid him dead at their feet. They then picked up what things remained, and made off all together. I saw them dragging Antonio's

lifeless trunk across the sand hills, and felt an inexpressible pang, that bereft me for a moment of all sensation, occasioned by a suggestion that to me alone his massacre was imputable; but on my recovery, when I reflected there were no other means whereby my own life could have been preserved, and, under Providence, the lives of ten men, who had been committed to my charge, I concluded I had not done wrong, nor have I since had occasion to reproach myself for being the innocent cause of his destruction, nor did any of my surviving shipmates, though perfectly at liberty so to do, ever accuse me on this point: from which I think I have an undoubted right to infer, that their feelings perfectly coincided with mine on this melancholy occasion.

Hostilities had now commenced, and we could not doubt but these merciless ruffians would soon return in force, and when able to overpower us, would massacre us all as they had already done Antonio. The wind blowing strong, and the surf breaking outside and on the wreck twenty or thirty feet high, the hope of getting to sea in our crazy long-boat was indeed but faint. She had been thumping alongside the wreck, and on a sand bank all day, and writhed like an old basket, taking in as much water as two men constantly employed with buckets could throw out. The deck and outside of the wreck were fast going to pieces, and the other parts could not hold together long. The tide, (by

being low,) together with the sand bar that had been formed by the washing of the sea from the bow of the wreck to the beach, had very much lessened the danger of communicating with the shore during this day ; but it was now returning to sweep every thing from the wreck, aided by the wind, which blew a gale on shore every night. To remain on the wreck, or go on shore, was almost certain death ; the boat could no longer be kept afloat alongside, and being without provisions or water, if we should put to sea, we must soon perish. We had neither oars nor a rudder to the boat ; no compass nor a quadrant to direct her course ; but as it was our only chance, I resolved to try and get to sea ; expecting, nevertheless, we should be swallowed up by the first surf, and launched into eternity all together.

I, in the first place, sent Porter on shore to get the two broken oars that were still lying there, while I made my way through the water, into the hold of the wreck, to try once more if any fresh water could be found. I dove in at the hatchway, which was covered with water, and found, after coming up under the deck on the larboard side, as I expected, just room enough to breathe, and to work among the floating casks, planks, and wreck of the hold. After much labour I found a water cask, partly full, and turning it over, discovered that its bung was tight. This gave me new courage, and after upheading it, I came up and communicated the circumstance to my shipmates, and we then

made search for some smaller vessel to fill from the cask. After much trouble, a small keg was found in the after hold ; it might probably hold four gallons—the head of the water-cask was stove in, and with the help of Mr. Savage and Clark I got the keg full of water, and a good drink for all hands besides, which was very much needed. The others were in the meantime employed in rigging out spars which we had lashed together over the stern of the wreck with a rope made fast to their outer ends, in order to give the boat headway, and clear her from the wreck, when we should finally shove off. Porter had returned with the oars, and also brought the bag of money that had been buried, containing about four hundred dollars : this he did of his own accord.

We had got the small boat's sails, consisting of a jib and mainsail, into the boat, with a spar that would do for a mast, and the brig's fore-topmast staysail ; the keg of water, a few pieces of salt pork, a live pig, weighing about twenty pounds, which had escaped to the shore when the vessel struck, and which had swum back to us again when we were driven from the shore ; about four pounds of figs, that had been soaking in salt water ever since the brig was wrecked, and had been fished out of her cabin : this was all our stock of provisions.

Every thing being now ready, I endeavoured to encourage the crew as well as I could ; representing to them that

it was better to be swallowed up all together, than to suffer ourselves to be massacred by the ferocious savages ; adding, that the Almighty was able to save, even when the last ray of hope was vanishing ; we should never despair, but exert ourselves to the last extremity, and still hope for his merciful protection.

As we surveyed the dangers that surrounded us, wave following wave, breaking with a dreadful crash just outside of us, at every instant, our hearts indeed failed us, and there appeared no possibility of getting safely beyond the breakers, without a particular interference of Providence in our favour. The particular interference of Providence in any case I had always before doubted. Every one trembled with dreadful apprehensions, and each imagined that the moment we ventured past the vessel's stern, would be his last. I then said, " Let us pull off our hats, my shipmates and companions in distress." This was done in an instant ; when lifting my eyes and my soul towards heaven, I exclaimed, " Great Creator and Preserver of the Universe, who now seest our distresses ; we pray thee to spare our lives, and permit us to pass through this overwhelming surf to the open sea : but if we are doomed to perish, thy will be done ; we commit our souls to the mercy of thee our God, who gave them : and O ! Universal Father, protect and preserve our widows and children !"

The wind, as if by divine command, at this very moment

ceased to blow. We hauled the boat out; the dreadful surges that were nearly bursting upon us, suddenly subsided, making a path for our boat about twenty yards wide, through which we rowed her out as smoothly as if she had been on a river in a calm, whilst on each side of us, and not more than ten yards distant, the surf continued to break twenty feet high, and with unabated fury. We had to row nearly a mile in this manner: all were fully convinced that we were saved by the immediate interposition of Divine Providence in this particular instance, and all joined in returning thanks to the Supreme Being for this mercy.

As soon as we reached the open sea, and had gained some distance from the wreck, the surf returned, combing behind us with the same force as on each side the boat. We next fitted the mast, and set the small boat's mainsail. The wind now veered four points to the eastward, so that we were enabled to fetch past the point of the cape, though the boat had neither keel nor rudder: it was sunset when we got out, and night coming on, the wind as usual increased to a gale before morning, and we kept the boat to the wind by the help of an oar, expecting every moment to be swallowed up by the waves. We were eleven in number on board; two constantly bailing were scarcely able to keep her free, changing hands every half hour. The night was very dark and foggy, and we could not be sure of fetching clear of the land, having nothing to guide us but the wind.

In the morning we sailed back again for the land, and had approached it almost within reach of the breakers without seeing it, when we put about again. It had been my intention after we had got to sea, to run down the coast in the hope of finding some vessel, or to discover the mouth of some river, in order to obtain a supply of water. But now the dangers and difficulties we should have to encounter in doing this were taken into consideration. If we tried to navigate along the coast, it was necessary to know our course, or we should be in imminent danger of being dashed to pieces on it every dark day, and every night. The thick foggy weather would prevent our seeing the land in the day time; whilst the wind, blowing almost direct on the land, would force us towards it, and endanger the safety of both the boat and our lives at every turn or point. We had no compass to guide us either by day or night; no instrument by which to find our latitude; no rudder to steer our crazy boat with, nor were we in possession of materials wherewith it was possible to make one; the boat had no keel to steady her, nor was there a steering place in her stern, where an oar could be fixed by any other means than by lashing to the stern ring, which afforded a very unsteady hold. On the one hand, we reflected that if we escaped the danger of being driven on shore or foundering at sea, and should succeed in reaching the cultivated country south of the Desert, we should have to encounter the ferocious inhabitants, who

would not fail, in the hope of plunder, to massacre, or doom us to slavery, a slow but painful death. On the other hand, we reflected that we had escaped from savages who had already killed one of our shipmates, had gained the open sea through divine mercy, and could stand off to the westward without fear of being driven on shore. In this direction we might meet with some friendly vessel to save us, which was our only hope in that way, and the worst that could happen to us was to sink all together in the sea, or gradually perish through want of sustenance.

Having considered, and represented to my companions the dangers that beset us on every side, I asked their opinions one by one, and found they were unanimously in favour of committing themselves to the open sea in preference to keeping along the coast. The dangers appeared to be fewer, and all agreed that it was better to perish on the ocean, if it was God's will, than by the hands of the natives. There being a strong breeze, we stood off by the wind and rigged our jib. We now agreed to put ourselves upon allowance of one bottle of water and half a bottle of wine among eleven of us, and a scrap of pork and two soaked and salted figs for each man. During this day, which was the 30th August, 1815, we fitted waist cloths to go round above the gunwale of the boat, to prevent the sea from dashing over; they were from eight to ten inches broad, made from the brig's fore-staysail, and were kept up by

small pieces of a board which we found in the boat, so that they helped in some measure to keep off the spray. It had been cloudy all day, and the boat leaked faster than she had done before. As night came on, the wind blew hard and raised the sea very high, but the boat was kept near the wind by her sails, and drifted broadside before it, smoothing the sea to the windward, and did not ship a great deal of water. On the 31st it became more moderate, but the weather was very thick and hazy. Our pig being nearly dead for the want of water, we killed it, taking care however to save his blood; which we divided amongst us and drank, our thirst having become almost insupportable. We also divided the pig's liver, intestines, &c. between us, and ate some of them, (as they were fresh,) to satisfy, in some degree, our thirst. Thus this day passed away; no vessel was yet seen to relieve us; we had determined to save our urine for drink, which we accordingly did in some empty bottles, and found great relief from the use of it; for being obliged to labour hard by turns to keep the boat above water, our thirst was much more severely felt than if we had remained still. The night came on very dark and lowering; the sky seemed big with an impending tempest; the wind blew hard from the N. E. and before midnight the sea combed into the boat in such quantities as several times to fill her more than half full. All hands were employed in throwing out the water with hats and other things, each

believing his final hour had at length arrived, and expecting that every approaching surge would bury him for ever in a watery grave.

The boat racked like an old basket, letting in water at every seam and split; her timbers working out or breaking off; the nails I had put in while last on shore were kept from entirely drawing out, merely by the pressure of the water acting on the outside of the boat. Sharp flashes of lightning caused by heat and vapour shot across the gloom; rendering the scene doubly horrid. In this situation some of the men thought it was no longer of use to try to keep the boat afloat, as they said she must soon fill in spite of all their exertions. Having poured out our souls before our God and implored pardon for our transgressions, each one felt perfectly resigned to his fate: this was a trying moment, and my example and advice could scarcely induce them to continue bailing; whilst some of them, by thrusting their heads into the water, endeavoured to ascertain what the pains of death were by feeling the effects the water would produce on their organs. Thus passed this night: all my exertions were necessary to encourage the men to assist me in bailing the boat, by reminding them of our miraculous escape from the savages, and through the surf to the open sea, and enforcing on their minds the consideration that we were still in the hands of the same disposing Power, and that we ought not to suppose we were aided in escaping from

the shore by a miracle to be abandoned here and swallowed up by the ocean ; and that for my own part I still entertained hopes of our preservation ; at any rate that it was a duty we owed to God and ourselves to strive to the latest breath to prevent our own destruction. Day came on amidst these accumulated horrors ; it was the 1st September ; thirst pressed upon us, which we could only allay by wetting our mouths twice a day with a few drops of wine and water, and as many times with our urine.

The wind continued to blow hard all this day, and the succeeding night with great violence, and the boat to work and leak in the same manner as before. Worn down with fatigue and long-continued hunger and thirst, scorched by the burning rays of the sun, and no vessel appearing to save us, our water fast diminishing, as well as our strength, every hope of succour by meeting with a vessel entirely failed me, so that in the afternoon of the 2d September, I represented to my companions, that as we were still alive, after enduring so many trials, it was my advice to put about, and make towards the coast again ; that if we continued at sea, we must inevitably perish, and that we could but perish in returning towards the land ; that we might still exist four or five days longer, by means of the water and provisions that remained, and that it might be the will of Providence to send us on the coast where our vessel had been wrecked, and where means were perhaps prepared to bring about our

deliverance and restoration to our country and our families. All seemed convinced that it was so, and we immediately put about with a kind of cheerfulness I had not observed in any countenance since our first disaster.

From this time all submitted to their fate with tolerable patience, and kept the boat free, though we had continual bad weather, without murmuring. We wetted our lips with wine and water twice every day, and ate the bones and some of the raw flesh of our pig, with its skin; but at length we become so faint as to be unable to take our turns in bailing, whilst the boat laboured so much as to work off nearly all the nails that kept the planks to her timbers above water.

By the 6th September, at night, we had not made the land, and could not hope to make the boat hold together in any manner above another day. I expected we should have found the land that day, but was disappointed, and some of the people began again to despair. Impelled by thirst, they forgot what they owed to their shipmates, and in the night got at, and drank off one of the two bottles of wine we had remaining. When I mentioned the loss of the wine on the morning of the 7th, all denied having taken or drunk it, adding that it was an unpardonable crime, and that those who did it ought to be thrown overboard instantly. From the heat observable in their conversation, I guessed the offenders, but the wine was gone, and no remedy

remained but patience, and a stricter vigilance for the future.

In a short time we discovered land at a great distance ahead, and to leeward. This gave all hands new spirits; hope again revived; the land appeared perfectly smooth in the distant horizon; not the smallest rising or hill was to be seen, and I concluded we must be near a desert coast, where our sufferings would find no relief, but in death. We continued to approach the land, driving along to the southward by a swift current, roaring like a strong tide in a narrow rocky passage, until near sunset.

The coast now appeared to be formed of perpendicular and overhanging cliffs, rising to a great height, with no shelving shore to land on, or way by which we might mount to the top of the precipices. My opinion was, that we should endeavour to keep to sea this night also, and steer along down the coast, until by the help of daylight, we might find a better place to land, and where we should not be in such danger of being overwhelmed by the surf; but in this I was opposed by the united voice of the mates and all the people.

The surf was breaking high among the rocks, near the shore; we were now very near the land, and seeing a small spot that bore the appearance of a sand beach, we made for it, and approaching it with the help of our oars, we were carried on the top of a tremendous wave, so as to be,

high and dry, when the surf retired, on a little piece of sand beach, just large enough for the boat to lie on. Without us, and in the track we came, numerous fragments of rocks showed their craggy heads, over which the surf foamed as it retired, with a dreadful roaring, which made us feel we had once more escaped instant destruction, by what appeared a miraculous interference of Providence.

We got out of the boat, and carried up the little remains of our water and pork, among the rocks beyond the reach of the surf. The remains of the pig had been previously consumed; our boat was now stove in good earnest; over our heads pended huge masses of broken and shattered rocks, extending both ways as far as the eye could reach: our limbs had become stiff for the want of exercise; our flesh had wasted away for the want of sustenance, and through fatigue our tongues were so stiff in our parched mouths, that we could with great difficulty speak so as to be understood by each other, though we had finished our last bottle of wine between us, for fear of losing it, just before we ventured to the shore through the surf.

Being thus placed on dry land, we had yet to discover how we were to reach the surface above us—so taking Mr. Savage with me, we clambered over the rocks to the westward, (for the coast running here from E. N. E. to W. S. W. induced me to think we were near Cape Blanco, which indeed afterwards proved to be the case,) but we searched

in vain; and as there appeared to be no access to the summit in that direction, we returned (it being then dark) to our shipmates, who had been busied in preparing a place on the sand, between rocks, to sleep on. We now wet our mouths with water, ate a small slice of the fat of salt pork, and after pouring out our souls before the universal Benefactor, in prayers and thanksgiving for his mercy and his long continued goodness, (as had constantly been our custom,) we lay down to rest, and notwithstanding our dreadful situation, slept soundly till daylight.

CHAPTER VII.

Sufferings of the Crew, and manner of climbing over the rocks along the sea-shore, under high cliffs—reaching the surface of the Desert—meeting with a company of wandering Arabs, by whom they are seized as slaves, and stripped naked.

ON the morning of September the 8th, as soon as it was light, being much refreshed by our undisturbed sleep, we agreed to leave all we had that was cumbrous or heavy, and try to make our way to the eastward, in hopes of finding a place, whilst we had yet strength remaining, to dig for water, or to get to the surface of the land above us, where we hoped to find some herbage or vegetable juice to allay, in some degree, our burning thirst, which was now rendered more grievous than ever, by our eating a few muscles that were found on the rocks, and extremely salt. Having agreed to keep together, and to render each other mutual assistance, we divided amongst us the little water we had, every one receiving his share in a bottle, in order to preserve it as long as possible: then taking a small piece or two of pork, which we slung on our backs, either in a spare shirt or a piece of canvass, leaving all our clothes but those we had on, and

our jackets, we bent our way towards the east. I had, before starting, buried the bag of dollars, and induced each man to throw away every one he had about him, as I was convinced that money had been the cause of our former ill-treatment, by tempting the natives to practise treacherous and cruel means, in order to extort it from us.

We proceeded now, as well as we were able, along close to the water side. The land was either nearly perpendicular, or jutting over our heads, rising to the height of from five to six hundred feet, and we were forced to climb over masses of sharp and craggy rocks, from two to three hundred feet in height, then to descend again by letting ourselves down from rock to rock, until we reached the water's edge; now waiting for a surf to retire, while we rushed one by one past a steep point up to our necks in the water, to the rocks more favourable on the other side, where by clinging fast hold, we kept ourselves from being washed away by the next surf, until, with each other's assistance, we clambered up beyond the reach of the greedy billows. The beating of the ocean, and the force of the currents against this coast, had undermined the precipices in such a manner, that vast masses of rocks, gravel, and sand, had given way, and tumbled to the shore. Rocks falling on rocks had formed chasms, through which we were forced to pass at times, for a long distance, and surmounting one obstacle, seemed only to open to our view another, and a more dangerous one. At one place, we were

obliged to climb along on a narrow ledge of rocks, between forty and fifty feet high, and not more than eight inches broad; those at our backs were perpendicular, and a little higher up, huge pieces that had been broken off from near the surface, and stopped on their way down by other fragments, seemed to totter, as if on a pivot, directly over our heads; while the least slip must have plunged us into the frightful abyss below, where the foaming surges would instantly have dashed us to pieces against the rocks. Our shoes were nearly all worn off; our feet were lacerated and bleeding; the rays of the sun beating on our emaciated bodies, heated them, we thought, nearly to dissolution; and under these towering cliffs, there was not a breath of air to fan our almost boiling blood. I had, in crawling through one of the holes between the rocks, broken my bottle, and spilled the little water it contained, and my tongue cleaving to the roof of my mouth, was as useless as a dry stick, until I was enabled to loosen it by a few drops of my more than a dozen times distilled urine.

Thus passed this day with us, and when night came on, it brought with it new distresses. We had advanced along the coast not more than about four miles this day, with all the exertion we were capable of, without finding any change for the better in our local situation, whilst our strength was continually diminishing, and no circumstance occurred to revive our hopes. We had seen this day, however, on the

broken rocks, several locusts, which we took to be grasshoppers, and concluded, if we could once reach the surface, we should find herbage, at least, to feed on. These locusts were dead, and crumbled to dust on the slightest touch.

We found now a good place in the sand, about one hundred feet from the sea, under a high cliff, to sleep on; here we greased our mouths by eating a small piece of salt pork, and wet them as usual with a sip of urine. All hands, except myself, had a little fresh water left; my comrades knew I had not one drop, and two of them offered to let me taste of theirs, with which I just moistened my tongue, and after sending up our prayers to heaven for mercy and relief in our forlorn and desolate condition, we laid ourselves down to sleep.

I had, on setting out from home, received Horace Savage under my particular charge, from his widowed mother: his father, when living, having been my intimate friend, I promised her to take care of him, as if he was my own son, and this promise I had endeavoured to fulfil. He was now in deep distress, and I determined within myself that I would adopt him as my son, for his mother was poor; that I would watch over his ripening years, in case we both lived, and if fortune should favour me in future, that he should share it in common with my children. I now took him in my arms, and we all slept soundly till morning, though the change was so great in the night, from extreme heat to a damp cold

air, that we awoke in the morning (September 9th) with benumbed and trembling limbs. Sleep, however, had refreshed us, and though our feet were torn, and our frames nearly exhausted, yet we chased away despair, and set forward on our journey.

We soon discovered, at no great distance ahead, a sand beach that appeared large, and from which the shore upward seemed more sloping, as if opening a way to the surface above it; we also thought we should be able, in case we could reach the beach, to get water that would be drinkable, by digging in the sand, down to a level with the water in the sea, and letting it filter into the hole: this I had done on the little keys of the Bahama bank, with success, and expected it would be the same here;—so we made our way slowly along, as we had done the day before, until we got within a short distance of this beach, where we met with a promontory of rocks, which rose in height even with the surface above us; jutting far into the sea, whose waves had worn in under its base to the distance of fifty or one hundred feet, and now dashed in a wild and frightful manner against the projecting points, which its washings for ages had formed underneath. To climb over this formidable obstruction, was impossible; to get around it through the water appeared equally so, as there was not sufficient time, by the greatest exertion, to pass before the return of the surf, which would inevitably hurl

the adventurer into the cavities under the cliff, among the sharp rocks, where he must immediately perish.

Thus far we had all got safe : to advance by what appeared to be the only possible way, seemed like seeking instant death ; to remain in our present situation, was merely to die a lingering one, and to return, was still worse, by increasing our pains, without leading to any chance of relief. Before us was a prospect of getting water, and arriving at the summit of the land, if we could only get round the promontory alive ; and fortunately, at this moment, we observed a rock about half-way across this point, that had tumbled down from above, and had been washed full of holes ; it was covered by every surf, and its top left bare as the wave receded. I imagined I could reach it before the wave came in ; and after making known my intentions to my companions, I followed the surf out, and laid hold of the rock just as the returning swell overwhelmed me. I clung to it for my life, the surf passing over me, and spending its fury among the crags : the instant it retired, I hurried on to the steep rocks beyond the point, where I again held on, while another surf swept over me, and then left me to clamber up as quick as I was able on the flat surface of the rock, beyond the reach of the waves. The tide was not yet entirely out, though I had judged it was ; and as it continued to fall, my people, following the same course, and embracing the same

means, all got safe to the first rock, and from thence to the place where I lay prostrate to receive and assist them in getting up. Though our limbs and bodies were very much bruised in this severe encounter, yet we felt somewhat encouraged, and made for the sand beach as fast as we were able. We soon reached it, and began digging in the sand for water, at different distances from the sea, but found it to be as salt as the ocean.

After digging several holes farther off, and meeting with dry rock instead of water, I pitched upon a spot for our last effort, and while the others were digging, I told them I would go and see if I could get up the bank, and if I succeeded that I would return in a short time with the news: the bank here rose abruptly, leaving, however, in some places, sufficient slope for a man to ascend it by climbing. Through one of these slopes I made my way up, in the hope of finding some green thing that might help to allay our burning thirst, and some tree to shelter us from the scorching blaze of the sun: but what was my surprize when I came to the spot so long desired, and found it to be a barren plain, extending as far as the eye could reach each way, without a tree, shrub, or spear of grass, that might give the smallest relief to expiring nature! I had exerted myself to the utmost to get there; the dreary sight was more than I could bear; my spirits fainted within me, and I fell to the earth, deprived of every sensation. When I recovered, it was some time before I could recollect

where I was: my intolerable thirst however at length convinced me, and I was enabled to administer the same wretched and disgusting relief to which I had so frequently before been compelled to resort.

Despair now seized on me, and I resolved to cast myself into the sea as soon as I could reach it, and put an end to my life and miseries together. But when I the next moment reflected that I had left ten of my fellow creatures on the shore, who looked up to me for an example of courage and fortitude, and for whom I still felt myself bound to continue my exertions, which might yet be blessed with success, and that at the moment when I supposed the hand of relief far from me, it might be very near; and when I next thought of my wife and children, I felt a kind of conviction within me, that we should not all perish after such signal deliverances. I then made for the sea side about a mile eastward of my men, and finding a good place between some rocks, I bathed myself for half an hour in the sea water, which refreshed and revived me very much, and then returned to my men with a heart lighter than I expected. I was very much fatigued, and threw myself down on the sand. They huddled around me, to know what success I had met with; but to wave the subject of my sad discovery, I told them we could go along the beach for two miles before meeting again with the perpendicular cliffs, and would find great relief by bathing our bodies in the salt water; inquiring, at the same time, if they

had found any fresh in the last place they had been digging. I thus diverted their minds, in some measure, from the object they wished to inquire after; and as I found they had dug down six or eight feet, and had found no water, having come to a rock which frustrated all their attempts; with heavy hearts and tottering limbs we staggered along the shore together.

It was about mid-day when we got to the end of the sand beach; my people thought it would be impossible for them to climb the craggy steep; so with common consent we laid ourselves down under the shade formed by a shelving rock, to rest, and to screen ourselves from the rays of the sun, which had heated the air to such a degree, that it was with the greatest difficulty we could fetch our breath. There was no wind or air stirring at this time, except the hot steam rising from the sandy beach, which had been wet by the sea at the last tide.

Having lain down in our exhausted state, neither thirst nor our reflections had power to keep our eyes open; we sunk into a lethargic sleep, which continued about two hours, during which time a light breeze from the sea had set in, and gently fanned and refreshed our debilitated bodies. We then ascended the steep bank, crawling frequently on our hands and knees. Though I had previously prepared all their minds for a barren prospect, yet the sight of it, when they reached its level, had such an effect on their

senses, that they sunk to the earth involuntarily; and as they surveyed the dry and dreary waste, stretching out to an immeasurable extent before them, they exclaimed, " 'Tis enough; here we must breathe our last! we have no hope before us of finding either water or provisions, or human beings, or even wild beasts: nothing can live here." The little moisture yet left in us overflowed at our eyes, but as the salt tears rolled down our woe-worn and haggard cheeks, we were fain to catch them with our fingers and carry them to our mouths, that they might not be lost, and serve to moisten our tongues, that were now nearly as dry as parched leather, and so stiff, that with difficulty we could articulate a sentence so as to be understood by each other.

I began now to exhort and press them to go forward; telling them that we still might find relief, and in this effort I was assisted by Hogan, who thought with me that it was time enough to lie down and die, when we could not walk. Mr. Williams and Mr. Savage were also willing, and we moved on slowly, with scarcely a hope however of meeting with the least relief. We continued along on the edge of the cliffs, which could not be less than from five to six hundred feet in perpendicular height: the surface of the ground was baked down almost as hard as flint; it was composed of small ragged stones, gravel, and reddish earth. We observed a small dry stalk of a plant, resembling that of a parsnip, though very low; and some dry remains of locusts

were also scattered on the surface as we proceeded. Near night we saw some small holes dug on the surface, and on examination found they had been made in order to get at the root of the dry weed we had just before seen: this we conceived had been done by some wild beasts; but finding no tracks of any kind near them, nor on the dirt dug up, I concluded it was done by man, and declared my hopes to my desponding companions of soon meeting with human beings.

We procured, after great labour in digging with sticks we had brought from the boat, and the help of stones, a few small pieces of a root as large as a man's finger; it was very dry, but in taste resembled smellage or celery. We could not get enough to be of any material service to us, owing to the scarcity of the plant, and the hardness of the ground; but about sunset we discovered, on a small spot of sand, the imperfect track of a camel, and thought we saw that of a man, which we took to be a very old track.

Believing from our present feelings that we could not possibly survive a day longer without drink, and no signs of finding any appearing, the last ray of hope faded away, and the gloom of despair, which had at length settled on our hearts, now became visible in every countenance. A little after sunset we saw at a considerable distance in advance, say three or four miles, another sand beach, and I urged myself forward towards it as fast as I could, in hopes of

getting some rest by sleeping on the sand for the night, as the ground we were now on was as hard as a rock, and covered with small sharp stones. I was encouraging the men to follow on, when Clark, being near me, begged me to look towards the beach, saying, "I think I see a light!" it was the light of a fire!

Joy thrilled through my veins like the electric spark; hope again revived within me, and while I showed it to my sinking and despairing crew, I found it communicated to them the same feelings. I told them we must approach the natives, who I could not doubt were encamped for the night, with the greatest caution, for fear of alarming them, and falling a sacrifice to their fury in the confusion we might occasion by our sudden approach in the dark. New life and spirits were diffused into all the crew, and we soon reached a broken place in the bank, through which we descended carefully over the broken rocks from three to four hundred feet to a sandy spot near its base, where we laid ourselves down for the night, after imploring the protection of Almighty God, and wetting our mouths with a few drops of water still remaining in the bottles.

The sand on which we lay was heated by the sun's rays sufficiently to have roasted eggs, and as we were on the side of a sand hill, we scraped off the top of it for a foot or two deep; when finding the heat more supportable, and the cool breeze of the night setting in, all hands being exc-

sively fatigued, soon forgot their sufferings in the arms of sleep, excepting myself; for my mind had become so excited by alternate hopes, and fears, and reflections, that I was kept awake through the whole of this long and dismal night. I had determined, as soon as daylight appeared, to show ourselves to the natives, and submit either to death or life from their hands. I had no doubt of their being Arabs, who would take and hold us as slaves, and though I did not expect myself to live but a short time in that condition, I presumed some of my fellow sufferers might, and that it was a decree of Providence which had set this alternative before us.

I no longer felt any fear of death, for that would put a period to my long sufferings: my thirst had become so insupportable, that I could with difficulty breathe, and thought I would be willing to sell my life for one gill of fresh water. My distresses had been so excessive, and my cares and anxieties for my shipmates so great, that all thoughts of my family had been driven almost entirely from my mind. I could not sleep—why was I denied what all around me were enjoying!—I shut my eyes, and prayed to be permitted to sleep, if only for one hour, but all in vain. I imagined that the savages, who were near us, would not take our lives immediately, as it was contrary to the nature of man to slay his fellow-creatures, merely from a thirst for blood.

We had now no arms to defend ourselves, nor any property to excite their jealousy, revenge, or avarice—we were as miserable as human beings could be, and I hoped we should excite pity, even in the breasts of savage Arabs. I could hardly yet think, that we were to fall a sacrifice to these people, after the providential escapes we had already experienced: next the remembrance of my wife and children flitted across my mind, and I was forced to acknowledge, that however bad their situation might be, their real distress could in no wise equal mine, and that I had no right to repine at the dispensations of Providence, since every mortal has his circle wisely marked out by heaven; and nothing but blindness to the future occasions us to complain of the ways of our Creator. If it was the will of the Supreme Being that I should again see and embrace my beloved family, it would certainly take place; if not, that Power who ordered all things for the general good would not forsake them.

Thus passed away the night, which had seemed to me an endless one. I was impatient to know my fate, and chid the slowness of the sun: my great anxiety and wakefulness rendered my thirst doubly painful, and having expended all the urine I had so carefully saved, I had recourse before morning to robbery, and actually stole a sip of the cook's water, which he had made and saved in a bottle; but the only taste it had for me, was a salt one, and it seemed (if

possible) to increase my burning thirst. The day at last arrived that was to decide our fate. It was the 10th September. I awakened my companions, and told them we must now go forward and show ourselves to the natives—that I expected they would seize upon us as slaves, but had strong hopes that some of us would escape with our lives. I also mentioned to them the name of the American Consul General at Tangier, and that if it ever was in their power, they must write to him, inform him of the fate of our vessel and her crew: to write, if possible, to any Christian merchant in Mogadore, Gibraltar, or elsewhere, or to the Consul at Algiers, Tunis, or Tripoli, if they should hear those places mentioned, and exhorted all to submit to their fate like men, and be obedient, as policy required, to their future masters. I reminded them again of the former interpositions of Providence in our favour, and said all I could to encourage and persuade them, that mildness and submission might save our lives—that resistance and stubbornness would certainly tend to make them more miserable while alive, and probably prompt the natives to murder them out of resentment.

All agreed to go forward, and on rising the little sand hills near us, we discovered a very large drove of camels at about half a mile to the eastward of us, with a large company of people, in a kind of valley formed by a ridge of sand hills on the north next to the sea, and by a high land

to the south, rising from five to six hundred feet in upright and overhanging cliffs—through which a little farther on we saw a deep hollow that appeared to have been formed by some convulsive shock of the earth, which had thus made a sort of passage, through which camels were enabled to pass up and down, but with great difficulty. The Arabs seemed busied in giving water to their camels; they saw us, and in an instant one man and two women ran towards us with great speed. As they came forward, many others of them who saw us, also began to advance; so taking Mr. Williams and Mr. Savage with me, I went forward to meet them, bowed myself to the ground before them, and with signs implored their compassion.

The man was armed with a scimitar, which he held naked in his hand; he ran up to me as if to cut me to the earth: I bowed again in token of submission, and he began without further ceremony to strip off my clothing, while the women were doing the same to Mr. Williams and Mr. Savage. Thirty or forty more were arriving—some running on foot, with muskets or naked scimitars in their hands; others riding on swift camels, came quickly up:—by the time they arrived, however, we were all stripped naked to the skin. Those Arabs near us threw up sand into the air, as the others approached; yelling loudly, which I now learned was a sign of hostility. The one who stripped me had also taken the cook, and had put all the clothing he

had stript from us into a blanket, which he had taken from off his own back for that purpose, leaving himself entirely naked. This bundle he laid on the negro's shoulders, making me understand that myself and the black man belonged to him, and that we must not let the others take the clothes in the bundle under pain of death.

As soon as those on the camels were near, they made them lie down, and jumping off, ran to us with their scimitars naked and ready for action; those on foot now joined these, and a great noise and scuffle ensued. Six or eight of them were about me, one hauling me one way and one another—poor Dick, the black man, partook of the hauling, and each man seemed to insist most strenuously that we belonged of right to him. The one who stript us, stuck to us as his lawful property, signifying, “you may have the others, these are mine.” They cut at each other over my head, and on every side of me with their bright weapons, which fairly whizzed through the air within an inch of my naked body, and on every side of me, now hacking each other's arms apparently to the bone, then laying their ribs bare with gashes, while their heads, hands, and thighs, received a full share of cuts and wounds. The blood, streaming from every gash, ran down their bodies, colouring and heightening the natural hideousness of their appearance. I had expected to be cut to pieces in this dreadful affray, but was not injured.

Those who were not actually engaged in combat, seized the occasion, and snatched away the clothing in Dick's bundle, so that when the fight was over, he had nothing left but his master's blanket. This battle and contest lasted for nearly an hour—brother cutting brother, friend slashing friend. Happily for them, their scimitars were not very sharp, so that when they rubbed off the dried blood from their bodies afterwards with sand, their wounds were not so great or deep as I expected they would be, and they did not pay the least apparent attention to them. I had no time to see what they were doing with my shipmates; only myself and the cook were near each other.

The battle over, I saw my distressed companions divided among the Arabs, and all going towards the drove of camels, though they were at some distance from me. We too were delivered into the hands of two old women, who urged us on with sticks towards the camels. Naked and barefoot I could not go very fast, and showed the women my mouth, which was parched white as frost, and without a sign of moisture. When we got near the well, one of the women called for another, who came to us with a wooden bowl, that held, I should guess, about a gallon of water, and setting it on the ground, made myself and Dick kneel down and put our heads into it like camels. I drank I suppose half a gallon, though I had been very particular in cautioning the men against drinking too much at a time, in

case they ever came to water. I now experienced how much easier it was to preach than to practise aright. They then led us to the well, the water of which was nearly as black and disgusting as stale bilge water. A large bowl was now filled with it, and a little sour camel's milk poured from a goat skin into it; this tasted to me delicious, and we all drank of it till our stomachs were literally filled. But this intemperance very soon produced a violent diarrhœa; the consequences of which, however, were not very troublesome, and as our situation was similar to that of a beast, being totally divested of clothing, all we cared about was to slake our unabating thirst, and replenish our stomachs by repeated draughts of this washy and unwholesome swill.

We now begged for something to eat, but these Arabs had nothing for themselves, and seemed very sorry it was not in their power to give us some food. There were at and about the well I should reckon about one hundred persons, men, women, and children, and from four to five hundred camels, large and small. The sun beat very fiercely upon us, and our skins seemed actually to fry like meat before the fire. These people continued to draw water for their camels, of which the animals drank enormous quantities. It was about 10 o'clock A. M. as I judged by the sun, when one company of the Arabs having finished watering, separated their camels from among the others, took Mr. Williams, Robbins, Porter, Hogan, Barrett, and

Burns, mounted them on the bare backs of the camels behind the hump, by the hair of which they were obliged to steady themselves and hold on, without knowing whither they were going, or if I should ever see them again. I took an affectionate leave of them. This their Arab masters permitted me to do without interruption, and could not help showing, at this scene, that the feelings of humanity were not totally extinguished in their bosoms. They then hurried them off and ascending through the hollow or crevice towards the face of the Desert, they were all soon out of sight.

There remained with the party to which I belonged, Mr. Savage, Clark, Horace, and Dick the cook. Mr. Savage was permitted to retain an old Guernsey frock, and part of a pair of trowsers about his middle, which they had not pulled off: but the rest of us were entirely stripped. Mr. Savage, Clark, and Horace were forced to assist in drawing water for the camels, until all had drunk their fill: then having filled with water a considerable number of goat skins, which had been stripped off these animals over the neck, leaving them, otherwise, as whole as when on their backs, they slung them by the skin of their legs on each side of the camels, after tying up the neck to prevent the water escaping, by means of a small rope which they fastened to the fore legs of the skin to keep it up. They next put on their baskets for the women and children to ride in; these

were made of camel's skin, and fixed in such a manner with a wooden rim around them, over which the skin was sewed, that three or four could sit in them with perfect safety and ease, only taking care to preserve their balance. These baskets were fastened under the camels' bellies with a strong rope. I was obliged to assist in putting them on, and was in hopes of being permitted to ride in one of them, but that was not the intention of my master. I, as well as those who were with me, had drunk a great deal of water, while we were at the well, which had passed off, as before observed, without doing us any injury. We had been furnished also with a little milk in our water two or three times, which gave some relief to our hunger. The men had saddles just large enough for their seat: the pads are made of flat pieces of wood: a piece of the same rises in front, being about the length, breadth, and thickness of a man's hand; an iron rim, or a strong wooden one, goes round on each side, forming a circle; covered with a piece of skin stretched and sewed taut over it. The saddle is then placed on the camel's back before the hump, and fastened tight by a rope under his belly. Thus prepared, we began to mount the sand hills and to get up through the gulley. We were forced to walk and to drive the camels and keep them together, whilst the sand was so soft and yielding, that we sunk into it every step nearly to our knees. The blazing heat of the sun's rays darting on our naked bodies, and

reflected from the sand we waded through; the sharp pointed craggy rocks and stones that cut our feet and legs to the bone, in addition to our excessive weakness which the dysentery had increased, rendered our passage up through this chasm or hollow much more severe than any thing of the kind we had before undergone, and nearly deprived us of life. For my own part I thought I must have died before I could reach the summit, and was obliged to stop in the sand, until by an application of a stick to my sore back by our drivers, I was forced up to its level; and there they made the camels lie down and rest.

CHAPTER VIII.

The author and his crew are carried on camels into the interior of the Desert of Zahakrah—the Arabs hold a council—the crew are sold and distributed—the author's remarkable dream—the skin and flesh are literally roasted off from his body and from the bones of his companions—their dreadful sufferings while naked and wandering about the Desert with their masters, subsisting only on a little camel's milk—two Arab traders arrive.

THE Arabs had been much amused in observing our difficulty in ascending the height, and kept up a laugh while they were whipping us forward. Their women and children were on foot as well as themselves, and went up without the smallest difficulty or inconvenience, though it was extremely hard for the camels to mount; and before they got to the top they were covered with sweat and froth. Having now selected five camels for the purpose, one for each of us, they put us on behind the humps, to which we were obliged to cling by grasping its long hair with both hands. The back bone of the one I was set on was only covered with skin, and as sharp as the edge of an oar's

blade; his belly, distended with water, made him perfectly smooth, leaving no projection of the hips to keep me from sliding off behind, and his back or rump being as steep as the roof of a house, and so broad across as to keep my legs extended to their utmost stretch. I was in this manner slipping down to his tail every moment. I was forced however to keep on, while the camel, rendered extremely restive at the sight of his strange rider, was all the time running about among the drove, and making a most woeful bellowing, and as they have neither bridle, halter, or any other thing whereby to guide or govern them, all I had to do was to stick on as well as I could.

The Arabs, both men and women, were very anxious to know where we had been thrown on shore, whether to the eastward or westward; and being satisfied by me on that point, as soon as they had placed us on the camels, and given the women directions how to steer, they mounted each his camel, seated themselves on the small round saddle, and then crossing their legs on the animal's shoulders, set off to the westward at a great trot, leaving us under the care of the women, some of whom were on foot, and urged the camels forward as fast as they could run. The heavy motions of the camel, not unlike that of a small vessel in a heavy head-beat sea, were so violent, aided by the sharp back bone, as soon to excoriate certain parts of my naked body; the inside of my thighs and legs were also dreadfully

chafed, so that the blood dripped from my heels, while the intense heat of the sun had scorched and blistered our bodies and the outside of our legs, so that we were covered with sores, and without any thing to administer relief. Thus bleeding and smarting under the most excruciating pain, we continued to advance in a S. E. direction on a plain flat hard surface of sand, gravel, and rock, covered with small sharp stones. It seemed as if our bones would be dislocated at every step. Hungry and thirsty, the night came on, and no indication of stopping; the cold night wind began to blow, chilling our blood, which ceased to trickle down our lacerated legs; but although it saved our blood, yet acting on our blistered skins, it increased our pains beyond description. We begged to be permitted to get off, but the women paid no attention to our distress nor entreaties, intent only on getting forward. We designedly slipped off the camels when going at a full trot, risking to break our necks by the fall, and tried to excite their compassion and get a drink of water, (which they call sherub,) but they paid no attention to our prayers, and kept the camels running faster than before.

This was the first time I had attempted to walk bare-footed since I was a schoolboy: we were obliged to keep up with the camels, running over the stones, which were nearly as sharp as gun flints, and cutting our feet to the bone at every step. It was here that my fortitude and

philosophy failed to support me; I cursed my fate aloud and wished I had rushed into the sea before I gave myself up to these merciless beings in human forms—it was now too late. I would have put an immediate end to my existence, but had neither knife nor any other weapon with which to perform the deed. I searched for a stone, intending if I could find a loose one sufficiently large, to knock out my own brains with it; but searched in vain. This paroxysm passed off in a minute or two, when reason returned, and I recollected that my life was in the hand of the Power that gave it, and that “the Judge of all the earth would do right.” Then running with all my remaining might, I soon came up with the camels, regardless of my feet and of pain, and felt perfectly resigned and willing to submit to the will of Providence and the fate that awaited me.

From that time forward, through all my succeeding trials and sufferings, I never once murmured in my heart, but at all times kept my spirits up, doing the utmost to obey and please those whom fortune, fate, or an overruling Providence had placed over me, and to persuade, both by precept and practice, my unhappy comrades to do the same. I had, with my companions, cried aloud with pain, and begged our savage drivers for mercy, and when we had ceased to make a noise, fearing, as it were, to lose us in the dark, they stopped the camels, and again placing us on them as before,

drove them on at full speed until about midnight, when we entered a small dell or valley, excavated by the hand of nature, a little below the surface of the desert, about from fifteen to twenty feet deep. Here they stopped the camels, and made them lie down, bidding us to do the same. I judge we must have travelled forty miles this day to the S. E. : the place was hard and rocky, not even sand to lie on, nor any covering to shelter us or keep off the cold damp wind that blew strong from the sea.

They soon set about milking, and then gave us each about a pint of pure milk, warm from the camels, taking great care to divide it for us ; it warmed our stomachs, quenched our thirst in some measure, and allayed in a small degree the cravings of hunger. Mr. Savage had been separated from us, and I learned from him afterwards that he fared better than we did, having had a larger allowance of milk. Clark, Horace, and Dick the cook were still with me. We lay down on the ground as close to each other as we could, on the sharp stones, without any lee to fend off the wind from us ; our bodies all over blistered and mangled, the stones piercing through the sore naked flesh to the ribs and other bones. These distresses, and our sad and desponding reflections, rendered this one of the longest and most dismal nights ever passed by any human beings. We kept shifting births, striving to keep off some of the cold during the night, while sleep, that had hitherto relieved our distresses

and fatigues, fled from us in spite of all our efforts and solicitude to embrace it; nor were we able to close our eyes.

The morning of the 11th came on at last, and our industrious mistresses, having milked a little from the camels, and allowed the young ones to suck, gave us about half a pint of milk among four of us, being just enough to wet our mouths, and then made us go forward on foot and drive the camels. The situation of our feet was horrible beyond description, and the very recollection of it, even at this moment, makes my nerves thrill and quiver. We proceeded forward, having gained the level desert for a considerable time, when entering a small valley, we discovered three or four tents made of coarse cloth near which we were met by our masters and a number of men whom we had not before seen, all armed with either a double barrelled musket, a scimitar, or dagger. They were all of the same nation and tribe, for they shook hands at meeting, and seemed very friendly to each other, though they stopped and examined us, as if disposed to question the right of property.

It now appeared there was still some difficulty in deciding to whom each one of us belonged; for seizing hold of us, some dragged one way and some another, disputing very loudly and frequently drawing their weapons. It was however decided at last, after making us go different ways for the space of two or three hours with different men, that

myself and the cook should remain, for the present, in the hands of our first master. They gave Clark to another, and Horace to a third. We had come near a couple of tents, and were certainly disgusting objects, being naked and almost skinless; this was some time about noon, when three women came out who had not before seen us, and having satisfied their curiosity by gazing at us, they expressed their disgust and contempt by spitting at us as we went along, making their faces still more horrid by every possible contortion of their frightful features; this we afterwards found to be their constant practice wherever we went until after we got off the desert.

Towards evening a great number of the men having collected in a little valley, we were made to stop, and as our bodies were blistered and burnt to such a degree as to excite pity in the breasts of some of the men, they used means to have a tent cleared out for us to sit under. They then allowed all those of our crew present to sit under it; but Porter and Burns had been separated from me shortly after our capture, and, as may well be supposed, we were glad to meet one another again, miserable as we all were. A council was now held by the natives near the tent; they were about one hundred and fifty men, some very old, some middle aged, and some quite young. I soon found they were Mohamedans, and the proper names by which they frequently called each other were *Mohamed*, *Hamet*, *Seid*,

Sidéullah, Abdallah, &c. so that by these and the female names, *Fatima, Ezimah, Sarah, &c.* I knew them to be Arabs or Moors.

The council were deliberating about us; and having talked the matter over a long time, seated on the ground, with their legs crossed under them, in circles of from ten to twenty each, they afterwards arose and came to us. One of the old men then addressed me; he seemed to be very intelligent, and though he spoke a language which I was unacquainted with, yet he explained himself in such a plain and distinct manner, sounding every letter full like the Spaniards, that with the help of signs I was able to understand his meaning. He wanted to know what country we belonged to; I told him we were English; and as I perceived the Spanish language was in sound more like that which they spoke than any other I knew, I used the phrase *Inglesis*; this seemed to please him, and he said "*O Fransah, O Spaniah*;" meaning "or Frenchmen or Spaniards;" I repeated we were English. He next wanted to know which point of the horizon we came from, and I pointed to the North.

They had seen our boat, which they called *Zooerga*, and wanted to know if we had come all the way in that boat: I told them no, and making a kind of coast, by heaping up sand, and forming the shape of a vessel, into which I stuck sticks for masts and bowsprit, &c. I gave him to understand

that we had been in a large vessel, and wrecked on the coast by a strong wind ; then by tearing down the mast and covering up the vessel's form with sand, I signified to him that she was totally lost. Thirty or forty of the other Arabs were sitting around us, paying the strictest attention to every one of my words and gestures, and assisting the old man to comprehend me. He wished to know where we were going, and what cargo the vessel (which I now found they called *Sfenah*) had on board. I satisfied them in the best way I could, on this point, telling them that I had on board, among other things, dollars: they wanted to know how many, and gave me a bowl to imitate the measure of them ; this I did by filling it with stones and emptying it three times. They were much surprized at the quantity, and seemed to be dissatisfied that they had not got a share of them. They then wanted to know which way the vessel lay from us, and if we had seen any of the natives, whom they called Moslemin.

This I took to be what we call Mussulmen, or followers of the Mohamedan doctrine, and in this I was not mistaken. I then explained to them in what manner we had been treated by the inhabitants ; that they had got all our clothing, except what we had on when they found us ; all our money and provisions ; massacred one of our number, and drove us out to sea. They told me that they heard of the shipwreck of a vessel a great way North, and of the

money, &c., but that the crew were drowned in the *el M Bahar*; this was so near the Spanish (*La Mar*) for the sea, that I could not misunderstand it. Thus having obtained what information they wanted on those points, they next desired to know if I knew any thing about *Marocksh*; this sounded something like *Morocco*: I answered yes: next of the *Sooltaan*, (the Sultan,) to which instead of saying Yes, I made signs of assent, for I found they did no more themselves, except by a cluck with the tongue.

They wanted me to tell his name, *Soo Mook*, but I could not understand them until they mentioned *Moolay Solimaan*; this I remembered to be the name of the present emperor of Morocco, as pronounced in Spanish, nearly. I gave them to understand that I knew him; had seen him with my eyes, and that he was a friend to me and to my nation. They next made me point out the direction towards his dominions, and having satisfied them that I knew which way his dominions lay from us, I tried to intimate to them, that if they would carry me there, I should be able to pay them for my ransom, and that of my crew. They shook their heads—it was a great distance, and nothing for camels to eat or drink on the way. My shipmates, who were with me, could not understand one syllable of what they said, or of their signs, and did not believe that I was able to communicate at all with them. Having finished their council, and talked the matter over among themselves, they sepa-

rated, and our masters, taking each his slave, made off, every one his own way. Although from the conference I derived hopes of our getting ransomed, and imparted the same to my mates and crew, yet they all seemed to think I was deluding them with false expectations; nor could I convince them of the contrary. We took another leave of each other, when we parted for the night, having travelled this day, I should guess, about fifteen miles S. E.

I had been so fully occupied since noon, that no thoughts of victuals or drink had occurred to my mind. We had none of us eat or drunk any thing this day, except about half a gill of milk each in the morning at daylight, and about half a pint of black-beach water near the middle of the day. I was delivered over to an Arab named *Bickri*, and went with him near his tent, where he made me lie down on the ground like a camel. Near midnight he brought me a bowl containing about a quart of milk and water; its taste was delicious, and as my stomach had become contracted by long hunger and thirst, I considered it quite a plentiful draught. I had been shivering with cold for a long time, as I had no covering or skreen, and not even one of my shipmates to lie near me to keep one side warm at a time. I was so far exhausted by fatigues, privations, &c. that my misery could no longer keep me awake. I sank into a deep sleep, and during this sleep

I was troubled in the first place with the most frightful dreams.

I thought I was naked and a slave, and dreamed over the principal incidents which had already actually passed. I then thought I was driven by Arabs with red hot iron spears pointed at me on every side, through the most dreadful fire I had ever imagined, for near a mile, naked and barefoot; the flames up to my eyes, scorched every part of my skin off, and wasted away my flesh by roasting, burning, and drying it off to the bones; my torments were inconceivable—I now thought I looked up towards heaven, and prayed to the Almighty to receive my spirit, and end my sufferings; I was still in the midst of the flames; a bright spot like an eye, with rays around it, appeared above me in the firmament, with a point below it, reaching towards the N. E.—I thought if I went that way I should go right, and turned from the south to the N. E.; the fire soon subsided and I went on, still urged by them about me, with their spears pricking me from time to time, over high sand hills and rocky steeps, my flesh dropping off in pieces as I went,—then descending a deep valley, I thought I saw green trees—flowering shrubs in blossom—cows feeding on green grass, with horses, sheep, and asses near me, and as I moved on, I discovered a brook of clear running water; my thirst being excessive, I dragged my mangled limbs to the brook, threw myself down, and drank my fill of the most delicious water. When my thirst was quenched, I rolled in the brook

to cool my body, which seemed still consuming with heat ; then thanked my God in my heart for his mercies.

My masters in the mean time kept hurrying me on in the way pointed out by the All-seeing eye, which was still visible in the heavens above my head, through crooked, thorny, and narrow paths, over high mountains and deep valleys—past hosts of armed men on horseback and on foot, and walled cities, until we met a tall young man dressed in the European and American manner, by the side of a brook, riding on a stately horse, who upon seeing me alighted, and rushing forward, wild with joy, caught me in his arms, and pressed me to his breast, calling me by the endearing name of brother, in my own language—I thought I fainted in his arms from excess of joy, and when I revived, found myself in a neat room, with a table set in the best manner before me, covered with the choicest meats, fruits, and wines, and my deliverer pressing me to eat and drink ; but finding me too much overcome to partake of this refreshment, he said, “ Take courage, my dear friend, God has decreed that you shall again embrace your beloved wife and children.” At this instant I was called by my master—I awoke, and found it was a dream.

Being daylight, (Sept. 12th) he ordered me to drive forward the camels ; this I did for about an hour, but my feet were so much swelled, being lacerated by the cutting of the stones, which seemed as if they would penetrate to my heart

at every step—I could not help stooping and crouching down nearly to the ground. In this situation, my first master Hamet observed me; he was going on the same course, S. E. riding on his camel; he came near my present master, and after talking with him a good while, he took off the blanket from his back and gave it to Bickri—then coming close to me, made signs for me to stop. He next made his camel lie down; then fixing a piece of skin over his back behind the saddle, and making its two ends fast to the girths to keep it from slipping off, he bade me mount on it, while he got on his saddle and steadied me with his hand until the camel rose. He then went on the same course as before, in company with three or four other men, well armed and mounted. The sun beat dreadfully hot upon my bare head and body, and it appeared to me that my head must soon split to pieces, as it was racking and cracking with excruciating pain. Though in this horrible distress, yet I still thought of my dream of the last night—“a drowning man will catch at a straw,” says the proverb, and I can verily add, that the very faintest gleam of hope will keep alive the declining spirits of a man in the deepest distress and misery; for from the moment I began to reflect on what had passed through my mind when sleeping, I felt convinced that though this was nothing more than a dream, yet still remembering how narrowly and often I had escaped immediate apparent death, and believing it was through the

peculiar interposition of Divine Providence, I could not but believe that the All-seeing eye was watching over my steps, and would in due time conduct me by his unerring wisdom, into paths that would lead to my deliverance, and restoration to my family.

I was never superstitious, nor ever did I believe in dreams or visions, as they are termed, or even remembered them, so as to relate any I may have had; but this dream made such an impression on my mind, that it was not possible for me to remove it from my memory—being now as fresh as at the moment I awoke after dreaming it, and I must add that when I afterwards saw Mr. *Willshire*, I knew him to be the same man I had seen in my sleep. He had a particular mark on his chin—wore a light coloured frock coat, had on a white hat, and rode the same horse. From that time I thought if I could once get to the empire of Morocco, I should be sure to find a friend to relieve me and my companions, whose heart was already prepared for it by superior power. My mind was thus employed until we came to a little valley where half a dozen tents were pitched: as soon as we saw them, Hamet made his camel kneel down, and me to dismount—he was met by several women and children, who seemed very glad to see him, and I soon found that they were his relations. He beckoned me to come towards his tent, for he lived there apparently with his mother, and brothers and sisters, but the woman and girls

would not suffer me to approach them, driving me off with sticks, and throwing stones at me; but Hamet brought me a little sour milk and water in a bowl, which refreshed me considerably.

It was about two o'clock in the day, and I was forced to remain broiling in the sun without either tree, shrub, or any other shade to shield me from its scorching rays, until night, when Dick (the cook) came in with the camels. Hamet had kept Dick from the beginning, and made him drive the camels, but allowed him to sleep in one corner of the tent, and gave him for the few first days as much milk as he could drink, once a day; and as he was a domestic slave, he managed to steal water, and sometimes sour milk when he was dry.

In the evening of this day, I was joined by Hogan, and now found that he and myself had been purchased by Hamet that day, and that Horace belonged to an ill-looking old man, whose tent was pitched in company. This old villain came near me, and saluted me by the name of *Rais*, asking me the name of his boy; (Horace;) I told him it was Horace, which after repeating a few times, he learned so perfectly, that at every instant he was yelling out "*Hoh Rais*" for something or other. Hamet was of a much lighter colour than the other Arabs we were with, and I thought he was less cruel, but in this respect I found I was mistaken, for he made myself and Hogan lie on the ground in a place he

chose, where the stones were very thick and baked into the ground so tight that we could not pull them out with our fingers, and we were forced to lie on their sharp points, though at a small distance, not more than fifty yards, was a spot of sand. This I made him understand, (pointing at the same time to my skinless flesh,) but he signified to us that if we did not remain where he had ordered, we should get no milk when he milked the camels. I calculate we travelled this day about thirty miles.

Here then we staid, but not to sleep, until about the midnight hour, when Hamet came to us with our milk—It was pure and warm from the camels; and about a pint for each. The wind blew as is usual in the night, and on that part of the Desert the air was extremely cold and damp; but its moisture on our bodies was as salt as the ocean. Having received our share of milk, when all was still in the tent, we stole to the sandy place, where we got a little sleep during the remaining part of the night. Horace's master would not permit him to come near me, nor me to approach him, making use of a stick, as well to enforce his commands in this particular, as to teach us to understand him in other respects.

At daylight (Sept. 13th) we were called on to proceed. The families struck their tents, and packed them on camels, together with all their stuff. They made us walk and keep up with the camels, though we were so stiff and sore all over

that we could scarcely refrain from crying out at every step: such was our agony;—still pursuing our route to the S. E. In the course of the morning, I saw Mr. Williams; he was mounted on a camel, as we had all been the first day, and had been riding with the drove about three hours—I hobbled along towards him; his camel stopped, and I was enabled to take him by the hand—he was still entirely naked; his skin had been burned off; his whole body was so excessively inflamed and swelled, as well as his face, that I only knew him by his voice, which was very feeble. He told me he had been obliged to sleep naked in the open air every night; that his life was fast wasting away amidst the most dreadful torments; that he could not live one day more in such misery; that his mistress had taken pity on him, and anointed his body that morning with butter or grease, but, said he, “I cannot live; should you ever get clear from this dreadful place, and be restored to your country, tell my dear wife that my last breath was spent in prayers for her happiness:” he could say no more; tears and sobs choked his utterance. His master arrived at this time, and drove on his camel and I could only say to him, “God Almighty bless you,” as I took a last look at him, and forgot, for a moment, while contemplating his extreme distress, my own misery. His camel was large, and moved forward with very heavy motions: as he went from me, I could see the inside of his legs and thighs—they hung in strings of torn and chafed

flesh—the blood was trickling down the sides of the camel, and off his feet—“ My God !” I cried, “ suffer us not to live longer in such tortures.”

I had stopped about fifteen minutes, and my master's camels had gained a great distance from me, so that I was obliged to run that I might come up with them. My mind was so shocked with the distresses of Mr. Williams, that I thought it would be impious for me to complain, though the sharp stones continued to enter my sore feet at every step. My master saw me, and stopped the drove for me to come up ; when I got near him, he threatened me, shaking his stick over my head, to let me know what I had to expect if I dared to commit another fault. He then rode off, ordering me and Hogan to drive the camels on as fast as we could. About an hour afterwards he came near us, and beckoned to me to come to him, which I did. A tall old man nearly as black as a negro, one of the most ill-looking and disgusting I had yet seen, soon joined my master, with two young men, whom I found afterwards were his sons—they were also joined by a number more on camels, and well armed.

After some time bartering about me, I was given to the old man, whose features showed every sign of the deepest rooted malignity in his disposition. And is this my master ? thought I. Great God ! defend me from his cruelty ! He began to go on—he was on foot ; so were his two sons ; but

they walked faster than camels, and the old man kept snarling at me in the most surly manner, to make me keep up. I tried my very best, as I was extremely anxious to please him, if such a thing was possible, knowing the old adage of "the devil is good when he is pleased," was correct, when applied to human beings; but I could not go fast enough for him; so after he had growled and kept on a considerable time, finding I could not keep up with him, he came behind me and thrust me forward with hard blows repeatedly applied to my exposed back, with a stout stick he had in his hand. Smarting and staggering under my wound, I made the greatest efforts to get on, but one of his still more inhuman sons (as I then thought him) gave me a double barrellled gun to carry, with his powder horn and other accoutrements: they felt very heavy, yet after I had taken them, the old man did not again strike me, but went on towards the place where he meant to pitch his tent, leaving me to follow on as well as I could.

The face of the desert now appeared as smooth as the surface of the ocean when unruffled by winds or tempests. Camels could be seen in every direction, as soon as they came above the horizon, so that there was no difficulty in knowing which way to go, and I took care to keep sight of my new master's drove, until I reached the valley, in which he had pitched his tent. I was broiling under the sun and tugging along, with my load, which weighed me down to

the earth, and should have lain down despairing, had I not seen Mr. Williams in a still worse plight than myself.

Having come near the tent about four P. M. they took the load from me, and bade me lie down in the shade of the tent. I then begged for water, but could get none. The time now came on for prayers, and after the old man and his sons had performed this ceremony very devoutly, they went away. I was in so much pain, I could scarcely contain myself, and my thirst was more painful than it had yet been. I tried to soften the hearts of the women to get me a little water, but they only laughed and spit at me ; and to increase my distresses as much as they could, drove me away from the shade of the tent, so that I was forced to remain in the scorching sun for the remainder of this long day.

A little after sunset my old and young masters returned ; they were joined by all the men that were near, to the number of from twenty to thirty, and went through their religious ceremonies in a very solemn manner, in which the women and little children did not join them. Soon after this was over, Clark came in with the camels and joined me ; it would have been pleasant to be together, but his situation was such that it made my heart-ache still worse than it did before ; he was nearly without a skin ; every part of his body exposed ; his flesh excessively mangled, burnt and inflamed. " I am glad to see you once more, sir," said Clark, " for I cannot live through the approaching

night, and now beg of you, if you ever get to our country again to tell my brothers and sisters how I perished." I comforted him all I could, and assured him he would not die immediately; that the nourishment we now had, though very little, was sufficient to keep us alive for a considerable time, and that though our skins were roasted off and our flesh inflamed, we were yet alive without any signs of putrefaction on our bodies; that I had great hopes we should all be carried in a few days from this desert to where we might get some food to nourish us, and as I had learned a little of the language of these people, (or savages,) I would keep trying to persuade them that if they would carry us up the Moorish dominions, I should be able to pay them a great ransom for all the crew; for an old man had told me that as soon as it should rain they would journey to the N. E. and sell us.

The night came on; cold damp winds succeeded to the heat of the day, and I begged of my old master to be permitted to go under the corner of his tent, (for it was a large one,) and he seemed willing, pointing out a place for us to lie down in, but the women would not consent, and we remained outside until the men had milked the camels. They then gave us a good drink of milk, near a quart each, and after the women were asleep, one of my young masters, named *Omar*, (the same that made me carry his gun the preceding day, to keep his father from beating me,) took pity on our distresses, and came and made us creep under

one corner of the tent, without waking the women, where some soft sand served us for a bed, and the tent kept off the cold air from us ; and here we slept soundly until morning. As soon as the women awoke, and found us under the tent, they were for thrusting us out with blows, but I pretended to be asleep, and the old man looking on us, seemed somewhat concerned, fearing (as I thought) he might lose his property. He told his women to let us alone, and as he was absolute, they were forced to obey him, though with every appearance of reluctance.

After they had milked the camels, and took a drink themselves, they gave us what remained, that is to say, near a pint between us. They did not move forward this day, and suffered us to remain under the corner of the tent in the shade all the while and the next night, and even gave us a piece of a skin to cover us with in part, and keep off the night wind. They gave us a good drink of milk when they drank themselves on the second night, and Omar had given us about a pint of water each, in the middle of the day ; so that the inflammation seemed to have subsided in a great degree from our flesh and feet.

This attention, together with the two good nights' rest, revived us very much—these were the 14th and 15th days of September. I had not seen any of my unfortunate shipmates except Clark, and did not know where they were during the day we remained still. The camels were driven

off early in the morning by a negro slave and two of the small boys, and did not return until in the night—they went out to the east to find shrubs for them to feed on. Clark was obliged near night to go out and pull up some dry thorn bush shrubs and roots to make a fire with. At the return of the camels, the negro slave (who was a stout fellow, named Boireck) seated himself by the fire, stretching out his legs on each side of it, and seeing us under the tent, thought to drive us out: but as he was not permitted by our old master, he contented himself by pointing at us and making comparisons: then sneeringly addressing me by the name of Rais, or chief, would set up a loud laugh, which, with the waggery he displayed in his remarks on us, kept the whole family and several strangers who had assembled on the occasion, in a constant roar of laughter until midnight, the hour for milking the camels. He would poke our sore flesh with a sharp stick, to make sport, and show the Arabs what miserable beings we were, who could not even bear the rays of the sun (the image of God, as they term it) to shine upon us.

Being tormented in this manner, my companion Clark could scarcely contain his wrath: “it was bad enough, (he said,) to be reduced to slavery by the savage Arabs; to be stripped, and skinned alive and mangled, without being obliged to bear the scoffs and derision of a d——d negro slave.” I told him I was very glad to find he still had so

much spirit left, and could feel as if he wished to revenge an insult—it proved to me that he felt better than he did the preceding night, and I was so much relieved myself, my hopes of being able to endure our tortures and privations increased, adding, “ Let the negro laugh if he can take any pleasure in it ; I am willing he should do so, even at my expense : he is a poor slave himself, naked and destitute, far from his family and friends, and is only trying to gain the favour of his masters and mistresses, by making sport of us, whom he considers as much inferior to him as he is to them.” Clark could not be reconciled to this mode of mockery and sport, but the negro kept it up as long as we remained with his master, every night, and always had plenty of spectators to admire his wit, and laugh at his tricks and buffoonery. This reminded me of the story of Samson, when the Philistines wished to make sport with him ; he was blind, and they supposed him harmless ; but he became so indignant, that he was willing to suffer death to be revenged of them ; the difference was, he had strength to execute his will,—we had not.

From the 15th to the 18th, we journeyed every day to the S. E. about thirty miles a day, merely to find a few shrubs in the small scattered valleys for the camels, and consequently for the inhabitants to subsist on. As we went on in that direction, the valleys became less frequent and very shallow ; the few thorn bushes they produced were

very dry, and no other shrubs to be found; the camels could not fill their stomachs with the leaves and shrubs, nor with all that they could crop off, though they pulled away the branches as thick as a man's finger. The milk began to fail, and consequently we had to be scantied, so that our allowance was reduced to half a pint a day, and as all the water they had taken from the well was expended, they could give us no more of that precious article. There was belonging to this tribe four mares that were the general property; they were very clear limbed, and very lean; they fed them on milk every day, and every one took his turn in giving them as much water every two days as they would drink. These mares drank up the last of our water on the 19th, nor would my master allow me to drink what little was left in the bowl, not exceeding half a pint, and it was poured out as a drink-offering before the Lord, while they prayed for rain, which indeed they had reason to expect, as the season they knew was approaching, when some rain generally happens. I supposed our distance from the sea, or the well that we had left, to be three hundred miles in a direct line, and feared very much that we should not find water at any other place. The sustenance we received was just sufficient to keep the breath of life in us, but our flesh was less inflamed than in the first days, for we had continued to lie under a part of the tent at night, and also in the day-time when it was pitched, which was generally

the case about two o'clock in the afternoon. We had, however, become so emaciated, that we could scarcely stand, and they did not attempt to make me nor Clark do any kind of work, except gather a few dry sticks, towards evening, to light a fire. The swellings had also gone down in some measure from our feet, as there was not substance enough in us to keep up a running sore; all the moisture in them seemed to dry away, and we could support the prickings and cutting of the stones better as we became lighter and more inured to it. We had endeavoured to find some of the kind of root that was met with near the sea coast, but none could be procured. In every valley we came to, the natives would run about and search under every thorn bush, in hopes to find some herb, for they were nearly as hungry as ourselves. In some places a small plant was found, resembling what we call shepherd's sprout; they were torn up by them and devoured in an instant. I got one or two, but they proved very bitter, and were impregnated, in a considerable degree, with salt: these plants were so rare as to be scarcely of any benefit. There were also found by the natives, in particular places, a small ground root, whose top showed itself like a single short spear of grass, about three inches above the ground; they dug it up with a stick; it was of the size of a small walnut, and in shape very much like an onion; its taste fresh, without any strong flavour; but it was very difficult to find, and afforded us

very little relief, as we could not get more than half a dozen in a whole day's search, and some days none at all.

On the 19th of September, in the morning, the tribe having held a council the night before, at which I could observe my old master was looked up to as a man of superior judgment and influence, they began a route back again towards the sea, and the well near which we were first made slaves;—this convinced me that no fresh water could be procured nearer, and as the camels were almost dry, I much feared that myself and companions must perish before we could reach it. I had been in the habit every day since I was on the desert, of relieving my excessive thirst by the disagreeable expedient before mentioned; but that resource now failed me for the want of moisture, nor had any thing passed through my body since the day I left the well. We had journeyed for seven and a half days S. E. and I concluded it would require the same time to return; but on the 18th we steered N. E. and on the 19th we took a N. W. direction, and in the course of the day we entered a very small valley, where we found a few little dwarf thorn bushes, not more than two feet high; on these we found some snails, most of which were dead and dry, but I got about a handful that were alive, and when a fire was kindled, roasted and ate them—Clark did the same, and as we did not receive more than a gill of milk each in twenty-four hours, this nourishment was very serviceable.

On the morning of the 20th we started, as soon as it was light, and drove very fast all the day. We had no other drink than the camels' urine, which we caught in our hands as they voided it; its taste was bitter, but not salt, and it relieved our fainting spirits. We were forced to keep up with the drove, but in the course of the day found a handful of snails each, which we at night roasted and ate. Our feet, though not swollen, were extremely sore; our bodies and limbs were nearly deprived of skin and flesh, for we continually wasted away, and the little we had on our bones was dried hard, and stuck fast to them. My head had now become accustomed to the heat of the sun, and though it remained uncovered, it did not pain me. Hunger, that had preyed upon my companions to such a degree as to cause them to bite off the flesh from their arms, had not the same effect on me. I was forced in one instance to tie the arms of one of my men behind him, in order to prevent his gnawing his own flesh; and in another instance, two of them having caught one of the boys, a lad about four years old, out of sight of the tents, were about dashing his brains out with a stone, for the purpose of devouring his flesh, when luckily at that instant I came up and rescued the child, with some difficulty, from their voracity. They were so frantic with hunger, as to insist upon having one meal of his flesh, and then they said they would be willing to die; for they knew that not only themselves, but all the crew

would be instantly massacred as soon as the murder should be discovered. I convinced them that it would be more manly to die with hunger than to become cannibals and eat their own or other human flesh, telling them, at the same time, I did not doubt but our masters would give us sufficient nourishment to keep us alive, until they could sell us. On the 20th, we proceeded with much speed towards the N. W. or sea shore; but on the 21st, we did not go forward.

This day I met with Mr. Savage, Horace, Hogan, and the cook; their masters' tents were pitched near ours; they were so weak, emaciated and sore, that they could scarcely stand, and had been carried on the camels for the last few days. I was extremely glad to see them, and spoke to all but Horace, whose master drove me off with a stick one way, and Horace another, yelling most horribly at the same time and laying it on Horace's back with great fury. I soon returned to our tent, and felt very much dejected; they all thought they could not live another day—there were no snails to be found here, and we had not one drop of milk or water to drink. Horace, Hogan, and the cook were employed in attending their masters' camels, in company with one or two Arabs, who kept flogging them nearly the whole of the time.

My old master did not employ me or Clark in the same way, because he had two negro slaves to do that work; he was a rich man among them, and owned from sixty to

seventy camels; he was also a kind of priest, for every evening he was joined, in his devotions, by all the old and most of the young men near his tent. They all first washed themselves with sand in place of water; then wrapping themselves up with their strip of cloth and turning their faces to the east, my old master stepped out before them, and commenced by bowing twice, repeating at each time "*Allah Houakibar*;" then kneeling and bowing his head to the ground twice; then raising himself up on his feet, and repeating, "*Hi el Allah Sheda Mohamed Rahsool Allah*," bowing himself twice; and again prostrating himself on the earth as many times, then "*Allah Houakibar*" was three times repeated. He was always accompanied in his motions and words by all present who could see him distinctly, as he stood before them. He would then make a long prayer, and they recited all together what I afterwards found to be a chapter in the Koran; and then all joined in chaunting or singing some hymn or sacred poetry for a considerable time. This ceremony being finished, they again prostrated themselves with their faces to the earth, and the service concluded.

About the middle of this day two strangers arrived, riding two camels loaded with goods: they came in front of my master's tent, and having made the camels lie down, they dismounted, and seated themselves on the ground opposite the tent, with their faces turned the other way. There were in this valley six tents, besides that of my master.

CHAPTER IX.

Two Arabian merchants are persuaded by the author to purchase him and four of his suffering companions—they kill a camel, and prepare to set out for Morocco across the Desert.

ALL the men had gone out a hunting on their camels, carrying their arms with them; that is to say, seeking for plunder as I concluded. My old and young mistresses went to see the strangers; they had no water to carry, as is customary, but took with them a large skin, with a roll of tent cloth to make them a shelter; the strangers rose as the women drew near, and saluted them by the words "*Labez, Labez-Salem; Labez-Alikom;*" Peace, peace be with you, &c. and the women returned these salutations in similar words. They next ran to our tent, and took a couple of sticks, with the help of which and the skin and tent cloth, they soon made an awning for the strangers. This done, they took the bundles which were on the camels, and placed them in this tent, with the saddles and all the other things the strangers had brought. The two strangers had a couple of skins that contained water, which the women hung up on a frame they carried from our tent.

During the whole time the women were thus employed, the strangers remained seated on the ground beside their guns, for they had each a double barrell'd musket, and so bright, that they glittered in the sun like silver. The women having finished their attentions, seated themselves near the strangers, and made inquiries, as near as I could comprehend, by saying, "Where did you come from? what goods have you got? how long have you been on your journey?" &c. Having satisfied their curiosity on these points, they next came to me, and the old woman (in whom as yet I had not discovered one spark of pity) told me that Sidi Hamet had come with blankets and blue cloth to sell; that he came from the Sultan's dominions, and that he could buy me and carry me there, if he chose, where I might find my friends, and kiss my wife and children.

Before my master returned I went to the tent of Sidi Hamet, with a wooden bowl, and begged for some water—showing my mouth, which was extremely parched and stiff, so much so, that I could with difficulty speak. He looked at me, and asked if I was *el Rais* (the captain). I nodded assent; he told his brother, who was with him, to give me some water, but this his benevolent brother would not condescend to do; so taking the bowl himself, he poured into it nearly a quart of clear water, saying, "Sherub, Rais"—that is, Drink, Captain, or chief. I drank about half of it, and after thanking him and imploring the blessing of Heaven

upon him for his humanity, I was going to take the rest of it to our tent, where Clark lay stretched out on his back, a perfect wreck of almost naked bones; his belly and back nearly collapsed, and breathing like a person in the last agonies of death: but Sidi Hamet would not permit me to carry the water away, bidding me drink it myself. I pointed out to him my distressed companion; this excited his pity, and he suffered me to give Clark the remainder.

The water was perfectly fresh, and revived him exceedingly; it was a cordial to his desponding soul, being the first fresh water that either of us had tasted since we left the boat: his eyes that were sunk deep in their sockets, brightened up—"This is good water, (said he,) and must have come from a better country than this; if we were once there, (added he,) and I could get one good drink of such water, I could die with pleasure, but now I cannot live another day." Our masters soon returned, and began, with others of the tribe, who had received the news of the arrival of strangers, to form circles, and chat with them and each other; this continued till night, and I presume there were at least two hundred men present. After dark they began to separate, and by ten o'clock at night none remained but my old master's family, and three or four of their relations, at our tent. On this occasion we were turned out into the open air, and were obliged to pass the night without any shelter or covering. It was a long and tedious night; but at the

time of milking the camels, our old master coming to us, as if afraid of losing his property by our death, and anxious we should live, dealt out about a pint of milk to each ; this milk tasted better than any I had yet drunk ; it was a sweet and seasonable relief, and saved poor Clark from dissolution.

This was the first nourishment of any kind our master had given us in three days, and I concluded from this circumstance that he had hopes of selling us to the strangers. The next morning Sidi Hamet came towards the tent, and beckoned me to come there ; he was at a considerable distance, and I made the best of my way to him ; here he bade me sit down on the ground. I had by this time learned many words in their language, which is ancient Arabic, and could understand the general current of their conversation, by paying strict attention to it.

He now began to question me about my country, and the manner in which I had come here—I made him understand that I was an Englishman, and that my vessel and crew were of the same nation—I found he had heard of that country, and I stated as well as I could the manner of my shipwreck—told him we were reduced to the lowest depth of misery ; that I had a wife and five children in my own country, besides Horace, whom I called my eldest son, mingling with my story sighs and tears, and all the signs of

affection and despair which these recollections and my present situation naturally called forth.

I found him to be a very intelligent and feeling man—for although he knew no language but the Arabic, he comprehended so well what I wished to communicate, that he actually shed tears at the recital of my distresses, notwithstanding that, among the Arabs, weeping is regarded as a womanish weakness. He seemed to be ashamed of his own want of fortitude, and said that men who had beards like him, ought not to shed tears: and he retired, wiping his eyes.

Finding I had awakened his sympathy, I thought if I could rouse his interest by large offers of money, he might buy me and my companions, and carry us up from the Desert—so accordingly the first time I saw him alone, I went to him and begged him to buy me, and carry me to the sultan of Morocco or Marocksh, where I could find a friend to redeem me. He said no, but he would carry me to Swerah, describing it as a walled town and seaport: I told him I had seen the sultan, and that he was a friend to my nation. He then asked me many other questions about Mohammed Rassool—I bowed and pointed to the east, then towards heaven, as if I thought he had ascended there: this seemed to please him, and he asked me how much money I would give him to carry me up; upon which I counted

over fifty pieces of stones, signifying I would give as many dollars for myself and each of my men. "I will not buy the others," said he; "but how much more than fifty dollars will you give me for yourself, if I buy you and carry you to your friends?" I told him one hundred dollars. "Have you any money in *Swearah*," asked he by signs and words, "or do you mean to make me wait till you get it from your country?" I replied that my friend in *Swearah* would give him the money so soon as he brought me there. "You are deceiving me," said he. I made the most solemn protestations of my sincerity:—"I will buy *you* then," said he, "but remember, if you deceive me, I will cut your throat," (making a motion to that effect.) This I assented to, and begged of him to buy my son Horace also, but he would not hear a word about any of my companions, as it would be impossible, he said, to get them up off the Desert, which was a great distance. "Say nothing about it to your old master," signified he to me, "nor to my brother, or any of the others." He then left me, and I went out to seek for snails to relieve my hunger. I saw Mr. Savage and Hogan, and brought them with Clark near Sidi Hamet's tent, where we sat down on the ground. He came out to see us, miserable objects as we were, and seemed very much shocked at the sight. I told my companions I had great hopes we should be bought by this man and carried up to the cultivated country—but they expressed great fears that they

would be left behind. Sidi Hamet asked me many questions about my men—wished to know if any of them had died, and if they had wives and children. I tried all I could to interest him in their behalf, as well as my own, and mentioned to him my son, whom he had not yet seen. I found my companions had been very much stinted in milk as well as myself, and that they had had no water,—they had found a few snails, which kept them alive; but even these now failed.

The 24th, we journeyed on towards the N. W. all day—the whole tribe, or nearly so, in company, and the strangers also kept in company with us. When my mistress pitched her tent near night, she made up one for Sidi Hamet also. I begged of him on my knees every time I had an opportunity, for him to buy me and my companions, and on the 25th I had the happiness to see him pay my old master for me: he gave him two blankets or coarse hoicks, one blue cotton covering, and a bundle of ostrich feathers, with which the old man seemed much pleased, as he had now three suits of clothing. They were a long time in making the bargain.

This day Horace came with his master to fetch something to our tent; at his approach, I went to meet him, and embraced him with tears. Sidi Hamet was then fully convinced that he was my son. I had found a few snails this morning, and divided them between Mr. Savage and Horace before

Sidi Hamet, who signified to me in the afternoon that he intended to set out with me in two days for Swearah; that he had tried to buy my son, but could not succeed, for his master would not sell him at any price: then, said I, "let me stay in his place; I will be a faithful slave to his master as long as I live—carry *him* up to Swearah; my friend will pay you for him, and send him home to his mother, whom I cannot see unless I bring her son with me." "You shall have your son, by Allah," said Sidi Hamet. The whole tribe was gathered in council, and I supposed relative to this business. In the course of the afternoon they debated the matter over, and seemed to turn it every way;—they fought besides three or four battles with fists and scimitars, in their warm and loud discussions in settling individual disputes; but in the evening I was told that Horace was bought, as the tribe in council had forced his master to sell him, though at a great price. I now redoubled my entreaties with my new master to buy Mr. Savage and Clark, telling him that I would give him a large sum of money if he got us up safe; but he told me he should be obliged to carry us through bands of robbers, who would kill him for our sakes, and that his company was not strong enough to resist them by force of arms—I fell down on my knees, and implored him to buy Mr. Savage and Clark at any rate, thinking, if he should buy them, he might be induced to purchase the remaining part of the crew.

My mind had been so busily employed in schemes of redemption, as almost to forget my sufferings since Sidi Hamet had bought me. He had given me two or three drinks of water, and had begged milk for me of my former master. On the morning of the 26th, I renewed my entreaties for him to purchase Mr. Savage, Clark, and Hogan—the others I had not seen since the second or third day after we were in the hands of the Arabs. I did not know where they were, and consequently could not designate them to my master Hamet, though I told him all their names. Mr. Savage and Hogan looked much more healthy and likely to live than Clark, and Sidi Hamet insisted that it was impossible that Clark could live more than three days, and that if he bought him, he should lose his money. I told him no, he should not lose his money, for, whether he lived or died, I would pay him the same amount.

Clark was afflicted with the scald head, rendered a raw sore in consequence of his sufferings, and his hair, which was very long, was, of course, in a very filthy condition; this attracted the attention of Sidi Hamet and his brother, the latter of whom was a very surly and cross-looking fellow. They poked the hair and scabs open with their sticks, and demanded to know what was the occasion of that filthy appearance. Clark assured them, that it was in consequence of his exposure to the sun, and as that was the reason I had assigned for the horrible sores and blisters that covered our

scorched bodies and half roasted flesh, they said, it might possibly be so, but asked why the heads of the rest of us were not in the same state. They next found fault with my shins, which had been a long time very sore, and they examined every bone to see if all was right in its place, with the same cautious circumspections that a jockey would use, who was about buying a horse, while we, poor trembling wretches, strove with all possible care and anxiety to hide every fault and infirmity in us, occasioned by our dreadful calamities and cruel sufferings.

Sidi Hamet informed me this day, that he had bought Mr. Savage and Clark, and had bargained for Hogan, and that he was going to kill a camel that night for provisions on our journey. Our water had been expended for two days, and all the families around us were also destitute. I did not get more than a gill of milk in twenty-four hours, and a small handful of snails—these served in a little degree to support nature, and I waited with the greatest impatience for the killing of the camel which had been promised, hoping to have a meal of meat once more before I died. Clark and I had been busy all the afternoon in gathering dry sticks to make a fire, and a little after midnight my master came to me and showed me where to carry the wood we had collected; it was in a little gulley, that it might not be seen by our neighbours, whilst our former master and two present ones were leading a camel up to the same place. This

camel, on its arrival, they made lie down in the usual manner: it was a very old one, and so poor, that he had not been able to keep pace with the drove during the journey, and Sidi Hamet told me he had bought him for one blanket.

The camel being down, they put a rope round his under jaw, with a noose in it; then hauling his head round on the left side, made the rope fast to his tail, close up to his body: his neck was so long, that the under jaw reached within six inches of the tail: they then brought a copper kettle that would contain probably three gallons. Thus prepared, Sidi Hamet cut open a vein on the right side of the camel's neck, close to his breast; the blood streamed out into the kettle, and soon filled it half full; this they set over the fire and boiled, stirring it all the time with a stick until it became thick, and of the consistence of a beef's liver; then taking it off the fire, they passed it to me, saying, "Coole, Riley," (Eat, Riley.) I did not wait for a second bidding, but fell to, together with Clark: our appetites were voracious, and we soon filled our stomachs with this, to us, delicious food.

Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, and the privacy observed in killing this meagre camel, many of our hungry neighbours had found it out, and came to assist in the dressing and eating of the animal. They insisted on having some of the blood, and would snatch out a handful in spite of all our masters could do to hinder them; they were then

very officious in assisting to take off the hide, which was soon done, and the entrails were rolled out; they next proceeded to put all the small entrails into the kettle, without cleaning them of their contents, together with what remained of the liver and lights; but they had no water to boil them in. Then one of them went to the camel's paunch, which was very large, and cutting a slit in the top of it, dipped out some water in a bowl, thick with the camel's excrement;— this they poured into the kettle, and set it a boiling, stirring it round, and now and then taking out a gut, and biting off an end to ascertain whether it was cooked enough. During this time, half a dozen hungry wretches were at work on the camel, which they would not leave under pretence of friendship for our masters, for they would not suffer strangers to work, when in their company, and it being dark, they managed to steal and convey away, before morning, more than one-half of the camel's bones and meat, with half his skin. Our masters were as hungry as any of the Arabs, yet, though they had bought the camel, they could scarcely get a bite of the intestines without fighting for it; for what title or argument can prevail against the voracious appetite of a half-starved man? Though our masters saw the natives in the very act of stealing and carrying off their meat, they could not prevent them, fearing worse consequences than losing it; it being a standing maxim among the Arabs to feed the hungry if in their power, and give them drink, even

if the owner of the provisions be obliged to rob himself and his own family to do it.

Notwithstanding the boiled blood we had eaten was perfectly fresh, yet our thirst seemed to increase in consequence of it. As soon as daylight appeared, a boy of from fourteen to sixteen years old came running up to the camel's paunch, and thrusting his head into it up to his shoulders, began to drink of its contents; my master observing him, and seeing that my mouth was very dry, made signs for me to go and pull the boy away, and drink myself: this I soon did, putting my head in like manner into the paunch; the liquid was very thick, but though its taste was exceedingly strong, yet it was not salt, and allayed my thirst: Clark next took a drink of the same fluid.

This morning we were busied in cutting off the little flesh that remained on the bones of our camel, spreading it out to dry, and roasting the bones on the fire for our masters, who cracking them between two stones, then sucked out the marrow and juices. Near noon, Horace was brought where I was; he was very hungry and thirsty, and said he had not eat any thing of consequence for the last three days. Our common master said to me, "This is your son, Rais," and seemed extremely glad that he had been able to purchase him, giving him some of the entrails and meat he had boiled and saved for the purpose. I in my turn gave him some of our thick camel's water, which he found to be deli-

cious ; so true it is, that hunger and thirst give a zest to every thing. Burns was brought up soon after, and my master asked me if he was one of my men ; I told him he was:—" His master wants to sell him," said Sidi Hamet, " but he is old and good for nothing," added he ; " but I can buy him for this blanket," showing me a very poor old one—I said, " Buy him, he is my countryman, I will repay you as much for him as for the others :"—so he went out, and bought him from his master, and then gave him something to eat. Poor Burns was much rejoiced to find there was a prospect of recovering his liberty, or at least of getting where he might procure something to eat and drink. During this day, the natives flocked round in great numbers, men, women, and children, and what with begging and stealing reduced our stock of meat to less than fifteen pounds before night.

Sidi Hamet now told me that he had bought Hogan : this was in the afternoon, and he came to us. I congratulated him on our favourable prospects, and our master gave him something to eat ; but his former master, Hamet, now demanded one blanket more for him than had been agreed on, as he was a stout fellow : my master would not be imposed upon, nor had he indeed a blanket left. I begged very hard for poor Hogan, but it was to no purpose, and his old master drove him off, laying on his back with a stick most unmercifully. Hamet's eyes seemed fairly to flash

fire as he went from us. Hogan's hopes had been raised to a high pitch—they were now blasted, and he was driven back like a criminal before his brutal owner, to his former miserable abode. He had informed me that he had never as yet since our captivity known what it was to sleep under the cover of a tent; that his allowance of milk had been so scant, that he did not doubt but he must have died with hunger in a day or two—he was extremely wasted and sore on every side. My heart bled for him when I saw the blows fall on his emaciated and mangled frame, but I could not assist him, and all I could do was to turn round and hide my face, so as not to witness his further tortures.

This day was employed in preparing for our departure—our masters made me a pair of sandals with two thickness of the camel's skin; they also made Horace a pair in the same manner, but Clark and Burns were fitted with single ones; they had in the morning given me a small knife, which I hung to my neck in a case: this they meant as a mark of confidence; and they also gave me charge of their stuff, the camels, and the slaves. I soon perceived, however, that although I had this kind of command, yet I was obliged to do all the work. My men were so far exhausted, that even the hope of soon obtaining their liberty could scarcely animate them to the least exertion.

In the evening Sidi Hamet told me, *Aaron* (Mr. Savage) would be with us by and by:—that we should start in the

morning for *Swearah*, and that he hoped, through the blessing of God, I should once more embrace my family;—he then told me how much he had paid for each one of us—that he had expended all his property, and that if I had not told him the truth, he was a ruined man—that his brother was a bad man, and had done all he could to prevent his buying us, but that he had at last consented to it, and taken a share.

He next made me repeat, before his brother, my promises to him when we should arrive at *Swearah*, and my agreement to have my throat cut if my words did not prove true. Late in the evening Mr. Savage joined us—he knew before that I was going to set out, and thought he should be left behind—he was very thankful to be undeceived in this particular, and to get, at the same time, something to eat, for Sidi Hamet had saved some of the camel's intestines which he immediately gave him.

After having satisfied his hunger in some measure, he began to express his doubts as to where we were going; declaring, that he did not believe a word these wretches said:— he could not understand them, and said he did not believe I could; and suggested a hundred doubts and difficulties on the subject, that his ill-boding imagination supplied him with: he did not like the price I had agreed to give for our liberty,—it was too much, and I should find nobody willing to advance it for me, as I was poor.

We had started what water remained in the paunch of the camel, thick as it was, into a goat skin, straining it through our fingers to keep out the thickest of the filth. The night of the 27th, as near as we could keep count by marking the day of the month on our legs with a thorn, we passed in the open air, five of us together.

At daylight on the morning of the 28th, we were called up and made to load our camels. I had strong hopes we were going to ride, but it now appeared not to be the case. All the Arabs in the valley set out in the morning with their camels, to drive them to water—they had not been watered since the 10th, having gone without any for eighteen days. They were now at least two days' journey from the well where we had first been seized, towards which they now steered, in a N. W. direction. I mention this circumstance, to show the time these wonderful animals can live without drink, and supply their masters with milk, even when nearly destitute of vegetable substances; and with water from their paunches after death.

Soon after sunrise, our masters bade us drive the camels up the bank; at this moment Archibald Robbins came with his master to see us, and I supposed his master had brought him with a view of selling him. I had not before seen him for fourteen days, and he had only arrived soon enough to witness our departure—I now on my knees begged, as I had done before, of Sidi Hamet, to purchase him; but he said he could not, and so hurried us on.

I told Robbins what my present hopes were, and that if I should succeed in getting clear, I would use my utmost endeavours to procure his and the rest of the crew's redemption. I begged him to continue as long as he could with his present master, who, for an Arab, appeared to be a very good man; and to encourage Mr. Williams and all the others to bear up with fortitude, and support life as long as it was possible, in the hope that, through my help or some other means, they might obtain their redemption in a short time; and having taken my leave of him in the most affectionate manner, (in which my companions followed the example,) we set out on our journey, but with heavy hearts, occasioned by the bitter regret we felt at leaving our fellow-sufferers behind, although I had done all in my power to make them partakers of our better fortune.

CHAPTER X.

The author and four of his companions set out to cross the Desert—their sufferings—they come to a spring of fresh water—description of its singular situation.

FROM the time I was sold to Sidi Hamet, my old master and his family shunned me as they would a pestilence; and the old villain actually stole one piece of our meat from me, or rather robbed me of it just as we were setting out; for he cut it off the string by which it was tied to the camel, in spite of my efforts to prevent him. Our masters were accompanied for a considerable distance by several men and women, who were talking and taking leave, going on very slowly. We were ordered to keep their camels together, which I thought I did; yet when they were finally ready to depart, they found their big camel had marched off a great distance, probably two miles from us, following a drove of camels going to the N.W. Sidi Hamet bade me fetch him back—pointing him out: notwithstanding my weak and exhausted state, I was obliged to run a great way to come up with him, but my rising spirits supported me, and I succeeded in

bringing him back, where the other camels were collected by my shipmates.

Sidi Hamet and Seid had two old camels on which they had rid, and they had bought also a young one that had not been broke for riding. We were joined here by a young Arab named *Abdallah*; he had been Mr. Savage's master and owned a camel, and a couple of goat skins to carry water in; but these, as well as those of our masters, were entirely empty. Sidi Hamet had a kind of a pack-saddle for each of his old camels; but nothing to cover the bones of his young one. Having fitted them as well as he could, (for he seemed to be humane,) he placed Mr. Savage, Burns, and Horace, on the big one, and myself and Clark on the other old one. Seid and *Abdallah* took their seats on the one which belonged to *Abdallah*, and Sidi Hamet mounted the young one himself to break him, sitting behind the hump on his bare back; and thus arranged and equipped, we set off on a full and long striding trot. It was about nine, A. M. when we had mounted; and this trot had continued for about three hours, when we stopped a few minutes in a little valley to adjust our saddles. Here Sidi Hamet pulled out a check shirt from one of his bags and gave it me, declaring he had stolen it, and had tried to get another for Horace, but had not been able: "Put it on," said he, "your poor back needs a covering;" (it being then one entire sore.) I kissed his hand in gratitude, and thanked him and my Heavenly Father for this

mercy. Clark, a day or two before, had got a piece of an old sail, that partly covered him—Burns had an old jacket, and Horace and Mr. Savage a small goat skin added to their dress—so that we were all comparatively comfortably clad. We did not stop here long, but mounted again, and proceeded on our course to the E. S. E. on a full trot, which was continued till night; when, coming to a little valley, we found some thorn bushes and halted for the night.

Here we kindled a fire, and our masters gave us a few mouthfuls of the camel's meat, which we roasted and ate. As we had drunk no water for the last three days, except a very little of what we had taken from the camel's paunch, and which was now reduced to about four quarts, we, as well as our masters, suffered exceedingly for the want of it, and it was thereupon determined to make an equal distribution of it among the whole party; which was accordingly done with an impartial hand. This we, poor sufferers, made out to swallow, foul and ropy as it was, and it considerably relieved our parched throats; and then, finding a good shelter under a thorn bush, notwithstanding our unabated pains we got a tolerable night's sleep. We had travelled this day steady at a long trot, at a rate, I judged, of between seven and eight miles an hour; making a distance of sixty-three miles at the lowest computation. Before daylight in the morning of the 28th, we were called up and mounted on the camels as before, and we set off on the long

trot, on the same course, i. e. E. S. E. as on the preceding day.

The same smooth hard surface continued, with now and then a little break, occasioned by the naked heads of rocks just rising above the plain, and forming, in some places, small ledges. Near one of these, we alighted a few minutes about noon, for our masters to perform their devotions; and we allayed our thirst by drinking some of the camels' urine, which we caught in our hands: our masters did the same, and told me it was good for our stomachs. The camels took very long steps, and their motions being heavy, our legs, unsupported by stirrups or any thing else, would fly backwards and forwards, chafing across their hard ribs at every step; nor was it possible for us to prevent it, so that the remaining flesh on our posteriors, and inside of our thighs and legs was so beat, and literally pounded to pieces, that scarcely any remained on our bones; which felt as if they had been thrown out of their sockets, by the continual and sudden jerks they experienced during this longest of days. It seemed to me as though the sun would never go down, and when at last it did, our masters had not yet found a place to lodge in; for they wished, if possible, to find a spot where a few shrubs were growing, in order that the camels might browse a little during the night. They stopped at last after dark in a very small valley, for they could find no better place; here they kindled a little fire, and gave us

about a pound of meat between us, which we greedily devoured, and then allayed our thirst in a similar manner as before mentioned.

We had started before daylight this morning, and had made but one stop of about fifteen minutes in the course of the whole day until dark night, having travelled at least fifteen hours, and at the rate of seven miles the hour, making one hundred and five miles. Here, in our barebone and mangled state, we were forced to lie on the naked ground, without the smallest shelter from the wind, which blew a violent gale all night from the north—suffering, in addition to the cold, the cravings of hunger and thirst, and the most excruciating pains in our limbs and numerous sores; nor could either of us close our eyes to sleep; and I cannot imagine that the tortures of the rack can exceed, nor indeed hardly equal, those we experienced this night. Sidi Hamet and his two companions, who had been accustomed to ride in this manner, thought nothing of it; nor did they even appear to be fatigued; but when I showed him my sores in the morning, and the situation of my shipmates, he was much distressed, and feared we would not live. He told me we should come to good water soon, when we might drink as much as we wanted of it, and after that he would not travel so fast.

We were placed on our camels soon after day-light, (this was the 29th,) having nothing to eat, and drinking a little

camel's water, which we preferred to our own: its taste, as I before observed, though bitter, was not salt; and they void it but seldom in this dry and thirsty country. Proceeding on our journey at a long trot, about nine o'clock in the morning, we discovered before us what seemed like high land, as we were seated on the camels; but on our approach, it proved to be the opposite bank of what appeared once to have been a river or arm of the sea, though its bed was now dry. At about ten o'clock, we came to the bank nearest us; it was very steep, and four or five hundred feet deep, and in most places perpendicular or overhanging. These banks must have been washed at some former period, either by the sea or a river; which river, if it was one, does not now exist. After considerable search, our masters found a place where our camels could descend into it, and having first dismounted and made us do the same, we drove them down. When we had descended the most difficult part of the bank, Seid and Abdallah went forward (with their guns) to search for a spring of fresh water, which Sidi Hamet told me was not very far distant. He now made me walk along with him, and let the others drive on the camels slowly after us; for they, as well as ourselves, were nearly exhausted. He then asked me a great many questions respecting my country, myself and family; and whether I had any property at home; if I had been at *Swearah*, and if I told him the truth concerning my having a friend

there, who would pay money for me? He said also, that both himself and his brother had parted with all their property to purchase us, and wished me to be candid with him, for he was "my friend." "God (said he) will deal with you, as you deal with me." I persisted in asserting that I had a friend at Swearah, who would advance any sum of money I needed, and answered his other questions as well as I was able; evading some I did not choose to answer, pretending I did not understand them. "Will you buy Clark and Burns? (said he) they are good for nothing." They certainly did look worse, if possible, than the rest of us. I told him they were my countrymen, and my brothers, and that he might depend upon it I would ransom them, if he would carry us to the empire of Morocco and to the Sultan. "No, (said he,) the Sultan will not pay for you, but I will carry you to Swearah, to your friend; what is his name?" "Consul," said I. It seemed to please him to hear me name my friend so readily; and after teaching me to count in Arabic, and by my fingers, up to twenty, (which was *ashreen*,) he told me I must give him two hundred dollars for myself, two hundred dollars for Horace, and for the others I must pay one hundred dollars each; showing me seven dollars he had about him, to be certain that we understood each other perfectly; and he next made me understand that I must pay for our provisions on the road, over and above this sum. He then made me point out the

way to Swearah, which I was enabled to do by the sun and trade-wind, making it about N. E. "Now, (said he,) if you will agree before God the Most High, to pay what I have stated, in money, and give me a double-barrelled gun, I will take you up to Swearah; if not, I will carry you off that way," pointing to the S. E. "and sell you for as much as I can get, sooner than carry you up across this long desert, where we must risk our lives every day for your sakes; and if you cannot comply with your agreement, and we get there safe, we must cut your throat, and sell your comrades for what they will bring." I assured him that I had told him the truth, and called God to witness the sincerity of my intentions, not in the least doubting if I could once arrive there, I should find some one able and willing to pay the sum they demanded. "You shall go to Swearah, (said he, taking me by the hand,) if God please." He then showed me the broken pieces of my watch, and a plated candlestick, which he said he had bought from some person who had come from the wreck of my vessel. The candlestick had belonged to Mr. Williams—he said he bought the articles before he saw me, and wished to know what they were worth in Swearah: I satisfied him as well as I could on this point. During this conversation we kept walking on about east, as the bed of the river ran near the northern bank, which was very high, and Sidi Hamet looked

at me as if his eye would pierce my very soul, to ascertain the secrets of my heart, and discover whether I was deceiving him or not; and he became satisfied that I was sincere.

By this time, we had arrived nearly opposite the place where he calculated the spring was, and his brother and Abdallah, being not far off, he hailed them to know if they had found it; to which they answered in the negative. After searching about an hour in the bank, he discovered it, and calling to me, for I was below, bade me come up to where he was, at the foot of a perpendicular cliff—I clambered up over the fragments of great rocks that had fallen down from above, as fast as my strength would permit, and having reached the spot, and seeing no signs of water, the tears flowed fast down my cheeks, for I concluded the spring was dried up, and that we must now inevitably perish. Sidi Hamet looked at me, and saw my tears of despair—"Look down there," said he; (pointing through a fissure in the rock;) I looked and saw water, but the cleft was too narrow to admit of a passage to it; then showing me another place, about ten or fifteen yards distant, where I could get down, to another small spring—"Sherub, Riley, (said he,) it is sweet." I soon reached it, and found it sweet indeed; and taking a copious draught, I called my companions, who scrambled along on their way up, exclaiming with great eagerness, "Where is the water? for God's sake!

where is it? Oh, is it sweet?" I showed it to them, and they were soon convinced of the joyful fact. This water was as clear and as sweet as any I had ever tasted.

Sidi Hamet now allowed us to drink our fill, while Seid and Abdallah were driving the four camels up the bank by a zig-zag kind of a foot-way, from which the stones and other impediments had been before removed, apparently with great trouble and labour. This spring, the most singular perhaps in nature, was covered with large rocks, fifteen to twenty feet high, only leaving a narrow crooked passage next the high bank behind it, by which a common sized man might descend to get at it. It might contain, I should calculate, not more than fifty gallons of water; cool, clear, fresh, and sweet, and I presume it communicated with the one that was first shown me between the rocks, which was much smaller. The camels had been driven to within fifty yards below the spring; our masters then took off the large bowl which they carried for the purpose of watering the camels: then bringing a goat skin near the spring, made me fill it with the water, my three shipmates passing it up to me in the bowl—I kept admonishing my companions to drink with moderation, but at the same time I myself continued to take in large draughts of this delicious water, without knowing when to stop; in consequence of which I was seized with violent pains in my bowels, but soon found relief.

It was here that I had an opportunity of ascertaining the quantity of water which a camel could drink at one draught. We filled a large goat skin fifteen times, containing at least four gallons, and every drop of this water was swallowed down by our largest camel, amounting to the enormous quantity of sixty gallons, or two barrels. The men kept crying out, "*Has not that camel done yet? he alone will drink the spring dry.*" It was in effect drained very low; but still held out, as the water kept continually running in, though slowly. This camel was a very large and old one, about nine feet high, stout in proportion, and had not drunk any water for twenty days, as I was informed by Sidi Hamet: but the other camels did not drink as much in proportion.

Having finished watering them, we filled two goat skins with the water, which had now become thick and whitish; as the rock in which the basin was formed for holding it, appeared to be chalky, soft, and yielding. We descended this bank, and after preparing the camels, we were mounted thereon, and proceeded as before, but along to the eastward, in this arm of the sea's bed. I call it an arm of the sea, because there could be no doubt in the mind of any one who should view it, that these high banks were worn and washed by water; they were from six to eight or ten miles distant from each other, and the level bottom was encrusted with marine salt. The bank rises four or five hundred feet, and nearly perpendicular, in most places. The broken

fragments of rock, gravel and sand, that had been undermined by the water, and tumbled down, filled a considerable space near the cliffs, and did not appear to have been washed by the water for a great number of years. I could not account for the incrustation of salt (as we must have been at least three hundred miles from the sea; this bottom or bed running from east northwardly to the west or S. W.) in any other way, than by supposing the sea water had once overflowed this level; that it had since either retired from that part of the coast, or formed a bar across its mouth, or outlet, and thus excluded itself entirely, and that the sea air combining with the saline deposit or sediment, continued this incrustation.

The curious and interesting springs, before mentioned, are situated on the right or north side of this dry bay or river, about one hundred feet below the surface of the desert, and from three hundred and fifty to four hundred feet from the bed or bottom. There was not the smallest sign of their ever having overflowed their basins; thereby leaving it a mystery how they ever should have been discovered, as there was no rill to serve as a clue.

Our masters now hurried on to the eastward, to find a place to emerge from this dreary abyss, still more gloomy, if possible, than the face of the desert. As we passed along, the salt crust crumbled under the feet of our camels, like the thin crust of snow. We came at length to a spot in the

bank at a kind of point, where we ascended gradually from one point to another until within, probably, two hundred feet of the top; here we were obliged to dismount, and drive, coax, and encourage the camels to go up. The ascent was very steep, though in zig-zag directions, and the flat rock over which the camels were forced to climb, threw them down several times, when our masters would encourage them to get up again, by singing and making repeated trials: helping them over the bad places by a partial lifting, and begging the assistance of God and his prophet most fervently, as well as of all the saints.

Having at length reached the surface of the desert, they stopped a few minutes to let the camels breathe, and also that we might come up, for Mr. Savage and Clark could not keep pace with the rest of us, on account of their severe pains in consequence of overcharging their stomachs with water. The desert here had the same smooth appearance we had before observed: no rising of the ground, nor any rock, tree, or shrub, to arrest the view within the horizon—all was a dreary, solitary waste, and we could not but admire and wonder at the goodness of Providence in providing a reservoir of pure fresh water to quench the thirst of the traveller and his camel in this dry, salt, and torrid region, and we felt an inexpressible gratitude to the Author of our being, for having directed our masters to this spot, where our lives had been preserved and refreshed by the cool

delicious spring, which seemed to be kept there by a continual miracle.

We had not gone more than eight miles from the bank (in a N. E. direction) before we stopped for the night: here we found no lee to screen us from the strong winds, nor bush for the camels to browse on. I judge we had travelled five hours this morning, at the rate of seven miles an hour, before reaching the bank, and five miles after getting down it, before we came to the spring; making it forty miles to, and ten miles from the spring to where we halted for the night, so that this day's march was all together at least fifty miles.

The dry bed or bottom before mentioned had probably been an inlet or arm of the sea that never was explored by Europeans, or any other civilized men; yet it must have had an outlet; and that outlet must be to the southward of us, and if so, its mouth must have been at least three hundred miles distant.

Here we ate the remainder of our camel's meat:—we had no milk; for neither of our masters' camels yielded any, and our share of meat was not more than about an ounce each.

I judged by the height of the north star above the horizon that we were in about the latitude of twenty degrees North. I now experienced that to have only one want supplied,

bank at a kind of point, where we ascended gradually from one point to another until within, probably, two hundred feet of the top; here we were obliged to dismount, and drive, coax, and encourage the camels to go up. The ascent was very steep, though in zig-zag directions, and the flat rock over which the camels were forced to climb, threw them down several times, when our masters would encourage them to get up again, by singing and making repeated trials: helping them over the bad places by a partial lifting, and begging the assistance of God and his prophet most fervently, as well as of all the saints.

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The dry bed or bottom before mentioned, which I have so been an inlet or arm of the sea that never dried up, were Europeans, or any other civilized man, could keep up had an outlet; and that outlet must have been very strong us, and if so, its mouth must have been very N. E. miles distant.

Here we ate the remainder of our provisions, much rejoiced at no milk; for neither of our horses, neither I nor my command our share of meat was of the kind above the each.

I judged by the height of the hills, and the length we all saw a camel, that we were in about the middle of the horizon, but we did not reach I now experienced a large drove of camels, until with the men, they invited our

made us feel the others as less supportable than before; for although we had drunk as much fresh water as we could contain, and our thirst was in a great measure allayed, still we were rendered extremely uneasy by the gnawings of hunger, which, together with our sufferings from the cold and piercing winds, made this a long and restless night.

CHAPTER XI.

Journeying on the Desert—they are hospitably entertained by Arabs, and come to a well of fresh water.

ON the morning of the 30th, we started very early; three of us rode, while the other two walked; taking our turns every three hours, or thereabouts. They let the camels walk all this day, but their long legs, and the refreshment they had enjoyed at the spring, enabled them to step along so fast and briskly, that those of us who were on foot, were obliged to be on a continual small trot in order to keep up with them: the wind at the same time blowing very strong directly against us, and our course being nearly N. E.

About two o'clock P. M. Sidi Hamet said to me, "Riley, shift Gêmel;" (I see a camel;) he was very much rejoiced at it, and so were his companions; but neither I nor my companions could perceive any thing of the kind above the horizon for two hours after this. Our masters had altered their course to about East, and at length we all saw a camel, appearing like a speck in the horizon, but we did not reach the travellers, who were with a large drove of camels, until sunset. Having come up with the men, they invited our

masters to go home with them ; the invitation was accepted, and we drove our camels along, following them as they went towards their tents :—it was dark and quite late before we reached them, which were four in number.

We stopped at a small distance from the tents, and were obliged to pluck up a few scattered shrubs, not thicker than straw, to make a fire with. Our masters had given us neither meat nor drink this day. I begged for some water, and they gave us each a very scanty drink. We had travelled full fourteen hours this day, and at the rate of about three miles an hour, making a distance of about forty miles. We were now in a most piteous situation, extremely chafed and worn down with our various and complicated sufferings, and we were now to lie on the hard ground without the smallest screen ; not even a spot of sand on which to rest our wearied limbs—we had been promised, however, something to eat by our host, and about 11 o'clock at night Sidi Hamet called me, and gave me a bowl containing some boiled meat, which I divided into five heaps, and we cast lots for them. This meat was very tender, and there was just enough of it to fill our stomachs : after eating this, we had scarcely lain down when they brought us a large bowl filled with milk and water. This was indeed sumptuous living, notwithstanding our pains and the severely cold night wind.

On the morning of the 1st October we were roused up early to pursue our journey. Sidi Hamet now called me

aside, and gave me to understand that this man had got my spy glass, and wanted to know what it was worth. I requested him to show it to me, which he did; it was a new one I had bought in Gibraltar, and it had not been injured. The Arab, though he did not know the use of it, yet as the brass on it glittered, he thought it was worth a vast sum of money. Sidi Hamet had only seven dollars in money, having invested the rest of his property in the purchasing of us, was not able to buy the glass;—his fancy was as much taken with it, however, as was that of the owner. They had also several articles of clothing in their possession, which gave me reason to infer that we could not be a great distance from the place where our vessel was wrecked; but there was no method of calculating to any degree of certainty, as they all move with such rapidity in their excursions, that they seem not to know whither, or what distances they go, nor could I find out any thing from this man concerning the wreck. Taking our leave from this truly hospitable man, we pursued our course N. E. on the level desert.

Our masters had been very uneasy all the preceding day, on account of meeting with no land marks to direct their course; they were in the same dilemma this day, directing their camels by the winds and bearing of the sun; frequently stopping and smelling the sand, whenever they came to a small sandy spot, which now and then occurred, but we did not come across any loose drifting sand. We took turns

in riding and walking, or rather trotting, as we had done the day before, until the afternoon, when our masters walked, (or rather ran,) and permitted us to ride.

About four o'clock P. M. we saw, and soon fell in with a drove of camels, that had been to the northward for water, and were then going in a S. W. direction, with skins full of water, and buckets for drawing and watering the camels; their owners very civilly invited our masters to take up their lodgings with them that night, and we went in company with them about two hours, to the South, where falling in with a very extensive but shallow valley, we saw about fifty tents pitched, and going into the largest clear place, unloaded and fettered our camels, to let them browse on the leaves and twigs of the small shrubs that grew there, or on the little low moss, with which the ground was, in many places, covered. As we went along near the tents, the men and women called me *el Rais*, and soon gathered around with their children to look at us, and to wonder. Some inquired about my country, my vessel, my family, &c. Having satisfied their curiosity, they left us to gather sticks to kindle our masters' fire; this done, we found, after considerable search, a soft spot of sand to lie down upon, where we slept soundly until about midnight, when we were aroused and each of us presented with a good drink of milk: this refreshed us, and we slept the remainder of the night, forgetting our sores and our pains. I reckon we had travelled

this last day about forty miles on a course of about E.N.E.

On the 2d October we set out, in company with all these families, and went North fifteen or twenty miles, when they pitched their tents, and made up a kind of a shelter for our masters with two pieces of tent cloth joined together by thorns and supported by some sticks. Our masters gave us a good drink of water about noon, and at midnight milk was brought from all quarters, and each of us had as much as he could swallow, and actually swallowed more than our poor stomachs could retain.

The tribe did not move, as is customary, on the 2d October, waiting, as Sidi Hamet said, for the purpose of feasting us. They gave us as much milk as we could drink on the night of the second. Here our masters bought a sheep, of which animals this tribe had about fifty, and they were the first we had seen; but they were so poor, that they could with difficulty stand and feed upon the brown moss, which covered part of the face of the valleys hereabouts, and which moss was not more than one inch high. This tribe, not unlike all the others we had seen, took no nourishment, except one good drink of milk at midnight, and a drink of sour milk and water at mid-day, when they could get it.

On the morning of the 3d October, our masters took leave of this hospitable tribe of Arabs, who not only fed

them, but seemed desirous that *we their slaves* should have sufficient nourishment also, and gave us liberally of the best they had. Our masters had made a trade with them, and exchanged our youngest camel for an old one that was lame in his right fore foot, and one that was not more than half grown. The old one they called *Coho*, (or the lame,) and the young one *Goyette*, (or the little child.) The sheep our masters purchased was tied about the neck with a rope, and I was obliged to lead it until about noon, when we came to a low valley, with some small bushes in it—in the midst there was a well of tolerably good water—here we watered the camels, and as the sheep could go no farther, they killed it, and put its lean carcass on a camel, after placing its entrails (which they would not allow me time to cleanse) into the carcass. This well was about forty feet deep, and dug out among the big surrounding roots.

CHAPTER XII.

They arrive amongst immense mountains of driving sand—their extreme sufferings—their masters find and steal some barley, and restore it again.

HAVING watered our camels, and filled two skins with water and drunk as much as we needed—they mounted Horace on the young camel, and all the others being also mounted, we proceeded on towards the N. E. at a long walk, and sometimes a trot, driving the old lame camel before us until dark night, and I think we travelled thirty-five miles this day. The entrails of the sheep were now given us for our supper; these we roasted on a fire we made for the purpose, and ate them, while our masters finished two of the quarters.

We lay this night without any screen or shelter, and early in the morning of the 4th, we set off on our journey, all on foot, driving our camels before us, on the same kind of flat surface we had hitherto travelled over: but, about 10 A. M. it began to assume a new aspect, and become sandy. The sand where we first entered it, lay in small loose heaps, through which it was very difficult to walk, as we sank in

nearly to our knees at each step—this sand was scorching hot. The camels were now stopped, and all of us mounted on them, when on their rising up, we saw before us vast numbers of immense sand hills, stretching as far as the eye could reach from the north to the south, heaped up in a most terrific manner; we soon arrived among them, and were struck with horror at the sight:—huge mountains of loose sand, piled up like drifted snow, towered two hundred feet above our heads on every side, and seemed to threaten destruction to our whole party: not a green nor even a dry bush or shrub of any kind in view to relieve the eye;—here was no path to guide our footsteps, nor had we a compass to direct our course, obstructed by these dreadful barriers. The trade winds which had hitherto given us so much relief on our journey, by refreshing our bodies when heated by the rays of an almost perpendicular sun, and which had served in some measure to direct our course—even these winds, which now blew like a tempest, became our formidable enemy:—the loose sand flew before its blasts, cutting our flesh like hail stones, and very often covering us from each other's sight, while the gusts (which followed each other in quick succession) were rushing by.

We were here obliged to dismount, and drive the camels up the sandy steps after our masters, who went on before to look out for a practicable passage. The camels as well as ourselves trod deep in the sand, and with great difficulty

ascended the hills; but they went down them very easily, and frequently on a long trot, following our masters. Sidi Hamet, Seid, and Abdallah, seemed full of apprehensions for their own and our safety, and were very careful of their camels.

Thus we drove on until dark, when coming to a space where the sand was not so much heaped up, being like a lake surrounded by mountains, we saw a few shrubs: here we stopped for the night, unloaded, and fettered our camels, whose appetites were as keen apparently as ours, for they devoured the few leaves, together with the shrubs, which were as thick as a man's finger. We next prepared a kind of shelter with the saddles and some sand for our masters and ourselves to keep off in some measure the fierce and chilling blasts of wind, and the driving sand which pierced our sores and caused us much pain. Having kindled a fire, our masters divided the meat that remained of the sheep:—it was sweet to our taste, though but a morsel, and we pounded, chewed and swallowed all the bones, and afterwards got a drink of water:—then lying down on the sand, we had a comfortable night's sleep, considering our situation. I reckon we had made thirty-five miles this day, having travelled about eight hours before we got among the heavy sand hills, at the rate of three miles an hour, and five hours among the sand hills, at the rate of two miles an hour. We

were all afflicted with a most violent diarrhoea, brought on, no doubt, by excessive drinking and fatigue.

At daylight on the morning of the 5th, I was ordered to fetch the camels, and took Mr. Savage and Clark with me; and the two old ones being fettered, that is, their two fore legs being tied within twelve inches of each other, they could not wander far; we soon found them, and I made the one I found kneel down, and having taken off his fetters, mounted it with a good stick in my hand for its government, as the Arabs of the Desert use neither bridle nor halter, but guide and drive them altogether with a stick, and by words. Mr. Savage having found the big camel, took off his fetters, intending to make him kneel down in order to get on his back; but the old lame camel which had hitherto carried no load, and which had occasioned us much trouble, in forcing him to keep up with the others when on our march, now set off on a great trot to the South:—the young one followed his example, so did Abdallah's, and the big one started also, running at their greatest speed. Seeing the panic of the other camels, I endeavoured to stop them by riding before them with my camel, which was the most active and fleet; but they would not stop—dodging me every way; my camel also tried to get rid of its load by running, jumping, lying down, rolling over and striving to bite my legs; but I made shift to get on again before he

could rise, and had got some miles from where I had started, keeping near and frequently before the other camels, which appeared to be very much frightened. Our masters had watched us, and when the camels set off, had started on a full run after them ; but had been hid from my view by the numerous sand hills, over and among which we passed. Finding I could not stop the others, and fearing I should be lost myself, I stopped the one I was on, and Sidi Hamet soon coming in sight, called to me to make my camel lie down. He mounted it, and after inquiring which way the other camels went, (which were now out of sight,) and telling me to follow his tracks back to our stuff, he set off after them on full speed:—Seid and Abdallah followed him on foot, running as fast as possible. I returned ; and picking up a few skins that had jolted off from the little camel, I joined Mr. Savage and Clark, and we reached the place where we had slept, but much fatigued ; and here we remained for two or three hours before our masters returned with the camels.

We had during this interval tasted the bark of the roots of the shrubs which grew on the sand near us—it was bitter, but not ill flavoured, and we continued to eat of it until the runaway camels were brought back ; it entirely cured our diarrhœa. They had overtaken the camels with much difficulty, and the creatures were covered with sweat and sand.

I expected we should receive a flogging as an atonement for our carelessness in letting the big camel go, that had been fettered, and in particular, that Mr. Savage would be punished, whom I did not doubt they had seen, when he let his camel escape. So as soon as they got nigh, I began to plead for him; but it was all to no purpose, for they whipped him with a thick stick (or goad) most unmercifully. Mr. Savage did not beg as I should have done in our situation, and in a similar case, and they believed he had done it expressly to give them trouble, and continued to call him *Fonte*, (i. e. a bad fellow,) all the remaining part of the journey. Having settled this affair, and put what stuff they had on the camels, we mounted them and proceeded,—shaping our course, as before, to the E. N. E. as near as the mountains of sand would permit. It was as late as nine o'clock when we started, and at eleven, having made about three leagues, winding round the sand hills on a trot, we were obliged to dismount. The hills now stood so thick, that great care was necessary to prevent getting the camels into an inextricable situation between them, and our masters went on a head, two of them at a considerable distance, to pick the way; and one to direct us how to go;—the latter keeping all the time in sight. The sand was heated (as it had been the preceding day) by the rays of the sun, to such a degree that it burned our feet and legs, so that the smart

was more severe than the pain we had before experienced, from our blisters and chafing:—it was like wading through glowing embers.

During the whole of this day, we had looked for shrubs, or some green thing to relieve the eye; but not a speck of verdure was to be seen. We had no food; our water was nearly exhausted, and we saw no sign of finding an end to these horrid heaps of drifting sand, or of procuring any thing to relieve our fatigues and sufferings, which were now really intolerable. We continued on our route, however, as near as circumstances would permit, E. N. E. until about nine o'clock in the evening, and stopped to rest among the high and dreary sand heaps, without a shrub for our camels to eat. I calculated we had gone this day from nine to eleven o'clock, twelve miles, and from that time till we stopped, about two miles an hour, making in all thirty-two miles. We had nothing to eat; our masters however gave us a drink of water, and being fatigued beyond description, we soon sank down and fell asleep. I happened to awake in the night, and hearing a heavy roaring to the northward of us, concluded it must be a violent gust of wind or a hurricane, that would soon bury us in the sand for ever. I therefore immediately awakened my companions, who were more terrified at the noise even than myself, for a few moments; but when we perceived that the sound came no nearer, I was convinced, (as the wind did not increase,) that

it must be the roaring of the sea against the coast not far off. This was the first time we had heard the sea roar since the 10th of September; and it proved to us that our masters were going towards the empire of Morocco, as they had promised. My comrades were much rejoiced at being undeceived on that subject, for they had all along continued to suspect the contrary, notwithstanding I had constantly told them that the courses we steered could not fail of bringing us to the coast. On the 6th, early in the morning, we started, and I found, by inquiring of Sidi Hamet, that our conjectures were true; that we were near the sea, and that the roaring we heard (and which still continued) was that of the surf: he added, "You will get no more milk," which I thought he regretted very much. We continued on our course, labouring among the sand hills until noon, when we found, that on our right, and ahead, they became less frequent, but on our left there was a string of them, and very high ones, stretching out as far as the eye could reach. The sand hills through which we had passed rested on the same hard and flat surface I have before mentioned, without being attached to it; for in many places it was blown off, leaving naked the rocks and baked soil, between the towering drifts.

About noon we left these high sands, and mounting on the camels, proceeded along southward of them, where the sand was still deep, but not high, on about an East course.

Near this line of sand hills our masters discovered two camels—they bore about N. E. and we made directly for them as fast as possible. On a near approach we observed they were loaded, and our masters now took off the sheaths from their guns and primed them anew ; and upon coming near the camels, they dismounted and made us do the same. We saw no human being.

The camels had large sacks on their backs, made of tent cloth, and well filled with something ; there was also a large earthen pot lashed on one of them, and two or three small skin bags. Seid and Abdallah drove these camels on with ours, observing strict silence while Sidi Hamet was searching for the owner of them with his double barrellled gun, cocked and primed. Mr. Savage was on the young camel, and not being able to keep up, was a mile or more behind ; when Sidi Hamet found the owner of the camels asleep on the sand near where Mr. Savage was. He went towards him, keeping his gun in readiness to fire, until he saw the other had no fire-arms, and was fast asleep ; when stepping carefully up, he snatched a small bag from near the sleeper's head, and went slowly away with it until past the fear of waking him. He then assisted in driving Mr. Savage's camel along, and they soon came up with us, where Seid and Abdallah had made the two loaded camels lie down between some small hillocks of sand. They untied the mouth of one of the sacks, and behold its contents were barley ! This was

the first bread stuff we had seen, and it gave us new hopes ; they poured out about fifty pounds of it, I should guess, and put it into a large leathern bag of their own ; then tying up the neck of the sack again, they made the camels get up with their loads. They now began to examine the contents of the small bags, and found them to consist of a number of small articles ; but the one that was taken from near the Arab's head was partly filled with barley meal. They were all overjoyed at this discovery, and immediately poured out some of it into a bowl ; mixed it with water, and ate it ; then giving us about a quart of water between us, with a handful of this meal in it, making a most delicious gruel, they hurried us on to our camels, and set off to the S. E. on a long trot, leaving the strange camels to themselves.

We had not proceeded more than half an hour, before we saw a man running swiftly in chase of us, and hallooing to make our masters stop ; they knew he must be the owner of the camels they had robbed, and paid no other attention to him than to push on the camels faster. Sidi Hamet now told me that that fellow was a " poor devil—he has not even a musket," said he, " and he let me take this bag while he was asleep." The man gained on us very fast. I was afraid he would get back what had been taken from him by our masters, especially the barley—so were my shipmates ; one of whom wished he had a loaded musket—saying, " I would soon stop him if I had one, and thus save the barley." Our

masters made their signs for this man to go back, but he continued to advance, while our Arab masters, finding he would come up, kept their guns cocked in their hands, and ready to fire on him, though he had no other arms than a scimitar; and drawing near they halted, upon which the stranger making an appeal to God and bowing himself down and worshipping, declared that he had lost a part of his property, and that he knew they must have taken it; that he was their brother, and would rather die than commit a bad action, or suffer others to do it with impunity:—"You have fire-arms," (*Celibeatahs,*) said he, "and believe you can kill me in an instant; but the God of justice is my shield, and will protect the innocent—I do not fear you."—Sidi Hamet then told him to leave his scimitar where he was, and approach without fear, and then making our camels kneel down, we all dismounted. The stranger upon this came forward and asked—"Is it peace?"—"It is," was the reply of Sidi Hamet; they then saluted each other with—"Peace be with you—peace be to your house—to all your friends," &c. &c. and shaking one another in a most cordial manner by the hand, seated themselves in a circle on the ground. After a long debate, in which our masters justified themselves for having taken the provision without leave, because we, their slaves, were in a state of starvation, which was very true, they added—"You would not have refused them a morsel, if you had been awake!"—and it was there-

upon finally agreed, to restore all that they had taken : so they made us clear a place on the ground that was hard, and pour out the barley from our bag. They also gave him up his bag of meal, which had been much lightened, and a very small bag, which I supposed to contain opium ; this they said was all they had taken :—then after they had prayed together, we all mounted our camels and proceeded on our journey. Religion and honour even among thieves! thought I.

CHAPTER XIII.

Continuation of the Journey on the Desert—several singular occurrences—they come within sight of the Ocean.

THIS had detained us about an hour: Mr. Savage was put on the old camel, which still continued very lame, and Horace on the smallest. These camels could not keep pace with the others, and both Mr. Savage and Horace were severely flogged for what our masters called bad management: though the true reason I suspected was the loss of the stolen barley, which had put them in a bad humour. We kept on to the East as fast as the camels could go, until late in the evening, when hearing the voices of men hallooing to each other, at a short distance on our left, our masters seemed much frightened; kept all still; and finding a deep hollow, we silently descended its steep bank, leaving our little camel with his legs tied, on the level above, as he was so far worn down by fatigue that he could scarcely walk. When we got to the bottom of it, we found a considerable number of small bushes, and having taken the saddles from off the camels and fettered their fore legs together, as usual, we let them go to feed. I calculate we

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travelled seven hours this day, at two miles an hour, among the sand hills; then two hours on camels, until we came to the strange ones, at the rate of six miles an hour, including two stops, say two hours; then from four until about 10 P. M. six hours at five miles an hour—total this day, fifty-six miles.

As soon as the camels were fettered, our masters examined their guns, and having ascertained that they were well primed—ascended the sand hills in this valley, (for there was much drifted sand about it in scattering heaps, and it appeared to have once been a river, whose bed was now dry.) They bade us all follow them, and went first to the lowest part of the valley; then ascending the steep sides of the sand drifts, made us crawl after them on our hands and knees. After they had gained the top, and waiting for us to climb up, they set up the most tremendous howling I had ever before heard—one counterfeiting the tone of a tiger, the other the roar of a lion, and the third the sharp frightful yell of a famished wolf. Having kept up this concert for some time, they again proceeded, mounting and descending, and searching for tracks, &c.

I was much terrified, I confess, and expected they were hunting for the people we had heard halloo when we entered the valley, to rob and murder them, and that we were to share their danger, and carry their spoil. But after they had kept us mounting and descending about two hours, they found a snug retreat, surrounded on all sides by high

sand drifts, where however a few small bushes were growing: they made us lie down in the deep sand, and after continuing their howlings for about half an hour, bade us go to sleep, which we much needed, as our fatigues were excessive: they had not suffered us to make the least noise since we reached the valley—nor did they themselves make any, except in imitation of wild ferocious beasts. I was now fully persuaded that they were actuated by feelings of fear and not views of plunder in these manœuvres; and taking a station with their guns in their hands around us, as if afraid they should lose their slaves, we soon forgot our troubles in the arms of sleep, and did not awake until the morning of the 7th, when we repaired to our camels and found every thing safe. There were more camels, which we saw in the open valley, browsing upon the bushes, which grew higher here than any we had hitherto seen; they were of a different species, and not clothed with long thorns.

Just as we were ready to set off on our journey, an old woman and a boy came where we were; the woman appeared very friendly, made inquiries respecting our situation, and if our masters as well as ourselves were not hungry; and finding that we were indeed in want of food, she sent off her boy, who soon returned with the boiled remains of what I conceived to have been a sheep or goat, consisting of the entrails and a few bones; of these our masters ate the greatest part, but gave us the remainder—

that is to say, the bones, which we were very glad to get, bare as they were, for our hunger was extreme.

Having gnawed and swallowed this hard food, and drunk about half a pint of water each, coloured with sour milk, which the old woman kindly gave us, we proceeded on our journey, mounting this dry river's bed or gully, which had been acted upon by water at no very remote period. We here saw the first bushes that deserved that name, since we had been on this continent. They appeared to be of the willow kind, some of them as large as a man's leg, and about fifteen feet in height. It was with much difficulty the camels could ascend this bank, but when we did reach its summit, we found ourselves on the same level desert as we had before travelled on : our view on every side was bounded only by the distant horizon, except on our left, where a long string of sand-drifts of great height intercepted it. Near these sand hills we discovered a man mounted on a camel ; he rode swiftly towards us, which our masters observing, while he was yet a great way off, dismounted from their camels to wait for his approach. Myself and Mr. Savage were on foot, making the best of our way along. We saw our masters dig holes in the sand, and bury two small bags which they had stolen from the stranger the day before, at the time they helped themselves to the barley. The man on his camel soon came up, and we recognized him as the same our masters had plundered ; he had followed us

on, and now told them they had stolen his goods and deceived him besides.

Our masters denied the charge, and after showing him that they had nothing about them of the kind he described, told him to satisfy himself fully, and to go and search their stuff on the camels; protesting at the same time that he accused them wrongfully, and calling God to witness that they had nothing of his in their possession. The man seemed satisfied with their protestations, and rode off without further examination. We were going on during this time, and *they* remained on the spot to dig up the treasure after its owner had left them. When they came up with us, Sidi Hamet said to me, "that fellow wanted his bags and things, but he has not got them yet:" he then showed me the bags and their contents. There was a small box in one of the bags, containing opium and several hollow sticks of the thickness of a man's finger, and six or eight inches long; these were filled with what I supposed to be gold dust; the other bag contained tobacco stalks, and the roots of an herb, which I afterwards understood to be a specific remedy for *evil eyes*, or witchcraft; this they esteemed as of great value, even more than the gold dust and opium: the natives smoke this root through the leg or thigh bone of a sheep or goat, they having no other pipes, and then conceit themselves invulnerable. I confess I was not much pleased at the discovery of our masters' propensity

to thieving, and could not help being apprehensive of the consequences that might result from such licentiousness, affecting our safety and prospects of release. We travelled fast most of this day, and must have made thirty-five miles on about an E. N. E. course. It was late when we stopped for the night: we were on a hard surface, and had neither shrub, nor indeed any other thing to fend off the cold night wind, which blew extremely fierce from the N. N. E.

October the 8th, we started very early and rode on rapidly until the afternoon, when some camels' tracks were discovered, at which our masters seemed very much rejoiced, for they were extremely hungry and thirsty. We followed these tracks until about four P. M. (they being nearly on our course,) when we came in sight of a large drove of camels feeding on the scattered shrubbery in a small shallow valley, with a few sheep and goats, which were nibbling a short brown moss, not more than an inch in height, that grew round about in spots. After due salutations, which were very long and tedious, the owners of the flocks and herds invited our masters to remain with them for the night, which may well be supposed was readily accepted; we having travelled this day about forty-five miles. They showed our masters the way to their tents, who, after bidding us follow, set off for them on a full trot: we reached them in about half an hour; there were about twenty in number—pitched in a little valley near a small thicket of thorn trees. I call

them trees, because they were much larger than any vegetable productions we had yet seen in this country—a few of them might be eight inches in diameter. Our masters had already killed a kid they had bought, and were employed in dressing it: which being prepared and boiled soon after dark, our masters gave us the entrails, which we immediately devoured though not cleaned, and nearly raw, as we had not patience to wait till they were roasted sufficiently; they then offered some of the meat to the Arabs, who were sitting around them on the ground, but as they only came to gratify their curiosity in viewing us, they did not accept of any. This was the first time I had known any of them refuse so tempting an offer; and I could not but consider it as a favourable omen, and that the land was becoming more fertile and productive as we advanced on our journey, and that we must shortly escape from this horrible desert.

After we had swallowed our morsel, these people gave each of us a good drink of water, and at midnight (the hour set apart by the Arabs for taking their refreshment) they awaked me and gave me a bowl, containing probably four or five pounds of a kind of stirabout, or hasty pudding, in the centre of which, in a hole made for the purpose, there was poured a pint or more of good sweet milk:—we quickly seated ourselves in a circle around the bowl, and though it was quite hot, we swallowed it in a moment. This was the most delicious food I ever tasted; the effect it produced on my palate has never

since been effaced from my memory, and my companions agreed with me, that nothing half so sweet had ever before entered their mouths; and as we all took it up with our hands, each one accused the other of eating like a hog, and of devouring more than his equal share. I endeavoured to convince them that it could not be more equally divided, as each put his hand to his mouth as fast as he could. Notwithstanding every one, by the irresistible impatience of hunger, burnt his mouth and throat, yet this dish was unspeakably grateful: for hunger, sufferings and fatigue had absolutely reduced us to skeletons: it warmed our stomachs, and checked the dysentery, which had been extremely distressing for several days past. This was the first kind of bread we had tasted since we left the wreck.

Our masters had been very much out of humour (probably owing to hunger) for several days, and beat my shipmates oftentimes most unmercifully, who, in their turn, smarting under the lash, and suffering incredibly from their sores, fatigues and privations, became as cross as wild bears, notwithstanding I did all in my power to lighten their burdens, relieve their fatigues, and intercede for and beg them off when our masters were about to beat them, and frequently walking that they might ride; yet one of them would often curse me to my face, and load me with the most opprobrious epithets. My kindness seemed but to inflame his petulance, and to excite in him a strange animosity, so that

in the raving of his distempered imagination, he declared that he hated the sight of me, and that my very smiles were more cutting to him than daggers presented to his naked breast: he seemed indeed to be transformed into a perfect savage in disposition, nor did this rankling humour forsake him until I showed him in *Suze* a letter I there received from Mr. Willshire, assuring me he would shortly redeem us from slavery.

Early on the morning of the 9th, we set forward in a N. Easterly direction, and having travelled about ten hours on the camels, at the rate of four miles an hour, we came to a deep well, situated in the midst of a cluster of high bushes; here was a large company of men watering many droves of camels that were round about. These people saluted our masters in a friendly manner, when they came up. I was preparing to assist in drawing water for our camels, but Sidi Hamet would not permit me or my companions to work; indeed we were so extremely reduced and weak, that we could not without difficulty stand steady on our feet, though (from what cause I know not) our sores were fast healing, and our skins uniting in all parts over our bodies.

While Seid and Abdallah were busied in drawing water for our camels, an Arab came up with one, and led him to our masters' watering tub or bowl, which Seid observing, bade him desist; but the strange Arab swore his camel should drink there, and he (Seid) should draw water for

him. This kindled the resentment of Seid; he left his bucket, ran up to the Arab, and gave him a heavy blow on his face with his fist, which staggered him near to falling; but recovering himself, he drew his scimitar, and made a powerful thrust at Seid, who saved his life by springing suddenly from him, and the scimitar but slightly pricked his breast. Sidi Hamet had by this time seized and unsheathed his gun, and presented it to the Arab's breast within a yard's distance, ready to blow him through. When he was about to fire, his hand was seized by one of the bystanders, and others of them rushing between the combatants to prevent bloodshed, laid hold of Seid and his antagonist, and having separated them by main force, they removed the Arab to the other side of the well, where some of the company drew water for his camel, which having drunk its fill, they sent the fellow off, muttering curses as he went away. Our masters, during all this time, were so exasperated at the conduct of this man, that nothing less than the strength of superior numbers would have prevented them from putting him to death, and all the company agreed that they had been grossly insulted, especially as they were strangers.

When our camels had finished drinking at this well, the water of which was very brackish, we were mounted, and proceeded farther east for about one hour's ride, where we found two more wells, which appeared to have been lately

dug, and the water they contained was very salt. Here was a large drove of camels (probably one hundred) to be watered, and they obliged me to assist in drawing water until they had all finished; my master encouraging me, by saying, "their owner was a very good man, and would give us food." It was about sunset when we had finished drawing water, and we followed the valley in which we were for about three miles east, when we came to the tent we had been in quest of: here was no lee to keep off the cold wind, nor did we get any thing to eat, notwithstanding our masters had praised the liberality of our host, and tried by every means to obtain some provisions from him. I soon found his goodness was like that of many others; (i. e.) he was no longer liberal than while there was a prospect of profit. I presume we travelled forty-five miles this day.

As soon as daylight appeared on the morning of the 10th, we set forward, all mounted on the camels, and kept on steadily until night over this most dreary desert, and came to a halt long after dark, without any thing to keep off the wind, which was blowing a strong gale. We travelled this day about thirteen hours, at four miles an hour; as the camels went all day on a quick walk, we must have made at least fifty-two miles E. N. E.

Oct. the 11th, we set off very early on a full trot, and went on until about noon, seven hours, at six miles an hour, when the land before us appeared broken, and we descended gra-

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dually into a deep valley, whose bottom was covered with sand ; and on both sides of us, at a great distance, we saw very high and steep banks like those of a river, and followed the tongue of land that separated them. Our course was nearly East. At about two P. M. our masters said they saw camels ahead, but *we* could not perceive them for a long time after, when keeping on a great trot, we came up with a drove about six P. M. We could however find no owners, nor in fact any human being ; for all had fled and hid themselves, probably from fear of being robbed, or that contributions might be levied on their charity for some provisions. We searched some time for the owners of these camels, but not finding them we continued on, and having come to the abrupt end of the tongue of land on which we had been travelling, we descended into the river's bed, which was dry and soft. Pushing forward, we reached a large cluster of bushes, which appeared like an island in a lake, when seen at a distance, and I suppose it was ten o'clock at night before we arrived at the spot, though we saw it in the distant horizon long before dark. As we entered among the bushes, our masters preserved a profound silence ; and having found a clear spot of about twenty yards in diameter, encircled by high bushes, which kept off the wind, we stopped there for the night ; having travelled that day for the space of about fourteen hours, at the rate of five miles an hour, making a distance of seventy miles. We had nothing this night where-

with to allay our hunger; our fatigues and sufferings may be more easily conceived than expressed; yet as we were sheltered from the night winds, we slept very soundly until we were roused up to continue our journey.

On the 12th October, as soon as daylight appeared, we watered the camels at a well of brackish water near the bushes before mentioned. Our masters had been careful not to make the least noise during the night, nor to kindle a fire, fearing they should be discovered and surprized by some more powerful party; but neither foe nor friend appeared; and having filled a skin with some of this brackish water, we descended a second steep bank to the bottom, or lowest part of this river's bed, which was then dry, sandy, and encrusted with salt; it appeared very white, and crumbled under the feet of our camels, making a loud, crackling noise. The reasons of this bed being then without water, appeared to be the recess of the tide: its left bank rose very high in perpendicular cliffs, while its right was sloping and covered with sand, evidently blown by the winds from the sea beach, and which lay in drifts up to its very summit. This bay (for it can be nothing else) ran into the land from near a S. W. to a West direction, and was not more than eight or ten miles wide here, which I afterwards found was near its mouth, but was very broad within, and extended a great distance into the country; for since we entered its former bed we had travelled twelve hours, at the

rate of five miles an hour, making sixty miles, and it then extended farther than the eye could reach to the S. W.

The steep banks on both sides, which were four or five hundred feet high, showed most evident signs of their having been washed by sea water from their base to near their summits, (but at a very remote period,) and that the sea had gradually retired from them. Our masters being in a state of starvation, their ill humour increased exceedingly, when about nine o'clock in the forenoon we saw two men, driving two camels, come down the sand hills on our right. Our masters rode off to meet them, and having made the necessary inquiries, returned to us, who had continued going forward, accompanied by Abdallah. Sidi Hamet informed us that there were goats in an E. S. E. direction not far distant, and that we should soon have some meat; so we commenced climbing over the high hills of sand, in order that we might fall in with them. In ascending these hills, which were extremely difficult and long, our old lame camel gave out, having fallen down several times, which caused much delay, so finding him nearly expiring, we abandoned him and proceeded on; though this circumstance of losing the camel also helped to increase the rage of our masters, who now behaved like madmen. As we were climbing up, we perceived a hole dug in the sand, and we were told that the entrails of a camel had been roasted there, which Seid discovered by applying his nose to the surrounding earth. Sidi

Hamet having gone on before us with his gun, we had already ascended several miles of this steep and sandy bank, and on arriving near the level of the surrounding country, we heard the report of a musket fired, at no great distance from where we were, and soon perceived Sidi Hamet, accompanied by another Arab, driving a flock of goats before them. This Arab was much intimidated at the sight and report of a gun, for my master had fired off one of the barrels to frighten him. When the goats came near us, our masters, who considered possession as a very important preliminary, ran in among the flock, and seized four of them, which they gave into our charge, until they should settle about the price with their owner, who was alone and unarmed, but at this moment he was joined by his wife:—she had not been at all frightened, and commenced scolding at our masters most immoderately and loudly:—she said, she would not consent to part with the goats, even if her husband did, and insisted on knowing Sidi Hamet's name: this he told her, and she then began to tantalize him for being so cowardly as to rob an unarmed man; said the whole country should ring with his name and actions, and she did not doubt but she could find some man who would revenge this injury—her husband all this time strove to stop her tongue, but to no purpose; nor did she cease scolding until Seid presented his gun to her breast, and threatened her, if she spoke another word, to blow her to pieces. This compelled

her to pause a moment, while our masters (taking advantage of her silence) informed them that he had left a good camel a little distance behind, which being only tired, could not proceed with them, and that he would give them this camel in exchange for these four goats. I could plainly discover, however, that these people did not believe him. Sidi Hamet nevertheless spoke the truth in part; a camel was indeed left behind, but not a good one; yet as there was no alternative, they were necessitated to submit; the woman however insisted on exchanging one goat we had for another—which our masters assented to, merely to gratify her caprice.

This business being thus settled, which had taken up nearly an hour's time, our goats were tied fast to each other by their necks, and given into my charge; leaving Mr. Savage and Horace to assist in driving them. Clark and Burns were ordered to drive the camels, whilst our masters, a little less fretful than before, went forward to pick out a practicable passage for them and the goats, while my party brought up the rear. The goats were difficult to manage, but we continued to drive them along, and generally within sight of the camels, though with great fatigue and exertion. Our hunger and thirst were excessive—the direct heat of the sun, as well as that reflected from the deep and yielding sands, was intense. Mr. Savage found here a very short green weed, which he pulled and ate, telling me it was most

delicious, and as sweet as honey, but I begged him not to swallow any of it until I should ask our masters what was the nature of it, for it might be poison; and I refused to touch it myself, though it looked tempting. In our distressed condition, however, he thought a green thing that tasted so well could do him no harm, and continued to eat whatever he could find of it, which (happily for him) was not much; but in a short time he was convinced to the contrary, for he soon began to vomit violently:—this alarmed me for his safety, and I examined the weed he had been so delighted with, and after a close investigation, I was convinced it was no other than what is called in America the Indian tobacco. Its effects were also similar; but how these plants came to grow on those sands I cannot conceive.

Mr. Savage continued to vomit by spells for two hours or more, which, as he had very little in his stomach, strained it so excessively as to bring forth blood. I could not wait for him, because both our masters, their camels, and our shipmates, were already out of sight. When he could proceed no farther, he would stop and vomit, and then by running (though in great distress) as fast as he was able, come up with us again. I encouraged him all I could—told him what the herb was, and that its effects need not be dreaded.

Ever since we had been coming near the summit of the land, we had discerned the sea; though at a great distance ahead and on our left, but as it appeared dark and smooth

in the distant horizon, I supposed it to be an extensive ridge of high woodland, and hoped we should soon reach it, as our course bent that way, and that this would prove to be the termination of the Desert. Horace, however, thought it appeared too dark and smooth for land, and regarding it again attentively, I discovered it was in fact the ocean, and I could plainly distinguish its mountainous waves as they rolled along, for it was greatly agitated by fierce winds. This was the first view we had had of the sea since we were made slaves : it was a highly gratifying sight to us all, and particularly so, as it was quite unexpected ; and it very much revived the spirits of myself and desponding companions.

CHAPTER XIV.

They travel along the sea-coast under high banks—fall in with and join a company of Arabs—travel in the night for fear of robbers—Mr. Savage faints—is near being massacred, and rescued by the author.

DISCERNING the tracks of our camels, which we had lost sight of for a time, as they had crossed over rocks, where they had descended through a rent or chasm, partly covered with high drifts of loose sand towards the sea-shore, we followed them down immensely steep sand hills, to a tolerably inclined plane, between the first and second banks of the sea; which, from appearances, had once washed the upper bank, but had long since retired:—the inclined plane had also been a beach for ages, where the stones, that now covered its surface, had been tossed and rounded, by striking against one another.

From this beach the ocean had also retired, and now washed other perpendicular cliffs of one hundred feet or more in height, at a distance of six or eight miles to the northward of the former ones, which appeared to rise in abrupt, and in many places, overhanging cliffs of rocks to the height of three hundred feet. We had made our way

through these cliffs, by means of a hollow, seemingly formed on purpose for a passage, as it was the only one in view : and as I did not know which way our masters went, I had stopped to view the surrounding prospect, and now give what was then my impression. I was at a loss which way to steer my course, but our masters, who were concealed behind a small hillock on our left, discovering my embarrassment, now called to me, where I soon joined them. It was now nearly dark, and there were three or four families of Arabs near, sitting under a shelter made of skins extended by poles : here our camels were turned up to browse, and we were ordered to collect brush, which grew on the steep side of the banks, to make a fire, and to keep off the wind during the night. Mr. Savage was entirely exhausted, and I requested him to lie down on the ground, whilst the rest of us gathered the bushes required ; but when I came in with my handful, Seid was beating him with a stick to make him assist. I begged he would permit Mr. Savage to remain where he was ; told him he was sick, and that I would perform his share of the labour. Sidi Hamet now returned and killed one of the goats, of which they gave us the entrails ; a seasonable relief indeed, and we were allowed to drink a little of the soup they were boiled in, and a small piece of meat was divided between us ; and each received a drink of water : I had before stolen a drink for Mr. Savage, whose bloody vomit continued. In the course of the night

they gave us a small quantity of the same kind of pudding we had before tasted, but as Mr. Savage was sick, they refused to give him any, saying, "he had already eaten too much of something, but they did not know what." Sidi Hamet, however, saved a little of the pudding in a bowl for him, and as he seemed unwilling to die with hunger, I gave him part of the pudding I had, and saved my share of meat for him until the morning. Our hunger and thirst being somewhat appeased, we slept this night pretty soundly. We had travelled this day about thirty miles.

October the 14th, early in the morning, we took leave of these Arabs, but while we were busied in getting off, Abdallah seized on Mr. Savage's pudding in the bowl as a good prize, and swallowed it in an instant; so that nothing but my care of Mr. Savage saved him from fainting and consequent death on this day. Our masters had purchased two more goats from those Arabs, which increased our number to five; these we were forced to drive, and we kept along the sea-shore the whole of this day. On our right the original sea-shore (or bank) rose nearly three hundred feet perpendicularly, and in many places, in overhanging cliffs. The inclined plane on which we travelled was from three to six or eight miles wide, and very regular; covered with pebbles and many round stones; among which grew here and there a few dwarf bushes of different kinds from what I had seen before in various parts of the world. A

little to our left the plane broke off abruptly, and the ocean appeared. The bank was from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet high above the level of the sea, and mostly perpendicular, against which the heavy surges dashed with great fury, sounding like loud peals of distant thunder. Our course and that of the shore was about east, and near dark we fell in with four families of Arabs who were about pitching their tents near the sea-shore. Our masters went and introduced themselves to the one who appeared to be their chief or the principal character among them, and whose name was *Hassar*. They soon became acquainted, and it was ascertained that *Hassar* and his wife, together with four men that were with him, and their families, were going the same route that we were, upon which our masters agreed to join company.

Hassar's wife, whose name was *Tamar*, and appeared to be an uncommonly intelligent woman, addressed me in broken Spanish and Arabic mixed :—she said she had saved the lives of some Spaniards who had been wrecked on that coast a great many years ago ; that a vessel came for them, and that she went to *Lanzarote* (one of the Canary Islands) to get some goods which the Spanish captain promised to deliver her father, who kept three of the men until the Spaniard should have fulfilled his contract, and brought her back. She represented to me the manner in which the houses in *Lanzarote* were built, and described the forts and

batteries with their cannon, &c. so very clearly and accurately, that I had no doubt but that she must have seen them, and I gave her to understand I had been there also. She said Lanzarote was a bad country, and told us we should not die with hunger while we remained in her company.

We travelled on the 14th about twenty miles. In the night our masters killed a goat and gave us a part of the meat as well as of the entrails; Hassar's wife also gave us a small quantity of the pudding before mentioned, which the Arabs call *Lhash*, and here we had a good night's sleep. October the 15th, early in the morning, Hassar and his company struck their tents, and all these families proceeded on with us until near night, when we came to a very deep gully, which we could not pass in any other way than by going down the bank on to the sea beach; and as it was low tide, there was a kind of pathway where camels had gone down before us. We descended; and there found a tent with an Arab family in it just below the high bank; so sending on the camels, Sidi Hamet made us stop here a few moments. The owner of the tent pretended to speak Spanish, but in fact knew only a few detached words of that language: he mentioned to me that he knew I had promised Sidi Hamet that my friend in Swearah would pay him the amount I had bargained for, stating the sum:

“ Now,” said this Arab—“ have you a friend in Swearah ?” I answered I had :—“ Do not lie, (said he,) for if you do, you will have your throat cut ;’ but if you have told him so merely that you might get off the desert, so as to procure something to eat, he will pardon that pretext and deception so far as only to sell you and your comrades to the highest bidder, the first opportunity, provided, however, that you confess the deceit now. In a few days (added he) you will find houses and a river of running water, and should you persist in deceiving him, you will certainly lose your life.” I made him understand that I was incapable of lying to Sidi Hamet ; that all I told him was true ; that he was the man who had saved my life, and he should be well rewarded for his goodness by my friend, and by our Almighty Father. This seemed to satisfy Sidi Hamet, who was present, and understood me better than the other did, and he told me I should see Swearah in a few days. We now went forward, accompanied by the Arab, who piloted us across a small arm of the sea that entered the beforementioned gully. We here found a pair of kerseymere pantaloon that had belonged to Mr. Savage, in the possession of one of this man’s little sons ;—I pointed them out to my masters and begged them to buy them, which after a long barter with the boy, Seid effected, by giving him in exchange a piece of blue cotton cloth which he had worn as a kind of shirt : they

wished me to give the pantaloons to Clark or Horace, but I gave them to Mr. Savage, although they insisted he was *fonte*, or a bad fellow.

Having got up the steep bank again, after wading through the salt water, which was nearly up to our hips, and one hundred yards broad, we encamped for the night on high dry land, and at dark our masters, taking Horace and myself with them, went near a few tents close by the sea, where we were presented with a quantity of dried muscles, which, though very salt, we found excellent: these we divided among our shipmates: I conjecture we had made twenty-five miles this day. Here our masters killed their remaining goats, boiled and ate their entrails and most of their meat, as all present were hungry, and would have some in spite of every opposition; so that our share was seized and swallowed by others.

October the 16th, we made ready and started very early, but went on slowly, keeping near the sea-shore, and mostly in the broken grounds, caused by its former washings. Our masters seemed very fearful all this day, and told me there were many robbers and bad men hereabouts, who would endeavour to seize and carry us off, and that they could throw large stones with great force and precision. We had not travelled more than fifteen miles before sunset, and night coming on, our masters, who had mounted Mr. Savage, Clark, and Burns on the camels, drove them on at

a great rate, while myself and Horace were obliged to keep up with them by running on foot. All this time they had their guns in their hands unsheathed, and when Horace and myself were obliged occasionally to stop, one of them always stayed with us, and then hurried us on as fast as possible. In this manner we proceeded on until about midnight, when coming to a deep gully, Mr. Savage and Clark were dismounted, and Horace and myself placed on the camels. Descending the valley, we found it full of high sand drifts, and proceeded without making the least noise: the valley was wide, and the sand lying in it had no doubt been driven from the sea beach by the wind. All the women and children at this time were running on foot. After reaching with much labour the other side of the valley, and the summit beyond it, we found the whole surface of the ground making an even inclined plane, covered with deep drifts of loose sand. I had been riding, I think, about two hours, when Clark, who was a considerable distance behind, called to me, and said, "Mr. Savage has fainted away, and they are flogging him with sticks." I instantly slipped off my camel, and ran to relieve him as fast as my legs would carry me. Seid was striking his apparent lifeless body, which lay stretched on the ground, with a heavy stick: Hassar had seized him by the beard with one hand, and with the other held a sharp scimitar, with which he was in the act of cutting his throat. I laid hold of

Hassar, jerked him away, and clasping the body of Mr. Savage in my arms, raised him up, and called for water. Hassar would have run me through with his scimitar, but Sidi Hamet arrested and prevented him. I expected to lose my life, but had determined to save Mr. Savage's at all hazards. Our masters and the whole company of men, women, and children, were around me: they were possessed with the belief that he was perverse and obstinate, and that he would not exert himself to proceed at a time when they were in haste to go on, lest they should fall into the hands of robbers; for which reason they had determined to kill him. I made Sidi Hamet, however, and the others understand, that he had fainted through hunger and excessive fatigue, and that he was not preverse in this instance. This surprized them exceedingly: they had never before heard of such a thing as fainting. Sidi Hamet ordered a camel to be brought, and a drink of water to be given him, and when he revived, this Arab shed tears; then putting him and Clark on a camel, one to steady the other, they proceeded. Sidi Hamet desired me to get on with Horace and ride, saying, with a sneer—"the English are good for nothing—you see even our women and children can walk and run." I told him I could walk, that I was not a bad fellow; and began to run about and drive up the camels: this pleased him excessively, and he bade me come and walk with him, leaving the camels to the care of others,

calling me "good Riley—you shall again see your children, if God please."

We continued our journey eastward along the south side of a high string of sand hills, when hearing a dog bark before us, we turned the camels suddenly off to the north, setting them off on a full trot, but passing over the sand hills without noise: we kept this course for about an hour, until having got near the sea-bank, and north of the sand hills, we resumed our former course. Near daylight we lost our way, and fearing to go amiss, as it was very dark, they made the camels lie down in a circle, placing us within it—when they kept guard over us with their muskets in their hands, while we took a nap. I should guess we travelled fifty miles this last day and night.

October the 17th, early in the morning, we set forward again, still on the same inclined plane, between the first and second banks of the sea. The high banks on our right, whose pointed rocks, where they had been washed by the ocean, were still visible all the way, began to be overtopped with high hills rising far into the country, and presenting to our view a new aspect, so that I was convinced we had left the level desert.

CHAPTER XV.

Black mountains appear in the east—they come to a river of salt water, and to wells of fresh water, where they find many horses. Description of a singular plant—come to cultivated land; to a fresh water river, and a few stone huts.

THE black tops of high mountains appeared in the distant horizon to the eastward about noon, and the camel paths were very much trodden. We kept on until near night, when meeting with a deep valley, we wound our course through it to the southward, and then went down south-eastwardly through another deep valley, where there was a good path. The black bare mountains on both sides of us gave us great hopes that we should soon come to running water and cultivated lands; and in reality near night we came to a stream of water, with high grass and bushes growing on its margin. The water, however, was very brackish, and could not be drunk; but on its opposite bank we saw a company of men at some wells, watering about forty fine looking horses and some camels. Our masters saluted those men, and crossing the stream, which in this part was about two feet deep and

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thirty feet wide, we watered our camels also at the same place. This river, whose water was clear as crystal, was literally filled with beautiful large fish, which were jumping above the surface at every moment, but the Arabs did not seem to want them, for they could have been caught very easily. The company with the horses and camels left the wells, and went on to the south, riding at a full trot along the river's side; they were armed only with scimitars. Our company then went towards the sea, and Hassar's women pitched their tents for the night; here they cooked a goat, which they divided among all the party, and what fell to our share cannot be supposed to have been much. I believe we made thirty-six miles this day, as we rode nearly all the time.

October the 18th, we ascended the hill, climbing up in a zigzag path on the steep side of the east bank of this river, and having gained the surface, we found it to be a continuation of the same inclined plane on which we had before been travelling. The bank on our right, to the south, still continued to give indubitable proofs of its having been washed by the ocean; whose surges had worn in under the shelving rocks, which hung in immense masses of from two to three hundred feet high over the surface of the inclined plane below, while the plane itself adjoining the cliffs was covered with fragments that had fallen from above, and with other stones that had been washed and worn round by the ocean's

waves, leaving the most positive marks of having retired to its present bed. These observations, with those I had made before, and was enabled to make afterwards, fully satisfied my mind, that the sea had gradually retired from this continent;—I must leave it to philosophers to account for the cause. The only green thing we had seen for several days past, except what grew immediately on the bank of the river, (which were some bushes resembling dwarf alders and bulrushes,) was a shrub that rose in a small bunch at the bottom, having frequently but one stalk, from three to twelve inches in thickness; the limbs spreading out in every direction, like an umbrella, into innumerable branches, making a diameter of from fifteen to twenty feet, and not more than six feet in height; its leaves very green, smooth, pointed, and about four inches long by one and a half broad; its bark resembled that of the hard or sugar maple tree; its branches terminated abruptly, the point of each twig being nearly as thick as the end of a man's finger: this shrub, or weed, was very tender, and as we broke off the twigs, a great many drops of glutinous liquid, resembling milk, flowed from them, but its odour and taste were of the most disagreeable kind, and the camels would not feed on it. We saw a good deal that had grown up before, and had died and become dry: on breaking it off, I found it was hollow, and almost as light as a common dry weed. Neither our masters nor the other Arabs would light a fire with it, on account of its

disagreeable smell when burning; the taste of the milk issuing from this plant was the most nauseous and disgusting in nature, though very white and beautiful to behold. About noon we came to the foot of the high mountains we had seen the day before, and turned in between two of them to the south-east, leaving the sea entirely. We went up through a chasm in the bank, over rocks and through a narrow foot-way, formed by the treading of camels and horses; for we had seen many horse-tracks, and also the tracks of one animal of the kind called neat cattle.

As we proceeded on foot, winding upwards, we discovered on our left a few stones piled up in the form of a wall, round a pit of ten or twelve feet across, and six feet deep, dug in the earth by art. There were lying on the ground, around the wall, several earthen pots that would contain from three to four gallons each; and which appeared to have been made for, and used as boilers. One of our young men directly took up one of them, and was lashing it on his camel as a good prize, when Hassar and Sidi Hamet, observing the circumstance, made him untie and carry it back again to the spot where he had found it. As I already knew the propensity all had for plundering, I could not but imagine that they now restrained themselves through fear. About sunset we came to a small spot of land that had been cultivated, and fell in with a heap of barley straw. Here was the first sign of cultivation we had seen on this continent, and

we hailed it as the harbinger of happier days. We had travelled full thirty miles this day, and our masters now gave us the putrid remains of the goat which had hung on one of the camels for four days; this we roasted, and found it a delicious morsel; it was tender, and needed no seasoning. Some of my comrades, as if their taste had become depraved by the rage of hunger, declared that putrid meat was far preferable to fresh; that it wanted neither salt nor pepper to give it a relish, and that if ever they got home again, they should prefer such food to any other. Having finished our savory supper, we lay down on the straw and enjoyed a most charming, sound, and refreshing sleep. To us, who for so long a time had been obliged to repose our wearied limbs and wasted frames on the hard-baked bosom of the Desert, or the dead sides of the barren sand drifts, this solitary heap of fresh straw seemed softer and sweeter than a bed of down strewn over with the most odoriferous flowers.

October the 19th, we resumed our journey very early in the morning, and travelled on foot, all except Burns, who was so far exhausted as to be unable to walk. Our course rounded from S. E. to E. N. E. keeping the bottom of the valleys, most of which had been cultivated by the plough at no very remote period, but only in a narrow strip. The sides of the mountains were entirely barren and naked of foliage, and we kept on winding as the valleys permitted, until about two o'clock P. M. when, suddenly through a deep

valley before us, a few rough stone huts broke upon our view, and a moment afterwards we beheld a stream of clear water purling over a pebbly bottom, and meandering through banks covered with green bushes and shrubs in full blossom. On the farther side cows, asses, and sheep were feeding on green grass, and a number of date trees adorning and shading the margin of the rivulet. This was a sight none of us expected to behold, and I poured out my soul in rapturous effusions of thankfulness to the Supreme Being. Excess of joy had so far overpowered our faculties, that it was with difficulty we reached the water's edge; but urging forward to the brink with headlong steps, and fearlessly plunging in our mouths, like thirsty camels, we swallowed down large draughts until satiated nature bade us stop. The rivulet was fresh, and fortunately not so cold as to occasion any injurious effects; it was quite shallow, and not more than about five yards in width; it appeared, however, very evidently that when the rain falls in the surrounding country, it flows with a much deeper and broader current. It is called by the Arabs *el Wod Noon*, or the river Nun; comes from the south-east, and runs from this place to the sea in a northerly direction. We had arrived on its right bank, where some barren date trees grew, but which afforded to us nothing but their shade: hungry, however, as we were, our fatigue got the better of every other want, and as these were the first trees we had met with during our distressing pilgrimage, we

embraced the kindly offer, and enjoyed about two hours of refreshing sleep; I was then awakened by Sidi Hamet, who directed me to come with my companions and follow him: this we instantly did, and going near one of the small houses, he divided amongst us, to our inexpressible joy, about four pounds of honey in the comb. This indeed was a dainty treat; and with the hungriness of greedy bears, we devoured it, comb and all, together with a host of young bees just ready for hatching, that filled two-thirds of the cells; our hearts at the same time swelling with gratitude to God, and tears of joy trickling down our fleshless cheeks.

Hassar's men pressed around and endeavoured to snatch from us this delicious food, of which they had no share; but Sidi Hamet placing the bowl on his knees, passed the honey-comb to us piece by piece in one hand, while he held his gun in the other, ready to fire on any one who should attempt to deprive us of our meal. The eyes of these fellows seemed to flash fire at the preference we enjoyed, and we dreaded the effects of their malicious envy; for the Arabs set no bounds to their anger and resentment, and regard no law but that of superior force. Having finished our luscious repast, we were told by our masters to go to rest, which we did, and soon fell asleep in the shade formed by a beautiful umbrella palm-tree.

About dark we were called up and ordered to gather fuel, and were afterwards presented with some pudding of the

same kind we had before eaten, though mixed with oil, that I afterwards ascertained was the argan oil, which, though fresh, had a very strong smell, and my stomach being cloyed with honey, I declined eating any. My companions, however, relished this oil very much, and preferred it afterwards to butter during our stay in Africa. We found a good shelter this night near a burying place with a small square stone building in the centre, whitewashed and covered with a dome; and I afterwards learned that this was a sanctuary or saint house: it was fenced in with thorn bushes, and was the first burying place we had seen in this country. I computed we had travelled this day (Oct. 19) about eighteen miles.

On the morning of the 20th, we did not go forward, and a number of Arabs and Moors came to see our masters and us. This place appeared to be a great thoroughfare: large droves of unloaded camels were passing up to the eastward from the way we had come, as well as from the southward, and also great numbers of loaded camels going towards the Desert. Their loading consisted principally of sacks of barley, some salt and iron, together with other merchandize.

During the fore part of this day, several parties of men, in all from sixty to eighty, passed us; all mounted on handsome horses of the Arabian breed, well-bred and high-spirited: their riders were covered with cloaks or sulams, and

every one had a single-barrelled musket in his hand, the stocks of which were curiously wrought and inlaid with small pieces of various coloured wood and ivory, arranged and fitted in a very particular manner. The locks of these muskets were of the Moorish kind, and very unhandy, though substantial, and they seldom miss fire, although their powder is bad and coarse grained. This and a good scimitar slung on their right side constitute the whole of their weapons. They depend more upon the scimitar for close quarters in battle than upon their musket, for, say they, this will never miss fire; being similar to the practice which it is said the Russian General (Suwarrow) used to inculcate on his soldiers—"The ball will lose its way, the bayonet never—the ball is a *fool*; the bayonet a *hero*." A Moor is ashamed to be without his scimitar; their scabbards are made of brass, and plated on the outside with silver, but those worn by the Arabs are made of leather: these weapons, both of the Moors and Arabs, are suspended from the neck by cords made of woollen yarn dyed red, or a strong braided leather thong. They call a scimitar or long knife *el skine*.

These natives were of a different race of men from any we had hitherto seen; they wear a haick or piece of woollen cloth wrapped about their bodies, which covering them, falls down below their knees; or else a cloak called *gzlabbia*, made in a similar manner, cut with short sleeves, and one

“ Now,” said this Arab—“ have you a friend in Swearah ?” I answered I had :—“ Do not lie, (said he,) for if you do, you will have your throat cut ;’ but if you have told him so merely that you might get off the desert, so as to procure something to eat, he will pardon that pretext and deception so far as only to sell you and your comrades to the highest bidder, the first opportunity, provided, however, that you confess the deceit now. In a few days (added he) you will find houses and a river of running water, and should you persist in deceiving him, you will certainly lose your life.” I made him understand that I was incapable of lying to Sidi Hamet ; that all I told him was true ; that he was the man who had saved my life, and he should be well rewarded for his goodness by my friend, and by our Almighty Father. This seemed to satisfy Sidi Hamet, who was present, and understood me better than the other did, and he told me I should see Swearah in a few days. We now went forward, accompanied by the Arab, who piloted us across a small arm of the sea that entered the beforementioned gully. We here found a pair of kerseymerè pantaloons that had belonged to Mr. Savage, in the possession of one of this man’s little sons ;—I pointed them out to my masters and begged them to buy them, which after a long barter with the boy, Seid effected, by giving him in exchange a piece of blue cotton cloth which he had worn as a kind of shirt: they

wished me to give the pantaloons to Clark or Horace, but I gave them to Mr. Savage, although they insisted he was *fonte*, or a bad fellow.

Having got up the steep bank again, after wading through the salt water, which was nearly up to our hips, and one hundred yards broad, we encamped for the night on high dry land, and at dark our masters, taking Horace and myself with them, went near a few tents close by the sea, where we were presented with a quantity of dried muscles, which, though very salt, we found excellent: these we divided among our shipmates: I conjecture we had made twenty-five miles this day. Here our masters killed their remaining goats, boiled and ate their entrails and most of their meat, as all present were hungry, and would have some in spite of every opposition; so that our share was seized and swallowed by others.

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a great rate, while myself and Horace were obliged to keep up with them by running on foot. All this time they had their guns in their hands unsheathed, and when Horace and myself were obliged occasionally to stop, one of them always stayed with us, and then hurried us on as fast as possible. In this manner we proceeded on until about midnight, when coming to a deep gully, Mr. Savage and Clark were dismounted, and Horace and myself placed on the camels. Descending the valley, we found it full of high sand drifts, and proceeded without making the least noise: the valley was wide, and the sand lying in it had no doubt been driven from the sea beach by the wind. All the women and children at this time were running on foot. After reaching with much labour the other side of the valley, and the summit beyond it, we found the whole surface of the ground making an even inclined plane, covered with deep drifts of loose sand. I had been riding, I think, about two hours, when Clark, who was a considerable distance behind, called to me, and said, "Mr. Savage has fainted away, and they are flogging him with sticks." I instantly slipped off my camel, and ran to relieve him as fast as my legs would carry me. Seid was striking his apparent lifeless body, which lay stretched on the ground, with a heavy stick: Hassar had seized him by the beard with one hand, and with the other held a sharp scimitar, with which he was in the act of cutting his throat. I laid hold of

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As we proceeded on foot, winding upwards, we discovered on our left a few stones piled up in the form of a wall, round a pit of ten or twelve feet across, and six feet deep, dug in the earth by art. There were lying on the ground, around the wall, several earthen pots that would contain from three to four gallons each; and which appeared to have been made for, and used as boilers. One of our young men directly took up one of them, and was lashing it on his camel as a good prize, when Hassar and Sidi Hamet, observing the circumstance, made him untie and carry it back again to the spot where he had found it. As I already knew the propensity all had for plundering, I could not but imagine that they now restrained themselves through fear. About sunset we came to a small spot of land that had been cultivated, and fell in with a heap of barley straw. Here was the first sign of cultivation we had seen on this continent, and

we hailed it as the harbinger of happier days. We had travelled full thirty miles this day, and our masters now gave us the putrid remains of the goat which had hung on one of the camels for four days; this we roasted, and found it a delicious morsel; it was tender, and needed no seasoning. Some of my comrades, as if their taste had become depraved by the rage of hunger, declared that putrid meat was far preferable to fresh; that it wanted neither salt nor pepper to give it a relish, and that if ever they got home again, they should prefer such food to any other. Having finished our savory supper, we lay down on the straw and enjoyed a most charming, sound, and refreshing sleep. To us, who for so long a time had been obliged to repose our wearied limbs and wasted frames on the hard-baked bosom of the Desert, or the dead sides of the barren sand drifts, this solitary heap of fresh straw seemed softer and sweeter than a bed of down strewn over with the most odoriferous flowers.

October the 19th, we resumed our journey very early in the morning, and travelled on foot, all except Burns, who was so far exhausted as to be unable to walk. Our course rounded from S. E. to E. N. E. keeping the bottom of the valleys, most of which had been cultivated by the plough at no very remote period, but only in a narrow strip. The sides of the mountains were entirely barren and naked of foliage, and we kept on winding as the valleys permitted, until about two o'clock P. M. when, suddenly through a deep

valley before us, a few rough stone huts broke upon our view, and a moment afterwards we beheld a stream of clear water purling over a pebbly bottom, and meandering through banks covered with green bushes and shrubs in full blossom. On the farther side cows, asses, and sheep were feeding on green grass, and a number of date trees adorning and shading the margin of the rivulet. This was a sight none of us expected to behold, and I poured out my soul in rapturous effusions of thankfulness to the Supreme Being. Excess of joy had so far overpowered our faculties, that it was with difficulty we reached the water's edge; but urging forward to the brink with headlong steps, and fearlessly plunging in our mouths, like thirsty camels, we swallowed down large draughts until satiated nature bade us stop. The rivulet was fresh, and fortunately not so cold as to occasion any injurious effects; it was quite shallow, and not more than about five yards in width; it appeared, however, very evidently that when the rain falls in the surrounding country, it flows with a much deeper and broader current. It is called by the Arabs *el Wod Noon*, or the river Nun; comes from the south-east, and runs from this place to the sea in a northerly direction. We had arrived on its right bank, where some barren date trees grew, but which afforded to us nothing but their shade: hungry, however, as we were, our fatigue got the better of every other want, and as these were the first trees we had met with during our distressing pilgrimage, we

embraced the kindly offer, and enjoyed about two hours of refreshing sleep; I was then awakened by Sidi Hamet, who directed me to come with my companions and follow him: this we instantly did, and going near one of the small houses, he divided amongst us, to our inexpressible joy, about four pounds of honey in the comb. This indeed was a dainty treat; and with the hungriness of greedy bears, we devoured it, comb and all, together with a host of young bees just ready for hatching, that filled two-thirds of the cells; our hearts at the same time swelling with gratitude to God, and tears of joy trickling down our fleshless cheeks.

Hassar's men pressed around and endeavoured to snatch from us this delicious food, of which they had no share; but Sidi Hamet placing the bowl on his knees, passed the honey-comb to us piece by piece in one hand, while he held his gun in the other, ready to fire on any one who should attempt to deprive us of our meal. The eyes of these fellows seemed to flash fire at the preference we enjoyed, and we dreaded the effects of their malicious envy; for the Arabs set no bounds to their anger and resentment, and regard no law but that of superior force. Having finished our luscious repast, we were told by our masters to go to rest, which we did, and soon fell asleep in the shade formed by a beautiful umbrella palm-tree.

About dark we were called up and ordered to gather fuel, and were afterwards presented with some pudding of the

same kind we had before eaten, though mixed with oil, that I afterwards ascertained was the argan oil, which, though fresh, had a very strong smell, and my stomach being cloyed with honey, I declined eating any. My companions, however, relished this oil very much, and preferred it afterwards to butter during our stay in Africa. We found a good shelter this night near a burying place with a small square stone building in the centre, whitewashed and covered with a dome; and I afterwards learned that this was a sanctuary or saint house: it was fenced in with thorn bushes, and was the first burying place we had seen in this country. I computed we had travelled this day (Oct. 19) about eighteen miles.

On the morning of the 20th, we did not go forward, and a number of Arabs and Moors came to see our masters and us. This place appeared to be a great thoroughfare: large droves of unloaded camels were passing up to the eastward from the way we had come, as well as from the southward, and also great numbers of loaded camels going towards the Desert. Their loading consisted principally of sacks of barley, some salt and iron, together with other merchandize.

During the fore part of this day, several parties of men, in all from sixty to eighty, passed us; all mounted on handsome horses of the Arabian breed, well-bred and high-spirited: their riders were covered with cloaks or sulams, and

every one had a single-barrelled musket in his hand, the stocks of which were curiously wrought and inlaid with small pieces of various coloured wood and ivory, arranged and fitted in a very particular manner. The locks of these muskets were of the Moorish kind, and very unhandy, though substantial, and they seldom miss fire, although their powder is bad and coarse grained. This and a good scimitar slung on their right side constitute the whole of their weapons. They depend more upon the scimitar for close quarters in battle than upon their musket, for, say they, this will never miss fire; being similar to the practice which it is said the Russian General (Suwarrow) used to inculcate on his soldiers—"The ball will lose its way, the bayonet never—the ball is a *fool*; the bayonet a hero." A Moor is ashamed to be without his scimitar; their scabbards are made of brass, and plated on the outside with silver, but those worn by the Arabs are made of leather: these weapons, both of the Moors and Arabs, are suspended from the neck by cords made of woollen yarn died red, or a strong braided leather thong. They call a scimitar or long knife *el skine*.

These natives were of a different race of men from any we had hitherto seen; they wear a haick or piece of woollen cloth wrapped about their bodies, which covering them, falls down below their knees; or else a cloak called *gzlabbia*, made in a similar manner, cut with short sleeves, and one

fold of the haick generally covered the head, but those who had not their heads covered with their haick or the hood of their gzlabbia, or sulam, wore a kind of turban; the cloak, or sulam, is made of coarse black cloth, very shaggy, and much in the form of the European cloak, with a hood or head-piece to it; it is, however, sewed together part of the way down in front, so that to get it on, they slip it over their heads, and it covers their arms. They are generally stout men, of five feet eight or ten inches in height, and well set; their complexion a light olive—they wear their beards as long as they will grow, and consider a man without a great bushy beard an effeminate being, and hold him in great contempt. Their saddles were well made and very high, at least eight or ten inches, fitted before and behind so as almost to make it impossible for the horse to throw his rider; their bridles are of the most powerful Arabian kind; their stirrups are made of broad sheets of iron that cover almost the whole foot—many of them were plated with silver. All the men wore slippers and spurs, and had their stirrups tied up very short.

While we remained here, a very respectable looking old man, who spoke a few words of Spanish, after learning from our masters who we were, came to me and inquired about my country and my friends in Swearah; said he knew all the consuls there, and told me their names were *Renshaw*, *Josef*, *Estevan*, and *Corte*. He said he was going to

Swearah, and should be there in ten days, and would carry a letter for me if my master would let me write : but we had no paper. I informed him that my friend was named *Renshaw*, guessing him to be the English consul. This old man told my master he believed I spoke the truth, and that I had been at Swearah, which from his discourse I understood to be the same as Mogadore. He then set off eastward on his mule, which was a very large and handsome one. All the people that passed here appeared very friendly to our masters ; they wished to know our story, and requested my opinion of their horses, saddles and bridles, muskets, scimitars, and accoutrements in general, &c. all of which I declared to be of the best possible kind. This morning, Sidi Hamet bought a hive of honey, and undertook to give some of it to us, but was not able to carry his kind intentions into effect, for at the moment he was handing some to me, Hassar's men rushed on him and got possession of the whole, which they devoured in a minute ; there was no getting it back, and after a long and violent dispute with Hassar and his company respecting it, he procured another hive, and being assisted by the man from whom he bought it, and a number of strangers, he succeeded in distributing amongst us about three pounds of the poorest part of the comb.

CHAPTER XVI.

The company is divided—they set off to the eastward—their masters are attacked by a band of robbers.

AFTER we had eaten this, our masters prepared the camels and Hassar's company divided, that is to say, two men and all the women and children took the plain great route which led east in a deep valley, driving off about one half of the camels; Hassar and the others drove off the rest (including ours) in a N. E. direction, and we with our masters, accompanied by two other men, proceeded along the river's eastern bank to the northward for a short distance, and then ascended the high, steep, and craggy mountains eastward of us. The labour in clambering up these steep precipices is indescribable; we continued mounting them as fast as possible for about four hours, and I was fully convinced our masters took that route for fear they should be followed and surprized in the night by some who had seen us, and thus be robbed of their slaves and other property. After climbing over the highest peaks of these mountains, we saw Hassar and part of his company who had driven the camels, and had gotten up by another and more practicable path. It

was now near night, and we travelled along the craggy steeps, assisting one another over the most difficult parts, while Hassar sought out the easiest places for the ascent of the camels. Coming at length to a small level spot of ground, we saw some tents, and directed our course towards them: the tents were twelve in number, and placed in a semicircle. Having approached to within one hundred yards in front of the largest one, our masters seated themselves on the ground with their backs towards the tents, and a woman soon came out bringing a bowl of water, which she presented to them after the usual salutations of *Labez*, &c. &c.

Our masters drank of the water, and Sidi Hamet was soon after presented with a bowl filled with dates lately plucked from the trees, and not fully ripe: these he gave to us; though Seid, Abdallah, and Hassar, snatched each a handful, to which we were forced to submit: we found them excellent, but did not know at that time what sort of fruit they were. Here we remained during the night, and rested our emaciated bodies, which were, if possible, more fatigued than they ever were before.

October the 21st, we set off to the northward very early, and made down towards the sea through numerous steep gullies, and got into the inclined plane below the former sea-shore, about mid-day; here were the same sort of marks in this bank that we had before observed, and the same signs of its having been laved by the ocean. We went along

through the same kind of thick bushes as those I have before described, near to the cliffs that at present formed a barrier to the mighty waters, where we discovered a number of tents, and soon reached them. Here our masters, Sidi Hamet and Hassar, were recognized by some of the men, who were in all about twenty, with their families: these people had large sacks of barley with them, which they had procured far eastward up the country. Sidi Hamet was now sick with violent pains in his head and in all his limbs. These people (who were Arabs, as all are who live in tents in the country) took compassion on him, and cleared a tent for him to lie under, where having made up a large fire, he kept his head towards it, turning about and almost roasting his brains, but obtained no relief from this manner of treating his disorder; he next had recourse to another singular remedy; he had a large knife put into the fire and heated red hot; then made his brother draw the back of it, hot as it was, several times across the top of his head, making it hiss (as may well be supposed) in all directions:—when it had in some measure cooled, he would again heat it as before, then making bare his legs and arms, he went through with the process of striking its back along them at the distance of three or four inches, scorching off the skin; and though it made him twitch and jump at every touch, he continued to do it for the space of an hour or more. Burns had been very ill for some time, and was so weak that he scarcely was

able to stand, and could not walk—he was, therefore, always placed on a camel, and as Sidi Hamet was now applying to himself a remedy for what he thought a stroke of the moon, he undertook to administer the red hot knife to the limbs of poor Burns, who from mere want of bodily strength was not able, poor fellow, to jump, but would at every touch cry out, “God have mercy upon me.” As I was hungry, I begged of my masters to let me go and search for muscles on the sea-beach, (for there was a hollow at a little distance, through which we might gain it,) but they refused, saying, “To-morrow, if God please, we shall be on the sea-beach; there are no muscles on this part of the coast;”—here, however, we received a good supper of *lhash* or pudding, and rested our wearied limbs under the tent with our masters.

October the 22d, we went forward, driving our own camels only; as Hassar had taken the young one, we had but three remaining; so we rode by turns, crossing the deep hollows which had been worn down by the rains or other causes, until afternoon, when we were forced to have recourse to the sea-beach to get past one of these deep places, whose sides were so steep as to render a passage down it impracticable. When we gained the beach, we found ourselves on a narrow strip of land, which was then dry, the tide being out; this extended in length eight or ten miles, but from the water's edge to the perpendicular cliffs on our right, not more than ten yards; these cliffs appeared to be one hundred and fifty

feet in height. When we came to the sea-water, I went into it, and let a surf wash over me, that I might once more feel its refreshing effects; but my master, fearing I should be carried away by the receding waves, told me not to go near them again. As we proceeded along this narrow beach, and had passed over half its length, the huge cliffs overhanging us on our right, with the ocean on our left; just as we were turning a point, we observed four men, armed each with a musket and scimitar, spring from beneath the jutting rocks, to intercept our march. Our masters were at this time on the camels, but they instantly leaped off, at the same time unsheathing their guns; to retreat would betray fear, and lead to inevitable destruction—so they determined to advance, two against four, and Sidi Hamet, though still in so weak a state as to be thought incapable of walking before he saw these men, now ran towards them with his musket in his hand, while Seid, that cruel coward, lagged behind—so true it is, that the most generous and humane men are always the most courageous. The foe was but a few paces from us, and stood in a line across the beach—Sidi Hamet, holding his gun ready to fire—demanded if it was peace? while he eyed their countenances to see if they were deceitful—one of them answered, “It is peace,” and extended his hand to receive that of Sidi Hamet, who gave him his right hand, suspecting no treachery, but the fellow grasped it fast, and would have shot him and Seid in a moment, but at that

critical juncture, two of Hassar's men came in sight, running like the wind towards us, with each a good double-barrelled gun in his hand, all ready to fire; the robbers saw them as they turned the point, and the fellow who had seized Sidi Hamet's hand, instantly let it go, turning the affair off with a loud laugh, and saying, he only did it to frighten him: this excuse was deemed sufficient, merely because our men did not now feel themselves sufficiently strong to resent this insult, and we proceeded on; but these fellows, who were very stout and active, hovered around us, slaves, endeavouring to separate us from our masters, as it appeared, in the hope of seizing on us as their own, which Sidi Hamet observing, ordered me with my men to keep close to the camels' heels, while he and his company now strong (though none of them armed with scimitars) kept between us and the banditti. When they found that our masters were too vigilant for them, they took French leave of us, and ran along the beach with incredible swiftness, chasing each other, and taking up and throwing stones, that I should suppose would weigh from six to eight pounds, with a jerk that made them whiz through the air like cannon balls:—they threw them against the cliffs of rocks, which resounded with the blow, and many of the stones were dashed to pieces as they struck. I could see the marks they aimed at, and that the stones went with great precision, as well as force. I had before no idea that it was possible for men to acquire by practice such

enormous power of arm; for they threw these stones with such velocity, that I am convinced they would have killed a man at the distance of fifty yards at least.

Having come to the end of the beach, we ascended the bank again, leaving these formidable ruffians masters of the shore, where they, no doubt, got some plunder before they left it. After we had mounted the bank and were clear, Sidi Hamet told me that the fellows we had met were very bad men, and would have killed him and Seid, and would have taken us away where I could never have hoped to see my wife and children again, if the great God had not at that time sent to our relief the two men; he then asked if I would fight to save his life? I told him I would, and that no one should kill him while I was alive, if it was in my power to prevent it: "Good Riley, (said he,) you are worth fighting for: God is with you, or I must have lost my life there."

CHAPTER XVII.

Some fresh fish are procured—they pass several small walled villages, and meet with robbers on horseback.

NEAR evening we met and passed a man driving an ass laden with fish, probably of from ten to twelve pounds weight each: they had much the shape and appearance of salmon, and our masters endeavoured to procure one from the owner for me, as I gave them to understand I was very fond of fish, and that it would be good for Burns, but the man would not part with one of them on any terms. At evening we found Hassar's and his family's tents already pitched on a little hill near the cliffs, and we joined this company. Soon after, Seid, Abdallah, and two of Hassar's men, went out with their guns:—in about two hours, those with us, namely, Sidi Hamet, Hassar, and two others, hearing footsteps approaching, seized their muskets, and springing forward from their tents, demanded, who came there? It was Seid and his company, who came towards me, and unfolding a blanket, turned out four large fish of the same kind we had seen before. “Riley, (said Sidi Hamet,) are these good to eat?” I replied in the affirmative

—“ take them and eat them, (said he,) but take care, do not choke yourselves with the bones.” I took three of them, cut them into pieces, and put them into an earthen pot, that belonged to Hassar, (this pot the Arabs call *giderah*,) added some water, and boiled them directly, and we ate till we were satisfied. We drank the soup, which was extremely grateful and invigorating, and helped to check the dysentery, with which we were all much troubled since eating the honey-comb. We had travelled this day, I think, about forty miles, and slept at night within a circle formed by our masters and their camels, out of which we were not suffered to go, as Sidi Hamet told me there were many robbers in this place, who would seize on us, and carry us off in a minute, without the possibility of my ever being restored to my family.

October the 21st, at day-break, we set forward on our journey, all in company, (except Hassar and the women and children.) The fresh fish we had eaten the night before had made us very thirsty; and about noon we came to a kind of cistern, or reservoir of water on the pathway side: this reservoir was built of stone and lime; its top was arched like a vault, rising about four feet from the ground, and the cistern was at least eighty feet in length, eight or ten feet in breadth in the inside, and appeared to be twenty feet deep. It was now nearly full of water, which had been led into it by means of gutters, formed and arranged so as to receive and

conduct the rain water when it descends from the neighbouring hills, and is collected in a stream in this valley. I understood this water was the common property of all travellers along this route, and that the cistern was built by a very rich and pious man, solely for the purpose of refreshing the weary traveller, and that it contained water the whole year round, even though there should be a continued drought for a twelvemonth—but no person of our party ventured to water his camel from it, considering it as sacred for the use of man alone. We were still travelling on the slope between the first and second banks of the sea, which in these parts was much cut up, occasioned by the waters which had from time to time poured down from the neighbouring mountains, and formed steep and very deep gullies, across which we were obliged to climb. The path on this inclined plane was not much frequented, and the margin of the bank on our right hand had been newly ploughed in many places here and there in the nooks or fertile hollows. On the high lands we saw two small walled towns, with prickly-pear bushes planted around them. Near these towns or walled villages, some men were employed in ploughing with a pair of beasts, generally a cow and an ass yoked together in a very singular manner, which I shall hereafter describe, and others were watching flocks of sheep and goats on the surrounding eminences, while the women were seen lugging down wood on their backs from the tops of the lofty hills,

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and large jars or pitchers of water from a distant valley. They generally had a child on their backs, clinging with its arms round the neck of the mother, and the jar or pitcher rested on their shoulders in a manner that reminded me of the story of the beautiful Rebekah, in holy writ, coming to the well with her pitcher.

About noon, we came near a considerable walled village, that stood close by the road; it had gardens close by the walls on all sides, and there was one near the gateway planted with prickly-pear. These gardens were defended by heaps of dry thorn bushes, which served as an outward defence to the town: these heaps were about six feet high, and the walls fifteen feet. Our masters stopped near the gate for some moments, and no one seemed disposed to give them a drink of water, contenting themselves with gazing at them over the walls; so on they went, cursing the inhospitality of these villagers. Near night we descended into a delightful valley, whose bottom was level and well-disposed into handsome gardens, fenced in with thorn bushes and stone walls, and divided into numerous separate plots. Round about them, and at their corners, stood many fine fig-trees, which looked healthy, though they were leafless, owing to the lateness of the season: we saw also a few pomegranate-trees. These gardens or plots were planted with different kinds of vegetables, such as turnips, cabbage, onions, &c.—they were watered by a small stream that flowed from the

hills at a short distance above, and was conducted round and through the whole of them by gutters dug for that purpose.

The owners of these gardens lived in two little walled villages, near the top of the bank on the east side, but they offered us no refreshment. We passed in the course of the day three beds of streams or rivers, which were now dry, and one whose mouth was filled with sand, so as to stop its communication with the sea, though there was some water in it, where people from all quarters were watering their cows, sheep, goats, asses, and camels, and carrying it off in skins and pitchers. In the afternoon, a company of ten men on horseback, and well-armed, rode towards us on the plain, making a loud jingling with their spurs against their stirrups, and crying out, Hah! hah! hah! hah! Our company consisted of our two masters, and two of Hassar's men, Abdallah, and one stranger, who had joined us that day, and being armed with five double-barrelled muskets, and some scimitars, they all sprang from their camels on the approach of the strangers, drew their guns from their sheaths, primed them anew, and took a station in front of their property, in a line ready for action.

The horsemen rode up to within five yards of our men at full speed, and then stopped their horses short. I expected now to see a battle, though I rather feared our men would be trampled to death by the horses; for their arms could not have saved them from the shock of this impetuous onset, yet

they were on the point of firing the moment the horses stopped. The chief of the horsemen then demanded in a very imperious tone who our masters were? where they came from? if they knew *Sidi Ishem*? what countrymen we, their slaves, were? and where they had found us? Sidi Hamet replied to all their questions in a sharp quick manner, and as briefly as possible, and in his turn demanded, "Who are you? where do you come from? and, what right have you to ride up to me in such a manner, and stop me and my slaves on the road?" This is as near as I could understand what they said. A loud dispute was kept up on both sides for half an hour, when it ceased, and we were allowed to proceed; while the others rode off to the southward among the mountains. The force on both sides was so nearly equal, that I have little doubt this was the only circumstance that prevented a battle.

We travelled on till long after dark, when we came to a number of tents, and stopped for the night, and here we were treated with some dried muscles and barley pudding. Hassar and his family had not travelled with us the last day, but the two men who had assisted in relieving us from our critical situation on the beach, were in company, and we had also been joined by one more Arab, and two camels. Ever since we had come to the cultivated country, off the Desert, we had found the people sickly; many of them were afflicted with swelled legs, and some with what I took to be

the leprosy; and also with pains in different parts of their bodies and limbs; though when on the Desert we did not see the smallest sign of sickness or disorder among its inhabitants. They now considered us as skilled in medicine, and consulted me wherever I came; one of the women here had a swelled breast, which was astonishingly large, and very much inflamed: she was in such pain as to cry out at every breath. They wished me to examine it, and prescribe a remedy, which I did by recommending a poultice of the barley *lhash*, or pudding, to be applied, and renewed often until the swelling should subside or burst. The woman was very thankful, gave me a drink of water and a handful of muscles, and requested I would examine a swelled leg of her brother; this was also inflamed, and very painful:—perceiving no skin broken, I directed a thick plaster of coarse salt to be bound round it, so as fully to cover the afflicted part; this they did immediately, and the man thought he felt instantaneous relief.

From the great expedition we had used, I think we must have travelled this day about fifty miles, as we were almost continually on the camels, and they going a great part of the time on a trot. In the afternoon of this day, we discovered land that was very high, a good way eastward of us, stretching about north as far as the eye could reach. We saw it when on a high hill and at an immense distance; looking over the

ocean, which was near us, it appeared like a high and distant island: "There is Swearah, Riley," (said Sidi Hamet,) pointing to the northernmost land in view: it was a great way off. I asked him how many days it would take us to get there? he answered, "Ten, at our slow pace."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Their masters commit an error, which they are compelled to redress—Sidi Hamet and his brother Seid fight—Horace's critical situation—they come to villages.

OCTOBER the 23d, we were awakened without making any noise, two hours before daylight, and went on our journey: I suspected there was some roguery going on, because we had never before started in the night; and we had not travelled more than two leagues, when, just at the dawn of day, we heard the sound of horses' feet coming up at full speed behind us—the clanking of the arms of their riders against each other, and spurs against their stirrups, made a great noise. Our masters stripped the covers from their guns, and gave them to me to carry. The horsemen, four in number, came up by this time, and passing us at a short distance on our right, rode round before our camels, and stopped them. Our men were five in number, with four double-barrelled guns; and bidding me to keep as close to them as possible with my men, they ran at their greatest speed to the encounter, whilst we followed on as fast as we could, fearing to be separated from them, (as it was still quite dark,) and

falling into the hands of the banditti. They approached each other with loud cries ; the voices of those on horseback sounded like trumpets, and those of our masters were very little lower, so that the mountains near rang again with the sound. I expected every moment a slaughter would commence : each one strained his throat to speak, or rather to yell louder than his opponents. I had approached near my master, and could distinctly hear one of the horsemen accuse him of a breach of hospitality, and reproach him in the most opprobrious terms, for some wrong which he alleged had been done to him ; the others were at the same time wrangling with our other men. This war of words having subsided a little, one of them asked my master his name, and after considerable delay on account of punctilio, (each insisting that the other should tell his name first,) my master told him his name was *Sidi Hamet*—the other then said his name was *Ali Mohammed* :—then ensued a long dispute between them, they mutually charging each other with perfidy, &c. During this interval, and as daylight appeared, our adversaries gained strength, for they were joined by many armed and unarmed men, running on foot, and according as they increased in force, our party lowered their tone ; but the clamour was still so loud that I frequently could understand nothing of what was said. The Arab who had joined our company with two camels the day before, did not set out with us this morning, but he now came running up :

our masters had driven off his camels, and this was the cause of the uproar that was now raging. The purloined camels were then in our drove, and while the others were quarrelling about the matter, the owner ran round and drove his camels back. When our *honest* masters found they could not keep what they had feloniously taken, they began to lower their voices. By this time the sun had made its appearance, and for two hours prior I had every moment expected a bloody scuffle. I knew our masters were brave, but I had no doubt they would be overpowered by numbers, in which event we should fall to the lot of the conquerors, who were strangers to us; and it was not probable that these men would be as humane to us as Sidi Hamet had been; nor was I indeed certain that we ourselves should not be killed in the contest, both parties being much enraged. I felt our situation to be dreadful, indeed; but at length Sidi Hamet spoke to Ali Mohammed in a low tone of voice, and requested he would ride apart from the others with him, with which he complied, and they came near where I sat, trembling with apprehension. Sidi Hamet now told Ali that his party had not the least intention of driving off any camels but their own, and that the mistake had been occasioned entirely by the darkness of the night. He then went on protesting that he was incapable of committing an unworthy action; that he abhorred a robber and a thief, and that he was entirely innocent of intentionally driving off the man's camels; he would

not acknowledge he had done wrong designedly, but would rather lose his life in maintaining his character, and would sell it as dearly as possible. *Ali Mohammed* on this appeared to be satisfied, and said to him, "I am el Rais, (the chief,) and am your friend, because you are a brave man:" so making Sidi Hamet's excuse to those about him, and the lost camels being recovered, they left us to pursue our journey.

We had gone up from the sea-board, and were passing between high mountains towards the south-east, when the late affray happened, but about noon we reached a plain, and took an eastern direction. Hassar's men with their camels, and Abdallah with his camel now filed off to the left, leaving us with our masters and their own camels only, and were soon out of sight, among the bushes. The mortifying result of the morning's enterprize had rendered Seid uncommonly ill-natured; he had claimed Horace as his slave from the very beginning, and Mr. Savage also belonged to him. He had always doubted my word to his brother, and would not believe that a miserable wretch like me could find a friend to advance money for my ransom, though both he, Hassar, and all the company, had a high opinion of my courage, since I put my own life in jeopardy to save that of Mr. Savage, at the time he fainted:—Seid had endeavoured to sell his slaves at every place we came to, after leaving the Desert. Hassar, as well as others, took a particular fancy to Horace, and had offered a large sum

for him in camels and other merchandise, but the interference of Sidi Hamet, who had sworn that Horace should not be separated from me, aided by my often renewed entreaties and my tears, whenever I heard it suggested, had saved him thus far. As we were now approaching the Moorish dominions, powerful chiefs, with large bodies of armed men intent on plunder, were riding about and scouring the country in every direction, and Seid had come to a determination to take his slaves and make the most of them. Seid was a younger brother of Sidi Hamet, and had, until now, submitted in some degree to his counsel, though they had many slight quarrels at different periods of the journey. Where we stopped the preceding night, the Arabs strove hard to get possession of Horace. Seid had to my knowledge made a bargain to sell him in the morning, but was dissuaded from fulfilling it, by his brother.

We, slaves, were now five in all, travelling on foot, but moving forward very slowly, for we were worn to the bones by our various and complicated sufferings. It seemed that the breath of hope alone had kept the vital spark from being totally extinguished. Sidi Hamet was riding on his big camel before us, when Seid ordered us to halt, but the other desired us to come on; upon which Seid laid hold of Mr. Savage and Horace, and stopped them. It was now that Sidi Hamet's wrath was kindled—he leaped from his camel, and darting like lightning up to Seid,

laid hold of him, and disengaged Mr. Savage and Horace from his grasp. They clinched each other like lions, and with fury in their looks, each strove to throw the other to the ground. Seid was the largest and stoutest man; they writhed and twined in every shape until both fell, but Sidi Hamet was undermost: fire seemed to flash from their eyes, whilst they twisted around each other like a couple of serpents, until at length Sidi Hamet, by superior activity or skill, disengaged himself from his brother's grasp, and both sprang up on their feet. Instantly they snatched their muskets at the same moment, and each retiring a few paces with great rapidity and indignation, tore the cloth covers from their guns, and presented them at each other's breast with dreadful fury:—they were not more than ten yards asunder, and both must have fallen dead, had they fired. Horror had seized and chilled my blood, so that I could neither get from them, nor move, indeed, in any direction. My mind was filled with inexpressible apprehensions—“ My God, (I cried aloud,) have mercy on these unfortunate brothers, I pray thee, for our sakes, and suffer them not to spill each other's blood.” In the midst of this ejaculation, I was startled by the report of two muskets, and imagined that both the brothers had fallen: but on turning my eyes again to this direful scene, I perceived that Sidi Hamet had fired the contents of both his barrels into the air, having had a moment's reflection, whilst priming and

cocking his piece. He now threw it on the ground, then making bare his bosom, he advanced with a firm step towards Seid, and with an energetic voice, exclaimed, "I am now unarmed, fire! your brother's heart is ready to receive your balls; glut your vengeance on your benefactor." He stopped short; Seid hesitated. Mr. Savage and Horace were near Seid, who threatened them with instant death if they moved. Sidi Hamet, finding his brother's mind wavered, ran to Horace, and sent him towards me, telling his brother, he should have Clark in Horace's stead, whom he ordered to come near, but Seid would not consent to the exchange, whereupon my master added Burns; that is, two for one. Seid had made Mr. Savage sit down, and had placed one of his feet on his thigh, to keep him there; while his brother ordered me to go with Horace, first to the south and then to the eastward, following the camels; still resolving that we should not be separated, and bade Mr. Savage follow us, but Seid, presenting his gun, told him if he offered to go, he would blow his brains out. As Sidi Hamet, however, bade him run, he obeyed, and when he came near me, we were all ordered to stop, and our masters seated themselves on the ground to settle the dispute by figuring on the sand with their fingers. Here they calculated it every way. Clark and Burns were again offered for Horace, but Seid would not take them: he would keep the slave he had bought with his money: "You shall not separate him from his

father, (said my master,) I have sworn it." "Then I will destroy him," exclaimed Seid furiously, and springing up, he seized Horace by the breast, and dashed him on the ground with all his might. The force of the blow beat the breath from his body, and he lay stretched out, apparently dead. Overwhelmed with the most heart-rending emotions, I sank to the earth in an agony of despair. My master, observing my anguish, said, "Go, Riley," pointing to the east. With tears and sobs, I told him I could not go, for Horace, my son, was dead. After a flood of tears had relieved my swelling heart, I reflected that it was useless to bewail the fate of my adopted child, as I did not know how soon it might be my turn to suffer a similar, or perhaps a more cruel death. Seid's passion now began to subside a little, and my master then went to Horace, and taking him by the hands, raised him upon his seat: his breath returned, and he revived. Sidi Hamet melted into tears at the sight: I saw the big drops roll down his cheeks, while in a tender tone, he said to Horace, "Go to Riley." The spot where his head fell, happened to be clear of stones, which entirely covered the ground on every side, otherwise his brains must have been dashed out. I went up to him as quick as I could, and folding him in my arms, asked him if he was much hurt; but being in great pain, and his breathing being not yet perfectly restored, he was incapable of answering me: his heart, however, was in unison with mine, in thanking

the Author of our being that his life was spared, and in imploring his future protection. Our masters again seated themselves, in order to discuss this affair thoroughly, and began to speak very loud, when, fortunately for us, some strangers came in sight, which reminded them that their united force was necessary for the defence of themselves and their property; so they agreed to seek a village, and take counsel as to what was best to be done.

Then turning to our left up a hill, we soon came in sight of a village, and entered it by passing between high walls. Having come to its farther extremity, an old, but a very respectable looking man, (a Moor,) of a light olive colour, came out of his gate, and welcomed our masters, saluting them, (as is customary,) and seeing us behind, told us to sit down in a shade formed by his wall, and rest ourselves; adding, "I will give you some food." We accordingly all seated ourselves, and while the food was preparing, our host inquired much about me and my men, and wished to know how I could make myself understood, (being a Christian.) Our owners told him all our stories, together with my promises, which they made me repeat in his presence. They wanted again to know in what my property consisted; if I had any money in my own country, or a house; how much money, how many horses, cows, sheep, goats, asses, camels, &c.? and lastly, what number of wives and children I had. Having answered all these interrogations to their satisfaction;

they made me tell what Mr. Savage, Horace, Clark, and Burns, were worth to me? how much property I thought they had in their own country? and our host, who spoke a few words of broken Spanish, asked me if Swearah was not called *Mogdola* by the English? I answered in the affirmative:—this was the first time I had heard this name mentioned on this continent, though I had endeavoured by inquiring of all the people I had spoken with to ascertain the point; but it appeared they had never heard of the name. One bowl of boiled barley unhulled was brought out to our masters, and one for us—this last was a very large one, and the old host told us to eat, saying, “*Coole, Rais,*” (*Eat, Captain.*): We had now before us, for the first time, enough of this food, and falling-to with keen appetites, we filled our stomachs, and were satisfied, leaving some in the bowl, which they tried hard to make us finish, but we could not. Sidi Hamet would not trust himself again with his brother, without having some person in company to take his part; so he hired a stout young fellow, named Bo-Mohammed, to go along with us to another place or village, not far distant, and we set off for it, travelling at first down towards the sea-coast, and passing along a kind of sandy beach, where the salt water flowed in at high tides, we saw there, under the side of a shelving rock, two boiling springs of fresh water, which formed a considerable stream. This was the first spring I had seen in this country, and having taken a good drink and watered our camels, we pro-

ceeded towards the south-east among the sands that had drifted from the sea-beach; there we remained until it was nearly dark, our masters fearing, as it were, to go forward. About dark we resumed our course, and soon afterwards arrived at a village, where, while the barking of numerous dogs announced to their owners the arrival of strangers, a grave looking man came out, and silencing the curs, bade our masters welcome, and invited both them and us to sit down near his walls, until he should prepare some supper. We had no desire, however, for food, some of us having oppressed our stomachs to such a degree with the boiled barley, as to be racked with pain, and scarcely able to breathe, particularly Mr. Savage. Our present host, (whose name I soon learned, was *Sidi Mohammed*,) after causing a mat to be spread near his wall, seated himself and our masters thereon, and desired me to come and do the same. He now made similar inquiries with the former persons we had met, and I satisfied his curiosity as well as I could. He then informed me he had been many times in Swearah, and had seen the consuls, and wished me to repeat my promise to Sidi Hamet, which I did. He had a lamp for a light, so that he could see every motion that I made well enough to comprehend me entirely. By this time some cakes had been baked, which were presented to our masters, and of which they gave us some: these cakes were made of barley meal, ground coarse; yet it was bread, and it being the first we had seen, we ate a

little of it, though our stomachs were not yet prepared to enjoy the treat. After they had eaten and washed their hands and feet, and talked over their affairs, Sidi Hamet again called me to him, and told me he should set out in the morning for Swearah in company with our host, Sidi Mohammed, where he hoped, with God's blessing, to arrive in three days, for he should travel on a mule, *bugelah*, and push on night and day: that I must write a letter to my friend, which he would carry, and, said he, "if your friend will fulfil your engagements and pay the money for you and your men, you shall be free; if not, you must die, for having deceived me, and your men shall be sold for what they will bring. I have fought for you, (added he,) have suffered hunger, thirst, and fatigue, to restore you to your family, for I believe God is with you. I have paid away all my money on your word alone: Seid and Bo-Mohammed will stay and guard you during my absence; they will give you as much *khobs* (bread) and *l'hash* (pudding) as you can eat; so go and sleep till morning." This night was spent on my part in a state of anxiety not easy to conceive: to whom should I write? I knew nobody at Mogadore, and yet I must take my chance. I remembered my remarkable dream—it had literally come to pass thus far,—why should I doubt its whole accomplishment? yet I could not rest.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Author writes a letter—Sidi Hamet sets out with it for Swearah—the arrival of Sheick Ali, an extraordinary character.

EARLY the next morning we were called up and directed to go within the gates. My master said to me—"Come, Riley, write a letter," giving me at the same time a scrap of paper, not so wide as my hand, and about eight inches long; he had also got a little black staining liquid and a reed to write with. I now begged hard to be taken along with him, but he would not consent, though I told him I would leave my son whom I loved more than myself, behind me as an hostage, and three men; but all would not do, the thing was determined on. He then told me, that what I had agreed to give him was not sufficient; that I must tell my friend, in the letter, to pay two hundred dollars for myself, two hundred for Horace, two hundred for Aaron, one hundred and sixty for Clark, and the same for Burns, adding that I had promised him a good double-barrelled gun, and I must give him that, and one to Seid also. "Seid is a bad man, (said

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he,) but he helped to save your life, and must have a gun." So I took the reed, and wrote on the slip of paper, as near as I can recollect, the following letter :

" Sir,

" The brig Commerce from Gibraltar for America, was wrecked on Cape Bojador, on the 28th August last; myself and four of the crew are here nearly naked in Barbarian slavery: I conjure you by all the ties that bind man to man, by those of kindred blood, and every thing you hold most dear, and by as much as liberty is dearer than life, to advance the money required for our redemption, which is nine hundred and twenty dollars, and two double-barrelled guns: I can draw for any amount, the moment I am at liberty, on Batard, Sampson & Sharp, London—Cropper & Benson, Liverpool—Munroe & Burton, Lisbon, or on Horatio Sprague, Gibraltar. Should you not relieve me, my life must instantly pay the forfeit. I leave a wife and five helpless children to deplore my death. My companions are Aaron B. Savage, Horace Savage, James Clark, and Thomas Burns. I left six more in slavery on the Desert. My present master, Sidi Hamet, will hand you this, and tell you where we are—he is a worthy man. Worn down to the bones by the most dreadful of all sufferings—naked and a slave, I implore your pity, and trust that such distress will not be suffered to

plead in vain. For God's sake, send an interpreter and a guard for us, if that is possible. I speak French and Spanish.

JAMES RILEY, *late Master and Supercargo
of the brig Commerce.*"

While I was writing the above, they procured an additional scrap of paper, being a part of a Spanish bill of lading, on which I wrote a part of my letter, that could not be written legibly on the first scrap. Having folded them up, I directed them to the "English, French, Spanish, or American consuls, or any Christian merchants in Mogadore or Swearah." I purposely omitted mentioning that we were Americans because I did not know that there was an American agent there, and I had no doubt of there being an English consul or agent in that place. My master was hurrying me while I was writing, and both he and my host, Seid, and the young man, and many others who stood by, were surprized to see me make the Arabic numerals; for the characters we use in arithmetic are no other than the real ancient Arabic figures, which have served them for thousands of years; they remarked to each other that I must have been a slave before, to some Arabian who had taught me the use of them; contrary to their law, because he had found me to be a smart active fellow. My master, taking my letter, then mounted one mule, and Sidi Mohammed another, and rode off together very fast to the east.

We remained here seven days, during which time they kept us shut up in the yard in the day time, where the cows, sheep and asses rested, and at night they locked us up in a dreary cellar. Seid and Bo-Mohammed guarded us all the day, not because they feared we would attempt to escape, but because some of the neighbouring people might steal and run off with us, and in the night time they lay on their arms outside the door, to prevent a surprize. We had as much barley bread twice a day as we wanted, l'hash once a day, and plenty of water. This food, though palatable, produced and kept up a continual dysentery; our bowels seemed to ferment like beer, and we were tortured with cholics. Our numerous sores had now time to heal, and our bodies became mostly skinned over before our masters returned; but the hæmorroids distressed us extremely. All the inhabitants who lived near, and all those who heard that Christians were in the place, (for they call all Europeans Christians,) came to see us. Some were very familiar, and all wished to know if we were mechanics: from that circumstance I concluded that mechanics were very much wanted, and of great importance among these people, and that there would be no possibility of getting clear of them, if once they should find out our usefulness in that way. I therefore told them that we were all brought up sailors from our childhood, and knew no other business. One tried to make me lay out and hew a pair of posts for a door to a house that was

building within the walls of the village, and gave me a line to measure the length of them, and tried to teach me to span it off; but I would not understand him. They next put a kind of adze into my hand, and bade me fit the posts in. I took the tool, and began to cut at random, gouging out a piece here, and splitting it there, doing more hurt than good; and, at the same time, by my awkward and clumsy manner, taking care to make them believe that I could do no better. Some were satisfied that I had done my very best, but by far the greater part of them were of opinion that a smart application of the whip would put my mechanical powers into complete operation, and I really expected they would apply this stimulus; for one of them ran and fetched a stout stick, and was about to lay it on, when Bo-Mohammed, who represented Sidi Hamet; interfered and saved me from a cudgelling. Mr. Savage, Clark, Burns, and Horace, were each tried in their turns, who following my instructions, were soon relieved from all further requisition. From this circumstance it is evident, that the less useful a Christian makes himself when a slave to the Arabs, especially in a mechanical way, the less value they will set upon him, and he will not only have a chance of getting ransomed, but it may be effected on easier terms than otherwise; for I am fully convinced, that if we had shown ourselves capable in those arts, which the Arabs highly prize, such as carpenters, smiths, shoemakers, &c. &c. we should have been sold at high prices, and soon carried away beyond the possibility of redemption.

Four days after Sidi Hamet's departure, some papers were shown to me by one of the men who lived in the neighbourhood, which I found, on examination, to be, first, the register of the Spanish schooner *Maria*, issued by the custom-house at Cadiz in May, 1814; second—a bill of sale of the same schooner, made out at the island of Grand Canary in 1812, of the same date with the register. Many articles of clothing that had belonged to her crew were also shown me; and the topmast, jib-boom, and other small spars of a vessel, served to support the floor over our nightly prison. I made inquiries, as far as it was possible, in order to find out something respecting this vessel, which I presumed must have been wrecked near this place; and was informed that the preceding year a schooner anchored on this part of the coast to catch fish, and to trade; that these people found means to get alongside of her in the night in boats, and after killing the captain and three men, got possession of her; when having taken out the money and other valuables, they cut her cables, and ran her on shore: that they then made the surviving part of the crew assist in tearing the wreck to pieces, and in carrying it up to build houses with. I asked how many people were on board her, and where the remainder of the crew were; and was informed, by a serious looking old man, that it consisted of seventeen souls at first; that four were slain in the conflict when she was captured; that five more had died since, and that the remaining eight were a great way off to the south-

east, where they were employed in working on the land and making houses. Others said, they had gone to Swearah, and from thence to their own country; but I could easily perceive by their looks that those poor fellows had either been massacred, or were now held in slavery, where neither the voice of liberty, nor the hand of friendship, was ever likely to reach them. The people here, both old and young, could speak many words of Spanish, though they did not know their meaning, but made use of them at a venture at all times—these were a set of the very coarsest and most vulgar words the Spanish language affords, and had been uttered, no doubt, by poor unfortunate slaves, natives of Spain, when they were suffering the greatest misery, and when execrating these savages. One young fellow spoke several words of English, such as, “good morning—good night,” &c. and was master of a considerable list of curses. He one day came up to Mr. Savage, and said—“button, cut it wit a nif,” and at the same time laid hold of a button on his pantaloons. Mr. Savage was very much surprized to hear a language he could understand, but these words and the oaths and curses constituted the whole of his English education. Every person here had either a long knife or a scimitar always slung by his side. Among the rest, several negroes came to look at us, some of whom were slaves and some free, and they were all Mohammedans—these were allowed to sit on a mat beside our masters, and make remarks on us as we were

placed among the fresh manure at a short distance. Seid desired to know what we called black men; I told him *negroes*, at which name the negroes seemed very indignant, and much enraged.

On the sixth day of my master's absence, a man arrived and took up his lodging with our guards—he was about six feet in height, and proportionably stout; his colour was something between that of a negro and an Arab; when he came in he was saluted by Seid and the others in company by the name of *Sheick Ali*, (or Ali the chief.) This man possessed talents of that superior cast which never fail to command the greatest respect, and at the same time to inspire dread, awe, and reverence. He appeared to be only a guest or visitor. In his deportment he was grave and dignified: he raised his voice on occasions terribly, and spoke in tones almost of thunder; yet when he wished to please by condescension and courtesy, it thrilled on the ear like sounds of softest music; his manner and air were very commanding, and his whole aspect and demeanour bore the stamp of the most daring courage and unflinching firmness. He was the most eloquent man I had ever heard speak; persuasion dwelt upon his tongue; while he spoke, all the company observed the most profound silence, and with open mouths seemed to inhale his honied sentences. He pronounced with the most perfect emphasis; the elegant cadence so much admired in eastern oratory seemed to have

acquired new beauties from his manner of delivery: his articulation was so clear and distinct, and his countenance and actions so intelligent and expressive, that I could understand him perfectly, though he spoke in the Arabic language. He would settle all controverted points among the disputants, when applied to, in an instant, and yet with the utmost gracefulness and dignity. This extraordinary chief was often conversing in a low tone of voice with Seid respecting me and my men—he said he believed me to be a very artful fellow, and capable of any action, either good or bad; and said he did not doubt but my friends would raise any sum of money that might be demanded for my ransom. He regretted very much that he had not seen Sidi Hamet before he set out for Swearah, and concluded to remain with us until his return. He questioned me very particularly as to my country, my friends, family, property, &c.—he also wished to know all the story of my shipwreck, and was very curious to find out what quantity of money, and what other property, fell into the hands of those who first met with us after the vessel was wrecked, and what crime was committed to induce these Moslemin to kill Antonio. He next examined our bodies all over, and on one of Clark's arms his attention was arrested by a cross, and several other marks of Christian insignia that had been pricked in with Indian ink, in the manner of the Spanish and other sailors; the stain remained entire, though the skin had many times been changed, and

now seemed drawn tight over the bone. This being a conclusive proof in the Sheick's mind of *Christianity*, he pronounced him "a Spaniard," and said he should not be redeemed, but must go to the mountains, and work with him. Every thing that this man said seemed to carry with it a weight that bore down all opposition.

We had, during Sidi Hamet's absence, (after the fifth day,) been in constant expectation of receiving news from him, or that he himself would return, and our keepers inquired of every stranger who came from the eastward, if they had seen him, but obtained no news until the seventh day, when one of the most fierce and ill-looking men I had ever beheld, approached the wall, and hailed Seid by name, ordering him in an imperious tone to open the gate directly. Seid demanded to know who he was—he replied, *Ullah Omar*; that he came from Swearah, and had met Sidi Hamet near that place, who requested him to call and tell Seid where he was, and that God had prospered his journey so far. The gate was now opened, and the stranger entered: he was of a dark complexion, nearly six feet in height, and extremely muscular; had a long musket in his hand, a pair of horse pistols hanging in his belt, and a scimitar and two long knives slung by his sides, with the haick or blanket for a dress, and a large white turban on his head; he had a pair of long iron spurs, which were fastened to his slippers of yellow Morocco leather; he rode a beautiful horse, which

seemed fleet and vigorous, and he appeared to be about forty years of age. This was the first man I had seen harnessed in this way. Sheick Ali knew him, and shook him most cordially by the hand, and after exchanging salutations all round, hearing I was the captain, he addressed me, and told me he had seen my friend, Sidi Hamet; that he met him within one day's ride of Swearah; that he would no doubt be here on the morrow, for that God had prospered his journey on account of me, and added, that he hoped my friend in Swearah or Mogdola would be as true to me as Sidi Hamet was: he then spoke to all my men, who, though they did not understand him, yet were rejoiced to hear, through me, that there was a prospect of my master's returning soon. This man had two powder horns slung from his neck, and a pouch, in which he carried a wooden pipe and some tobacco, besides a plenty of leaden balls and slugs. My shipmates wanted some tobacco very much, and I asked him for a little, upon which he gave me a handful of very good tobacco, and seemed exceedingly pleased to have it in his power to administer comfort to such miserable beings. I imagined from his whole deportment that he resembled one of those high-spirited, heroic, and generous robbers, that are so admirably described in ancient history. Seid furnished him with some food, which I now learned they called *cous-koo-soo*, with some slices of pumpkin or squash spread over it in the bowl, and well

peppered. This dish, which is made of small balls of flour, boiled with a fowl and vegetables, looked (for I had not the pleasure of tasting it) like a very nice dish. After they had washed, drunk water, eaten, washed again, and prayed together, Ullah Omar took his leave. During the whole of the time we remained here, our keepers washed themselves all over with water twice a day, before mid-day and evening prayers, and always washed their hands before and after eating.

The state of my mind, in the meantime, can be more easily conceived than described, during this day and the next, which was the eighth. I longed to know my fate; and yet I must own, I trembled at the thoughts of what it might be, and at the conditions I had myself proposed at my last purchase, and had so often since confirmed. If my master should find no one who should be willing to pay the money for my redemption, my fate was sealed. I had already agreed to have my throat cut! this could not be prevented; yet when I made this agreement I was naked and on a vast and dreary desert, literally without a skin; my remaining flesh was roasted on my body; not a drop of fresh water to quench my burning thirst, nor even an herb or any other thing to satisfy the cravings of hunger: my life was fast wasting away, and there was not even a hope remaining, or a possibility of existing long in my then forlorn condition: both myself and my companions would have sold our lives

for a drink of fresh water or a morsel of bread. In that most dismal and desperate situation, I imagined that if I could once get to the cultivated country beyond the Desert, I should find some food to support nature, and fresh water to allay our thirst. My remarkable dream had also given me courage to hope for redemption; but if I was not redeemed myself, I felt it my duty to exert myself to the utmost to preserve the lives of my shipmates; they might, some of them, I fancied, possibly survive, even though I should not, and be at length restored to their country and friends, in consequence of my exertions, and convey to my distressed family the sad tidings of my wretched fate. Circumstances were now changed; I had passed the dangers of the Desert, and arrived in the cultivated country; we had now plenty of good water, and some food and shelter; and though my flesh was nearly all wasted away, yet a new skin had succeeded, and nearly covered my bones. My desire to live kept pace with the increase of my comforts; I longed for the return of my master, and yet I anticipated it with the most fearful and dreadful apprehensions. I could not sleep: alternate hope and fear kept me in a state of continual agitation. I calculated on the moment of his arrival as decisive of my fate. It would either restore me to liberty, or doom me to instant death; I trembled at every noise occasioned by the opening of the gate, on any new arrival.

CHAPTER XX.

*A Moor arrives from Mogadore, bringing a letter—the letter—
—they set out for that city.*

THE eighth day of my master's absence passed tediously away; when after dark we heard a trampling outside the walls: Seid went forth to learn its cause, and soon returned with Sidi Mohammed, followed by a well looking Moor:—they came directly to that part of the yard where we were sitting on the ground, trembling with apprehension and with cold. When they came near me, the Moor called out and said, in English, "How de-do, Capetan?" This raised me and all my men from the ground; I felt as if my heart was forcing its way up into my throat, and it entirely obstructed my breath. I eagerly seized his hand, and begged to know who he was, and what was my doom, and if Sidi Hamet had come back; he then asked me in Spanish, if I spoke that language, and being answered in the affirmative, he informed me, in Spanish, that he came from Mogadore; that my letter had been received by one of the best of men, an Englishman, who was his friend, and who had shed tears on reading my letter: that he had paid the money to my

master immediately, and had sent him (the Moor) off, without giving him scarcely a moment's time to take leave of his wife, and that he had been on his mule ever since he left Swearah, travelling on as fast as possible, night and day. The anxiety of my companions by this time had risen to such a pitch, that they broke in upon his story, on which I communicated to them the thrice welcome and happy intelligence, that we had a friend who would redeem us from slavery. Our souls were overwhelmed with joy, and yet we trembled with apprehension lest it might not be true; alas! perhaps it was only a delusive dream, or some cruel trick to turn our miseries into mockery. At this moment, however, the Moor handed me a letter: I broke it open; but my emotions were such, that it was impossible for me to read its contents, and I handed it to Mr. Savage; for my frame trembled to such a degree, that I could not stand, and I sank to the earth, but, thank God, not senseless; while, by means of the light of a fire, he read as follows:—

Mogadore, October 25, 1815.

MY DEAR AND AFFLICTED SIR,

I have this moment received your two notes by *Sidi Hamet*, the contents of which, I hope, you will be perfectly assured have called forth my most sincere pity for your sufferings and those of your companions in captivity.

By a Gibraltár paper I discover, under the arrivals from the 5th to the 11th August, the name of your vessel, and

that she was American, from which I conclude both you and your crew must be subjects of the United States: had it not been for the paper adverted to, some delay would have occurred, as you do not state in your notes to what nation you belong.

I congratulate you most sincerely on the good fortune you and your fellow sufferers have met, by being in the hands of a man who seems to be guided by some degree of commiseration.

I can in some measure participate in the severe and dangerous sufferings and hardships you must have undergone; but, my dear Sir, console yourself, for, thanks be to God, I hope they will soon have a happy issue; for which purpose I devoutly pray the great Disposer of all things will give you and your unfortunate companions health and strength once more to visit your native land.

This letter will be delivered you by *Rais bel Cossim*, in whom you may place the fullest faith; he speaks Spanish, and has directions to pay attention to your orders, and render you every care your severe misfortunes may require:—be pleased to write me an immediate answer, stating every particular relating to yourself, your crew, and vessel, as I have given orders to the Moor to forward it to me without delay.

I have agreed to pay the sum of nine hundred and twenty hard dollars to Sidi Hamet on your safe arrival in this town,

with your fellow sufferers; he remains here as a kind of hostage for your safe appearance.

I have been induced to trust implicitly to your word, and the respectable references you have given, in confidence that those gentlemen, or yourself, will readily reimburse me the whole of the expenses that may be incurred in obtaining your redemption.

I have the most sincere pleasure to acquaint you, you will be at liberty to commence your journey for this town on the receipt of this letter, and make what stages you please on the road, as I do not advise you, in the eagerness of all you must feel, to run into danger by over-exertion and fatigue: I would, therefore, recommend the greatest precaution on this point. I have sent, under charge of Rais bel Cossim, shoes and cloaks, which I have no doubt you will find very useful in preserving you from rain or cold on the road.

I have also forwarded you some provisions and spirits, that you may enjoy a foretaste of returning liberty.

I beg to recommend the greatest secrecy of your circumstances until your arrival here, for should the Moors suppose you able to pay more, they would throw difficulties in the way, and thereby much retard your redemption.

I shall send off an express to-morrow to the United States' Consul General at Tangier, and a letter to Mr. Horatio Sprague of Gibraltar, informing them of your loss, and of the favourable hopes I entertain of your immediate release.

I have appointed with *Rais bel Cossim*, on your arrival at a short distance from Mogadore, to wait at the garden of a friend of mine, and send me notice of the same, when I shall immediately set out to meet you.

I trust there is no occasion for me to say how truly I commiserate and enter into all your misfortunes; when God grants me the pleasure to embrace you, it will be to me a day of true rejoicing. I beg you will assure every one with you of my truest regard—and with sentiments embittered by the thoughts of the miseries you have undergone, but with the most sanguine hope of a happy end to all your sufferings, I subscribe myself, with the greatest esteem, my dear Sir, your friend,

WILLIAM WILLSHIRE.

P. S. I willingly agree to advance the money, considering a month or more must elapse before I could receive an answer from Mr. Sprague. I therefore concluded you would prefer being at liberty in this town, to experiencing a prolongation of your sufferings during that period. I shall be happy in rendering you every comfort that my house and this country can afford.

W. W.

My feelings, during the reading of this letter, may perhaps be conceived, but I cannot attempt to describe them; to form an idea of my emotions at that time, it is necessary for the reader to transport himself in imagination to the country,

where I then was, a wretched slave, and to fancy himself as having passed through all the dangers and distresses that I had experienced: reduced to the lowest pitch of human wretchedness, degradation, and despair, a skinless skeleton, expecting death at every instant: then let him fancy himself receiving such a letter from a perfect stranger, whose name he had never before heard, and from a place where there was not an individual creature that had ever before heard of his existence, and in one of the most barbarous regions of the habitable globe: let him receive at the same time clothes to cover and defend his naked, emaciated, and trembling frame, shoes for his mangled feet, and such provisions as he had been accustomed to in his happier days—let him find a soothing and sympathizing friend in a barbarian, and one who spoke perfectly well the language of a Christian nation; and with all this let him behold a prospect of a speedy liberation and restoration to his beloved family:—here let him pause, and his heart must, like mine, expand near to bursting with gratitude to his all-wise and beneficent Creator, who had upheld his tottering frame, and preserved in his bosom the vital spark, while he conducted him with unerring wisdom and goodness, through the greatest perils and sufferings, by a continued miracle, and now prepared the heart of a stranger to accomplish what had been before determined.

The letter being finished, we could only raise our eyes and

hearts to heaven in adoration and silent thankfulness, while tears of joy trickled down our haggard cheeks. Amidst these joyful and heart-thrilling sensations, my attention was aroused by the thundering voice of *Sheick Ali*, who stormed away most furiously on being informed that Sidi Hamet had given up me and my companions for such a paltry sum:— he said, Sidi Hamet must be a fool and a madman to put himself in the power of a villanous Christian, who would undoubtedly murder him and take back his money so soon as we should arrive in Swearah. The Moor, who had hitherto remained silent, now spoke out in a very spirited manner, and told the Sheick in a very firm, but eloquent and persuasive tone, that he had bought me and my companions with his own money, which he had paid to Sidi Hamet before he left Swearah; and that he (Sidi Hamet) remained there voluntarily as a hostage for his (*Rais bel Cossim's*) safety, as well as security for the delivery of the slaves.

“ We are of the same religion, (added Rais,) and owe these Christian dogs nothing; but we have an undoubted right to make merchandise of them, and oblige them to carry our burdens like camels. That fellow (said he, pointing to me) calls himself the captain of a vessel,—he has deceived his master and you; for he was nothing more than cook on board, and the captain has long been dead.” This the Sheick would not believe: if it was so, how could I write a

note to induce a stranger to pay so much money for me and my men? "It was only a short one, (added he,) and its writer must be a man of much consequence as well as knowledge. I fear you (though a Moslemin) have leagued with a Christian against Sidi Hamet, first to rob him of his slaves, and then to take his life." "No—by Allah! I am incapable of such an act of treachery," (retorted Rais) and told the Sheick I was indeed the cook, but being a stout fellow had been able to endure fatigues better than the others: "but (added he) give them paper, pen, and ink, and they will soon convince you they can all write, and much better than Riley." This controversy continued a long time, and I found that Rais bel Cossim was a man of great courage, as well as knowledge and eloquence; and he certainly displayed great address and management in checking the avaricious calculations of the Sheick, by insisting upon my not being a captain, and thus depreciating my value as a slave. Seid seemed to have sunken into a kind of sullen silence; it was now late, and Sidi Mohammed conducted the whole company into an apartment that had served, from appearance, as a stable for mules. They had loudly insisted that we should lodge in the same place where we had been before confined, but Rais would not consent, and declared that his slaves should stay by his side, both night and day. They had cost him a great deal of money, (he said,) and he was determined not to lose them. Having

thus got into comfortable quarters, our cloaks were produced from a basket, and we put them on. Our friend had sent us some hard biscuits, and boiled neats' tongues—he had also forwarded tea, coffee, and sugar, and a few bottles of rum, with a tea-kettle, tea-pot, cups and saucers, all nicely packed up in a small box. Rais then procured a lighted lamp, and I gave each of my men a slice of tongue, some biscuit, and a drink of rum:—this revived their spirits exceedingly, and we all felt as if new life was infused into our hearts, which at the same time swelled with gratitude to God for his infinite mercy and goodness. We were next regaled with a very fine water melon; and having put on our new shoes to make our feet warm, and wrapped ourselves up in large cloaks or *gzlabbias*, we stretched ourselves on the ground to sleep, whilst Rais, Seid, and his companion Bo-Mohammed, and Sheick Ali, laid themselves down on a platform made of boards that must have been brought from the wreck of some vessel, and was raised two feet from the ground. The food which I and my companions had eaten, together with the melon and liquor, caused us such violent griping pains in our stomachs and intestines, that we could with great difficulty forbear screaming out with agony, and we found no relief till morning, after having passed a sleepless night.

Early in the morning, Rais desired me, in Arabic, to make some tea—so I took out the kettle, had it filled with

water, made a fire with a few sticks, and soon had the tea ready for drinking. The men and boys in and near this village, hearing of Sidi Mohammed's return to his family, came now to congratulate him, and to see the Moor, who directed me to pour out a cup of tea for each of the men, which he made thick with sugar. None of the people had ever before seen such a thing as a tea-cup, nor knew what the taste of tea was, and it was with difficulty that several of them could be persuaded to drink it, and they appeared to be reconciled to it only on account of the sugar. I waited on them all until they had finished; when Rais, turning to Sheick Ali, said, "I told you before that Riley was the cook, and now you see with your own eyes that he is the only one that can wait upon us." I next made a strong cup of tea for ourselves, which had a most remarkable effect in composing and restoring the tone of our stomachs.

All our things being soon packed up and loaded on mules, we set forward at about eight o'clock. The Moor had tried to procure mules for us to ride on; but they could not be had in this part of the country at any price. Our company consisted of *Sheick Ali*, *Sidi Mohammed*, (who had been to Swearah on our account,) *Seid*, our master, *Bo-Mohammed*, (who had assisted in guarding us,) and *Rais bel Cossim*, all well armed. Though he could procure no beasts, exclusively for our use, yet Rais managed in such a manner as to let us ride by turns, and Burns all the time, for he was so feeble

as not to be able to walk. So soon as we were on the road, Rais bel Cossim begged me to give him an account of my misfortunes and sufferings, and by what miracle my life and the lives of those who were with me had been preserved—I satisfied his curiosity as well as I could by a short narration of the most prominent occurrences. When I had finished, he raised his eyes towards heaven with an air and expression of true devotion, and exclaimed in Spanish, “Praised be God, the most high and holy, for his goodness!” then addressing himself to me, he remarked, “You have indeed been preserved most wonderfully by the peculiar protection and assistance of an overruling Providence, and must be a particular favourite of heaven: there never was an instance (added he) of a Christian’s passing the Great Desert for such a distance before, and you are no doubt destined to do some great good in the world; and may the Almighty continue to preserve you, and restore you to your distressed family! Sidi Hamet (added he) admired your conduct, courage, and intelligence, and says they are more than human—that God is with you in all your transactions, and has blessed him for your sake.” I mention this conversation to show the light in which my master had viewed me, and this will account for the interest he took in my restoration to liberty, over and above his motives of gain.

I now inquired who Sheick Ali was, and why he was

going on in company ; and said, I much feared him. Rais informed me that all he knew about him, he had learned from Sidi Mohammed, which was, that he is the chief of a very large and powerful tribe of Arabs, who inhabit the hills south of us, and near the borders of the Great Desert ; that Sidi Hamet had married one of his daughters, but had since been at war with him, and that in the contest his father-in-law had destroyed Sidi Hamet's town, and taken back his daughter, but afterwards restored her again on making peace—that this Sheick could bring ten or fifteen thousand men into the field whenever he pleased, and that he was a man of the greatest talents and capacity in war, as well as in peace ; but why he was going on in our company in this manner, he could not tell, and agreed with me in suspecting that it could be for no good purpose, yet he observed, “ God could turn his evil intentions to our good, and that that Power which had protected me thus far, would not forsake me until His will was accomplished.”

CHAPTER XXI.

They come near the ruins of a city where two battering machines are standing—description of them—story of its destruction—they cross a river and a fruitful valley—lodge in a city, and are afterwards stopped by Sheick Ali and the prince of another city.

WE travelled on in a south-east direction through a very sandy country, with however here and there a small rising, and a few cultivated spots, for about five hours, at the rate of five miles an hour, when we came opposite the shattered walls of a desolate town or city that stood not far from our path on the right. These walls appeared to inclose a square spot of about three hundred yards in extent on each side, and they seemed to be at least fifteen feet in height. They were built of rough stones, laid in clay or mud, and partly daubed over with the same material. On the north side, there was a gateway handsomely arched over with stone, and furnished with a strong heavy-looking wooden gate that was now shut. Over the gate there appeared to be a platform for the purpose of defending the gate, for the wall was not quite so high in that part as elsewhere. Two battering

machines were standing against the western angle of the wall, opposite to which a large practicable breach had been made by means of one of those machines. They were both very simple in their structure, but calculated to be very powerful in their effects. I could distinctly see and examine with my eyes the one nearest to us. It was formed, as it appeared to me, in the first place, by laying down two large logs of wood at right angles with the wall, and about fifteen feet apart, the ends of the logs butting against the wall. Into the upper side of each of these logs a notch or mortoise was cut to receive the thick ends of two uprights, consisting of two rough trunks of trees, of about twelve inches in diameter at their base, of equal lengths, and rising to the height of about twenty-five or thirty feet. Each upright had a crotch in its upper end, formed by the natural branching of the two principal limbs of the tree, like a common country well-post in America. These crotches being rounded out by art, a stout piece of knotty timber of about from twelve to eighteen inches in thickness was placed horizontally in them. To the centre of the cross-piece a pole of ten or twelve inches in circumference was lashed with a strong rope, and to the lower end of this pole, a huge rough rock was fastened, weighing from appearance several tons. The rock was slung and fastened to the pole by means of thick ropes, formed by braiding many thongs of camels' skins together. After the machine had been fitted

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together on the ground, it had been raised all in a body by the help of long shores or sticks of timber, not so thick as the uprights, but nearly twice as long: these shores were tied fast to the uprights, near their crotches, by ropes, and served to raise and lower the machine at pleasure, and also acted as braces to support it when in action. Two short props or braces were fixed between the uprights and the wall, with one end resting against its base, and the other in a notch cut on the inner side of the uprights to help to keep them steady, and prevent them from falling against the walls. The rock hung within two or three feet of the ground, like a huge pendulum; and having a long rope fastened to its slings, stretching off from the wall at least one hundred and fifty feet. The manner of applying it, was by the assailants laying hold of this rope in great numbers, and then hauling off the rock to its greatest extent; all let go at the same instant, and the rock swung back with such impetuosity against those ill-constructed walls, that its repeated strokes soon opened a breach, through which the besiegers entered, sword in hand. The other machine was made of four rough sticks of timber, of nearly equal lengths, lashed together at their smallest ends, and raised in form of a common triangle, or rather a quadrangle; from the point of juncture, a large rock was suspended by a rope of camels' skin, braided to the thickness of a man's leg, and slung in such a manner as to be struck against the wall in the same way as the one first

described. My companion, *Rais bel Cossim*, gave me all the information I desired relative to these machines. The ground about the breach and near the gate was strewed over with dry human bones; and my curiosity being much excited to know the history of this melancholy scene of carnage and desolation, I requested Rais to communicate to me the particulars; but not being, it seems, acquainted with them himself, he applied to Sidi Mohammed on the subject, who thereupon gave the following relation, while Rais translated into Spanish for me such parts as I did not perfectly understand in Arabic, by which means I was enabled thoroughly to comprehend the whole narrative.

“That city (said Sidi Mohammed, pointing towards it with his staff) was built by *Omar Raschid*, about forty years ago; he named it *Widnah*. He was a very brave and pious man: and the number of his family and friends, consisting at first of no more than five hundred souls, when the city was built, increased so rapidly, that in a few years they amounted to several thousands: they planted those fig, date, pomegranate, olive, and other trees which you now see near the walls; they cultivated the fields round about, and made gardens; had abundance of bread, beasts, and cattle of every kind, and became exceedingly rich and great, for God was with them. In all their transactions, they were respected, loved, and feared by all their neighbours, because they were wise and just. This man was called *Omar et*

Milliah; (or Omar the good;) he was my best friend when living, (said Sidi,) and helped me when I was very low in the world, but the best men have enemies—so it was with *Omar*; he had an inveterate enemy from his youth, who lived among the mountains to the southward of his city, whose name was *Sheick Sulmin*. This Sheick, about twenty years ago, came down with a great host and invested the city of Omar; but Omar taking advantage of the darkness of the night, sallied out of his city at a private passage, with all his forces, and falling upon his besiegers unawares, killed a great number, and put the remainder to a shameful flight—from that time until the time of his death, (which happened two years ago,) he enjoyed a profound peace on every side. After Omar's death, his eldest son, *Muley Ismael*, (for he caused himself to be called a prince,) took upon him the government of the city. He was a very effeminate man, entirely devoted to sensual pleasure, and had a great number of wives and concubines. The people had long enjoyed a profound peace, and confided in their strength; when about a year ago one of the brothers of Ismael, named *Kesh-bah*, who was very ambitious, and being fired with resentment at the conduct of Muley Ismael, in taking away from him his betrothed wife, left the city, and repaired to the mountains, where having found his father's old enemy still living, he stirred him up to war against the city. The old Sheick soon collected a powerful

army of hungry and rapacious Arabs on the borders of the Desert, and came down the mountains, bringing on their camels the battering machines you now see standing there. When this host approached the city, it was in the dead of the night, and all within were asleep, for they dwelt carelessly and dreamed of no danger, and felt so secure, that they did not even keep a watch. The Sheick and his host drew near the walls in perfect silence, and raised their battering machines undiscovered: it was now nearly daylight, when both machines were put in operation at the same instant, and the gate was also attacked by means of large stones hung from the upper extremities of long poles by ropes, which poles stood up on end, and were managed by the hands of the Arabs. The first strokes against the walls and gate shook them to their very foundations, and awakened the slothful inhabitants, who flew to the walls in order to make a defence; but it was too late; the enemy were thundering against them; all was confusion within; those who attacked the gate were repulsed with great slaughter by those who mounted the platform over it, but the walls were already shattered to pieces, and the assailants entered the breaches over heaps of their dead and dying enemies.

“ It was now daylight, and an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants ensued; all was blood and carnage; every male was put to death, except two, who escaped over the wall to carry tidings of the fate of the town to their friends.

and neighbours. All the women and children shared the same fate, except two hundred virgins, who were spared for the use of the conquerors. They next plundered the slain of their clothing and ornaments; gathered up all the spoil, and drove off the oxen, sheep, camels, and asses, and departed, leaving the city before mid-day a heap of ruins, covered with the mangled carcasses of its once highly favoured inhabitants: they were in such haste as to leave the battering machines standing, and made off by way of the plain southward. The inhabitants of the neighbouring towns soon collected, and pursuing them with great vigour, came up with them on the side of the mountain the next morning, while the invaders, sending forward their spoil, took a station in a steep narrow pass, and prepared for battle. It was a very long and bloody fight, but Sulmin's men rolled down great stones from the precipices upon their pursuers, who were at last forced to retreat, leaving about half their number dead and wounded on the ground."

Sidi Mohammed was one of the pursuers, and now showed me a very large scar from a wound he then received on his breast by a musket ball. *Sidi Ishem*, a very powerful prince, had in the mean time heard the news, and assembled a very large army, and pursued the enemy by another way; but they had fled to the Desert, and could not be overtaken. The dead bodies in and about the city had become so putrid before the pursuit was over, that none could approach

to bury them, and they were devoured by dogs, and wild beasts, and birds of prey. "They had offended the Almighty by their pride, (observed Sidi Mohammed,) and none could be found to save them. Thus perished Widnah and its haughty inhabitants."

I was at that time riding along on a mule next to Rais bel Cossim and Sidi Mohammed, whilst the latter recounted the transaction in a most solemn tone. My sensations at beholding the desolate ruins of a once populous town, whose inhabitants had all been cut off in a few hours by the unexpected irruption of a ferocious and unsparing foe, may easily be conceived. I was at first induced to consider the story as fictitious, but my eyes warranted the belief of it, and the sight of the battering machines, together with the breaches in the wall, and the dry human bones, afforded conclusive evidence even to the minds of my fellow-prisoners, who did not understand the narrative, that here had once stood a town, which had been sacked and destroyed.

After leaving these ruins, we continued on about an east course for three hours, when we came to the bank of a stream or fresh water river, which was now no larger than a brook, owing to the dryness of the season. It flowed from the south-east, and bent its course through a broad valley in a crooked channel, nearly north, towards the sea-shore. On its left bank, which was very high land, stood two considerable walled villages, and a great number of small

square-walled inclosures on the same bank southward, some in ruins and some apparently in good repair. The walls were made of rough stones laid in clay, and the houses had flat roofs. On the margin of the brook were a great number of gardens fenced in with dry thorn bushes, placed on the ground, and planted chiefly with the prickly-pear; but some with squashes, cabbages, &c. At a distance on both sides of this stream, we saw a number of square stone sanctuaries, or saint houses, with round domes:—they did not appear to be more than ten or fifteen feet square, and were all nicely whitewashed. This bank of the river bore strong marks of having been washed to a very great height from the place where the stream then flowed, and, on inquiring of Sidi Mohammed, I was informed that the whole of the valley between the two high banks (which from appearances must be five or six miles wide) was entirely covered with water during some part of the season, or when great rains fall; at which times travellers were obliged to go up the banks three days' journey to a fall before they could cross it: that he himself had once been that way, but for the last five years the land had been so cursed with droughts, that it had not once overflowed its present bed where we crossed it, and where it was not more than twenty yards wide, and one foot in depth.

As we passed along close to the prickly-pears, which hung over the thorn bushes, bearing yellow fruit, some of

my men plucked them and put them in their mouths, without regarding the sharp prickles with which these pears were covered, so that their tongues and the roofs of their mouths were literally filled with them : on the first touch, they were extremely painful, and were extracted afterwards with much difficulty. There were also on both sides of this river, near where we crossed it, numerous herds, and many inhabitants. We travelled along the right bank of the river for several miles, until it became both wide and deep, for it met the tide water from the sea ; when coming within sight of a city on the high right bank, we made towards it. On our approaching within two miles of its walls, we passed large fields of Indian corn and barley corn, and gardens filled with most kinds of common vegetables. The borders of these fields and gardens were planted with date, fig, pomegranate, orange, and other fruit trees in great numbers, and many clumps of grape vines : the soil of this spot appeared to be of the richest black mould. As we passed along in a high footway, formed by throwing up the turf from the inclosures, (apparently, to make them perfectly level, or all of a gentle descent,) we saw hundreds of the inhabitants busily employed in gathering the Indian corn and barley corn into heaps, for it was now their harvest time, while others, (men and boys,) were loading it in sacks and baskets on camels, mules, and asses, and driving them, thus loaded with the rich products of the soil, into their city.

These several inclosures contained; I should judge, one hundred acres of land, divided from each other by mud walls, strewed with dry thorn bushes; the whole were watered by means of a considerable stream brought from the heights near the city, in a large ditch, and carried round each inclosure in small gutters, dug for the purpose; so that any one of the owners could either water the whole or any part of his field or garden, at pleasure. Hundreds of oxen and cows, sheep and goats, were feeding in the newly cleared fields, whose thin and famished appearance proved they had been forced to feed on scanty and dried up herbage during the summer months, and that on account of the long and excessive droughts, they had merely been able to exist. Rais also informed me, that the locusts had nipped off and destroyed nearly every verdant thing in the whole country; and that for the last five years they had laid waste whole provinces in the empire of Morocco.

We now arrived at the city, and entered it at a very large gateway, with our camels and mules, and took up our quarters in a smith's shop, near the gate. It was after sunset when we entered this town, and I could observe one broad street, that appeared to run its whole length. The houses were built of rough stones, principally laid in clay, but some in lime; all of one story high, and flat roofed; there were no windows next the street, except a small aperture in each one not a foot square, for the purpose probably of admitting

light. They had each a stout plank door strongly made, and furnished with a big clumsy iron lock. The corn continued to pass into the city till dark,—all the camels, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, and asses, belonging to the inhabitants, and which were very numerous, were also driven into the city, and the gate shut and barred with four large pieces of timber: this was about eight o'clock, and a watch was then stationed on the wall. On entering the city, Rais bel Cossim and Sheick Ali waited on the governor or chief, and obtained permission to remain in his town over night; and a few dates were brought by Rais for our suppers. The shop in which we were permitted to stay was about twenty feet square; a kind of forge was fixed in one corner; two skins were curiously applied, so as to form a bellows to blow this fire with, which was of charcoal; a man stood between them with a hand on each skin, which he raised and depressed alternately, and thus kept up a small and irregular stream of air. They had a large piece of iron for an anvil, which lay so low on the ground, that when they worked on it with the hammer, which was a very clumsy sort of one, they were obliged to squat down. I believe every man and boy in this town came to look at us by turns, and ask questions concerning ourselves, our country, &c. so that we were surrounded with people during the whole night, chattering with each other, and asking our Arab guides an endless string of questions.

These people were of the same nation we had been in the habit of seeing since we came to the river Nun, yet they appeared to be more civilized. Several of them asked me in Spanish, how I did? and uttered many other words in that language, the meaning of which they did not seem to understand; the most of them being vile oaths and execrations; which proved satisfactorily to me that they had had frequent communications in some way or other with people of that nation. Sheick Ali had all the day after we left Sidi Mohammed's house been lost in a seeming reverie: he would seldom speak, and when he did, it was in a low voice apart with Seid, and I strongly suspected that some plot was in preparation between them. We had travelled the last day about five hours, at the rate of four miles an hour, before we came abreast of the ruins of the city I have described, and we had proceeded five hours afterwards at the same rate, making together forty miles.

On the 30th October, we made ready to start before daylight, and as soon as it dawned, the gate was opened, and we proceeded on our journey. The walls of this city or town, were built of rough stone laid in clay, and were four feet thick at their base in the gateway, and about twenty feet high, but had no outer ditch to defend them, nor any cannon mounted. It appeared to cover a space of about three hundred yards in length along the river's bank, north and south, and one hundred and fifty yards in breadth from

east to west. The channel of the river at low stages of the water is about one mile west of the town:—this river is called by the natives *Woed Sehlem*, or *river Sehlem*, and the town, Rais told me, bore the same name; i. e. *Sehlemah*: it is, I should judge from its appearance, fifty yards in width opposite the town at high water, and proportionably deep. I was now informed by Rais bel Cossim and Sidi Mohammed, that there was once a large and flourishing Christian town and settlement near the mouth of this river, and only thirty miles from us: that the town was taken by storm about eight centuries ago, and all the Christians massacred. An Arabian century contains forty lunar years, and is called *Zille*, and they reckon twelve moons to the year. Both Rais bel Cossim and Sidi Mohammed said they had been to the spot, and seen some of the remains of the walls, which were still standing, though nearly all buried up in sand drifted from the sea-shore. They further stated, that there was now a village at a little distance from the ancient ruin, inhabited by fishermen; that the old Christian town was situated on a bay or arm of the sea, and five or six miles broad at its entrance, and that it is an excellent harbour both for large and small vessels: that there was no bar across its mouth, but that the usual bar was formed of sand a few miles below the town we had left. From my own observations on the increasing breadth of the river, I am inclined to think that

this bay may contain a fine harbour, particularly as Rais and his companion could have no motive for deceiving me. Rais bel Cossim had been many times in Europe as captain under the Moorish flag, in the grain trade, and insisted that this was a better harbour than Cadiz: if so, it is the only one on that coast, from Cape Spartel, in latitude 34. 30. to the latitude of 19. north.

Travelling on at a great rate, we entered on a vast plain, over whose surface a few shrubs, and weeds, and clumps of trees were thinly scattered: the boughs of these trees were bending under the weight of a bright yellow fruit, and I learned from Rais that it was the Arga tree, from the nut of which is extracted the Argan oil, very much esteemed by the natives; and it was also highly relished by my companions. This nut, when ripe, much resembles the ripe date in appearance—so much so, indeed, that seeing some of them scattered on the ground, I took one up and bit it, when I found out my mistake, as its bark was extremely bitter. The trees generally grew in clusters of from three to ten trunks, that seemed to spring from the same seed—these rise in a shaft of from ten to fifteen feet in height, and then branch off in all directions, forming a diameter of at least one hundred feet—the trunks are from one to three feet in diameter—the branches are covered with thorns, which fall and lie so thick on the ground, as to make it almost impossible to approach them near enough to shake or knock off

the nuts, and they are consequently left to ripen and drop off spontaneously.

We were now going on at a small trot, mostly all mounted on the camels, mules, and two asses that were in company. The Atlas mountains were now full in view, stretching as far as the eye could reach from N. E. to S. W. at some distance on our right. We had seen these mountains for several days past, in the distant horizon, when we were on the high ridges, which we were obliged to pass; but we now beheld them from this wide-spreading plain in all their awful magnitude: their lofty summits, towering high above the clouds in sharp peaks, appeared to be covered with never-melting snows. This sight was calculated to fill the mind of the beholder with wonder and astonishment. The cold and chilling blasts of wind which blew directly from the Atlas, almost congealed our impoverished blood, and made our feeble frames shake almost to dissolution, notwithstanding the good cloaks and shoes with which we were provided. Seid and the other Arabs were also shivering with cold, and ran on foot to make themselves warm, for the sky was overcast and obscured by thick and heavy clouds, portending torrents of rain. I was now sure we were very near the Emperor of Morocco's dominions, and began to imagine myself a free man—I felt myself at peace with all mankind; my mind expanded with gratitude towards the great Author of my being, and I viewed this stupendous ridge of moun-

tains, as one of the strongest proofs of Divine goodness to his creatures—for I considered that all the rivers, and streams, and springs, that water and refresh the northern part of Africa, from the borders of that immense and thirsty desert over which I had travelled, to the Straits of Gibraltar, and which empty into the Atlantic ocean, or into the Mediterranean sea, westward of Tripoli, and from the 26th to the 35th degree of North latitude, must either take their rise or have their sources in this vast chain of Atlas. On these burning coasts, seldom refreshed by rains, (and that only in small quantities, and during the winter season,) the great bodies of accumulated snow on these mountains, tend in the summer season to cool the atmosphere in their vicinity, as well as to supply water for the use of the animal and vegetable creation.

In the course of this morning, Thomas Burns became so weak (being benumbed with cold) that he could no longer hold on the camel, and tumbled off over the beast's tail with great violence, falling on his head and back, which deprived him, for a considerable time, of all sensation:—with much exertion, however, on our part, he at length revived, and was again placed on his camel. Proceeding on the plain we saw a large number of cities, or walled towns, I should reckon at least fifty, some on one side of our path, and some on the other; but mostly on our right, and extending as far as the eye could reach towards the mountains. Those near

the path appeared to be three or four hundred yards square: the walls were built of rough stones laid in clay, and with only one gate; they were from twenty to thirty feet in height, and crowned with short turrets about three yards apart all around: at each corner on the top was built a kind of circular sentry box, also of stone, something in the manner of old European castles. Most of the land, at some distance from the vicinity of these towns, was prepared for sowing, and many of the inhabitants were engaged in ploughing. A little nearer, were numerous orchards of fig, date, and other fruit trees; and close to the walls, many gardens of fine vegetables, such as onions, cabbages, turnips, squashes, &c. Round about these gardens, we saw many dung-hill fowls; and at a distance, herds of neat cattle, asses, and flocks of sheep and goats, were feeding upon the scanty and dried up herbage, under the eye of their respective keepers or herdsmen. These beasts were very poor, yet the whole seemed to promise abundance of food to the apparently industrious inhabitants, and brought to my mind the ancient Jewish history.

Sheick Ali had been very attentive to me all this morning: he had, in imitation of Rais bel Cossim, called me Captain, and endeavoured to convince me that I had better go with him to the mountains southward, where he had large possessions, and would give me one of his daughters for a wife, and make me a chief in his nation. He had stopped the whole company two or three times to talk over his own

affairs, and I now supposed that Seid was leagued with him and bent on doing me and my men some mischief. We had travelled on thus for ten hours, (say from four in the morning till two in the afternoon,) at the rate of five miles an hour, making a distance of fifty miles, when turning aside from our path, as if by choice, we approached the gate of a city. We were both hungry and thirsty, and we seated ourselves down by a very deep well, within one hundred yards of the city gate: Seid and Sheick Ali went immediately into the town, as I supposed, to get some provisions—Sidi Mohammed and Rais bel Cossim were soon invited in also, to partake with them, leaving us on the outside, and under charge of Bo-Mohammed, who stood in Sidi Hamet's stead, and two others. A great many men, and I believe all the boys belonging to the place, now came out to look at, and make remarks on the slaves; most of them, no doubt, from mere curiosity. The boys, by way of amusement, began to throw stones and dirt at, and to spit on us, expressing by that means, their utter contempt and abhorrence of us and of our nation. Burns and Clark were so far exhausted as to be unable to support themselves sitting, and were obliged to lie down on the ground; but one man brought a bucket from the town, and drew water, that we might allay our thirst: this revived us in some measure. Mr. Savage, Horace, and myself, were in so weak a state, that I much feared we should not be able to keep on for the remainder of this day.

Burns's fall had proved him to be too weak to hold on the camel, and had besides bruised him very much. I tried my utmost to encourage them and keep up their spirits, by representing to them that we were now free, and would soon be in the emperor's dominions, where I presumed we should be out of the reach of the rapacious Arabs: for I had been informed by Rais bel Cossim, that in the space of one day's journey we should be within the territories of the emperor.

Whilst Rais bel Cossim and the rest of his company remained within the walls, the winds from the mountains, driving before them thick masses of dark clouds, loaded with vapour, brought on a copious discharge of rain, and we were directed to enter under the gateway for shelter, which we did, supporting each other in our weakness, and seated ourselves in the gate. This was the first rain I had witnessed in this country; and it continued to fall for about an hour. I had for a long time looked for Rais bel Cossim and his companions to come out, and began to apprehend some disaster or treachery on the part of Sheick Ali, whose harsh and loud voice I now heard roaring within. This tremendous clamour between the Sheick and other persons continued for about two hours, when Rais bel Cossim made his appearance, escorted by a number of men: his intelligent countenance bespoke fear, grief, and indignation—he called me aside from my companions, and told me that *Sheick Ali* was the intimate friend of *Muley Ibrahim*, (or prince

Abraham,) the king or governor of the city; that *Sheick Ak* had claimed us as his property, alleging that Sidi Hamet was his son-in-law, and owed him a great deal of money, and that he (Sidi Hamet) was now held as a hostage or slave to a *Christian* in Swearah; that he had insisted we should not proceed one step farther until fifteen hundred dollars were produced, together with Sidi Hamet, the husband of his daughter; and that in conjunction with Seid he had contrived to stop us here by the power of the prince. This news was to me like a clap of thunder; it bereft me of all my fortitude; the fair prospects I had entertained of a speedy liberation from slavery, particularly for the last two days, were now suddenly darkened. *Rais bel Cossim* further informed me that he had argued the matter every way, but all to no purpose—that he had promised the money required, namely, six hundred dollars, as soon as we should get to *Santa Cruz*, in the emperor's dominions, and that he would agree to have the prince and Sheick go along with him and receive it there, and there wait for the return of Sidi Hamet; “but they will not listen to me, (added he,) and I must set off immediately and carry this discouraging news to Mr. Willshire, leaving you here until I return, (which will be in six days,) and may God preserve you in the meantime from their evil machinations.” This was more than I could bear: tears of anguish, which I had not the power to control, now gushed from my eyes; and my almost bursting heart vented

itself in bitter groans of despair. My companions heard my distress, though at a considerable distance from me, and turning fearfully on me their almost extinguished eyes, begged for an explanation of the cause.

Rais bel Cossim was just in the act of mounting his mule to ride off, when Sidi Mohammed, who went in the first place with my master to Swearah, came near him and said, "Rais—Muley Ibrahim and Sheick Ali have determined you shall not go to Swearah; they fear you will cause a war to break out between them and the sultan." Observing me in tears and in great affliction, he took me by the hand and said, "Don't be cast down, Riley, I will go to Swearah, and carry a letter from Rais, and one from you to Willshire; and if he wants a hostage, I will stay with him. I have two wives and seven children to leave, and houses, and lands, and herds of cattle; and shall be a more valuable hostage than Sidi Hamet—he is your friend, and will come immediately down and relieve you. God is great and good, (added he,) and will restore you to your family." I kissed his hand in gratitude, and called him father, and hoped the Almighty would reward him for his benevolence. Rais now joined Sheick Ali and the prince, who, with many attendants, were seated on the ground, in a circle outside of the city gate—here they debated the matter over again. Rais insisted we were his slaves; that neither the prince nor Sheick had a right to detain what he had bought with his own

money, much less to stop him like a criminal: that it was contrary to their religion (which made them all brothers) to commit such an outrage on hospitality. Sheick Ali, on the other hand, contended, that Sidi Hamet and Seid owed him money to a large amount; that we were their joint property and that consequently he had an undoubted right to detain and carry us off into his own tribe, or family, and there to keep us, until Sidi Hamet should return and pay his debt. Rais insisted he had paid his money for us, and had nothing to do with Sheick Ali's claim; however, after extolling the justice and virtue of the prince to the highest pitch, they both at last agreed to leave it to Muley Ibrahim to decide what should be done. Muley Ibrahim now asked Sidi Mohammed and Bo-Mohammed what they knew concerning this business; and they gave testimony in favour of Rais bel Cossim's previous claim: thus prepared, Muley Ibrahim said—"You, Sheick Ali, my old friend, and Rais bel Cossim, both of you claim these five Christian slaves as your own property, and each of you has some reason on your side—yet, as it is not in my power to decide whose claim is the best founded, I am resolved, with a strict regard to justice, and without going into further evidence, to keep the slaves in my own city, carefully guarded, until messengers can be sent to Swerah, who shall bring down Sidi Hamet, when you three, being confronted, may settle your claims as shall be found most consistent with justice." He then

proposed that Rais should remain with him, (like a friend,) and without having any thing to fear. This plan was agreed to by all parties, and they shook hands upon it like friends.

This done, we were conducted into the city, and into a house adjoining that where the prince lived. A mat was spread for the Sheick and Rais and their companions to sit on, while we were placed in a narrow corner on the ground, among the saddles and other stuffs—Sentinels with muskets and scimitars were stationed at the door of our apartment and the other doors, and at the city gate. It was after dark when the dispute was settled, and soon afterwards a dish of *Coos-coo-soo* was brought in, of which all partook after due ablutions; and they then performed their evening prayers most devoutly. My companions were very much cast down; and their bodies ~~and minds~~ were so much exhausted and debilitated by their sufferings, that they had become like children, and wept aloud. I was certain that it would have been impossible for Clark and Burns to have proceeded farther on that day, and I tried to persuade them all that it was better for us to be detained a little, as it would give us an opportunity of taking some rest, without which we should be in danger of fainting on our route. Muley Ibrahim, the Sheick, and Rais, were conversing during the whole night, and when daylight appeared, (the 2d of November,) Rais furnished me with pen, ink, and paper, and told me to write to Mr. Willshire, stating our present

situation as near as I was able: this I accordingly did; while a *talb* or scrivener was employed in writing a letter for him, (as he could not write himself.) At an early hour Seid, Sidi Mohammed, and Bo-Mohammed, set out for Swearah, taking our letters, and promising to return as soon as possible. Sheick Ali also, soon afterwards, left us, promising to return in four days.

CHAPTER XXII.

Rais bel Cossim gains the friendship of the prince—good provisions are procured—Sheick Ali's plans miscarry—they set off for, and arrive at Santa Cruz, in the empire of Morocco.

BEING now left alone with Rais bel Cossim, I questioned him concerning our detention: he said it would be but for a few days and that we needed a little time to refresh ourselves, in order to enable us to bear the fatigues of the remainder of our journey: that he trusted he should make a friend of the prince, in whose power we all now were, and that he hoped to be able to effect this by making him a small present. I told him I almost despaired of living to regain my liberty, as I was extremely feeble, and must soon perish. “What! (said he) dare you distrust the power of that God who has preserved you so long by miracles? No, my friend, (added he,) the God of heaven and of earth is your friend, and will not forsake you; but in his own good time restore you to your liberty and to the embraces of your family; we must say, ‘His will be done,’ and be contented with our lot, for God knows best what is for our good.”

To hear such sentiments from the mouth of a Moor,

whose nation I had been taught to consider the worst of barbarians, I confess, filled my mind with awe and reverence, and I looked up to him as a kind of superior being, when he added, "We are all children of the same heavenly Father, who watches over all our actions, whether we be Moor, or Christian, or Pagan, or of any other religion; we must perform His will." Rais then called Muley Ibrahim, and had a long conference with him. This prince Ibrahim was a man of a very mild aspect, of a light complexion, about five feet ten inches in height, and rather thin—his countenance was intelligent, and he was very active, though apparently sixty or seventy years of age. By the tenor of the conversation I could understand that Rais was flattering him highly, but in a delicate way: he asked very affectionately about the prince's wives, and understanding he had but one, he inquired if she had any children; and was answered, she had none: he next wished to know if she had any tea or sugar, and was answered in the negative.

We had not seen the faces of any of the women since we arrived at the town where Sidi Mohammed dwelt. Rais now managed to get a little wood and some water, and we made a fire and boiled some coffee; this was done by the help of a small negro girl who was a slave to Muley Ibrahim; and during the absence of the prince. Rais, by giving the girl a small lump of loaf sugar, persuaded her to carry a large lump to her mistress, and also a cup of coffee

thick with sugar. The prince had gone out before Rais attempted to bribe the girl. After carrying in the coffee and the sugar, the girl returned and told Rais that her mistress was much obliged to him, and would keep the cup and saucer, for she had never seen one before, and thought them very pretty, and begged to know how she might serve him in return. Rais sent back word that she could serve him most essentially by striving to make the prince his friend. About one hour after this, Muley Ibrahim entered our apartment, and asked Rais what he had been doing with his wife? saying, at the same time, "You had no need of gaining my friendship through her influence, for you had it already;" but I could perceive a very great difference in his manner. He wished to know if Rais did not want to go to the mosque, which he said was not far distant. Rais accompanied him thither, and I discovered at his return, about two hours after, that all was right between him and the prince, and that he had all the liberty he required. I had, in the meantime, made some coffee, of which my companions and myself drank as much as we wanted, and nibbled our biscuits, for our Arab friends had before taken care to eat up all our boiled tongue. We were, all of us, so excessively weak, that we were not able to fetch water for ourselves, and our diarrhoea also continued, with the most distressing hæmorrhoides: this day, however, had passed away more smoothly than I had expected. In the evening, the prince

came, and prayed, in company with Rais, and appeared very friendly. After the prince retired, Rais informed me that he (Rais) had sent off to a rich man, an old acquaintance of his, who lived about one day's journey south of us, for money to pay Sheick Ali's demand, and that he expected his friend would come to him the next day—"but (said Rais) God has made Muley Ibrahim my firm friend; and he has given his princely word that he will protect both me and my slaves, and in case force is necessary, he will provide a sufficiency to escort us into the Emperor's dominions—he will also provide some fowls and eggs for you in the morning, and you may tell your shipmates they have nothing to fear, for to-morrow, *M. Shallah*, (i. e. if it is God's will,) they shall have plenty of good food." This news cheered their spirits, and as our apprehensions had in some measure subsided, we rested comfortably.

Early in the morning of November the 3d, Muley Ibrahim brought in some eggs, which we boiled for our breakfast: he gave us salt to season them with, and soon after brought us half a dozen fowls, and Rais taking the fowls' wings in his left hand, and turning his face towards the east, after saying aloud, *Besmillah*, (in the name of the most holy God,) he cut their throats, and we soon dressed them after our fashion, and put them into an earthen pot with water, and set it a boiling. The prince had furnished us with wood, and brought us water with his own hands; he next went into his garden, and pulled some

onions, turnips, and small squashes, with which we enriched our soup; and he also gave us salt and green peppers to season it with. We put in four fowls, and this soup would have been thought good in any country. A more grateful and wholesome dish could not possibly have been prepared for our poor disordered stomachs, that had been so long harassed with the most cruel griping pains, and felt as if they had lost all power of digestion. The prince and Rais had a bowl of the soup, with a part of the fowls, and seemed to relish it exceedingly. The prince insisted on my eating from the same dish with them; inquired concerning my wife and children, wished to know their sex; and continued from that time during our stay in his city to administer all the relief and comfort in his power, both to me and my desponding and wretched companions, whose last ray of hope had faded away on our being stopped here; although in fact they were not in a condition to continue their journey, particularly Burns and Clark, for they had sunken into a lethargic state, bordering on dissolution. Yet, when I was enabled to explain the causes of our detention, and to inform them that the prince was our friend, and gave them nourishing soups, their spirits came again, and hope raised them from the ground.—To the circumstance of this stoppage alone, and the friendship and protection of this good chief, I attribute, under Providence, the salvation of our lives. On the second day of our detention, in the afternoon, the old man,

Rais bel Cossim's friend, to whom he had written for assistance, came to see him: he had been riding all night to be with Rais in time. Their meeting was a friendly one: the old man had two mules, on one of which were two baskets, containing a dozen of fowls, and some dry cous-coo-soo; these he presented to Rais, and said he had brought five hundred dollars for his use, as he requested, and that he would bring it in: but Rais had now become the friend of Muley Ibrahim, and therefore did not need the money; yet this old friend insisted on his taking the fowls as a present, with some eggs he had also brought with him; these Rais accepted, for he said they were meant as a present to me. I had some fowls cooked already, and the old man sat down and ate with Rais, and would have me to be one of the company: he told Rais that if he would but say the word, he would go and collect his friends and take the slaves by force of arms, and in spite of Sheick Ali's opposition would carry us safe to Santa Cruz, and beyond his power: but as Muley Ibrahim had given his word, on which Rais said he could depend, to see us all safe to Santa Cruz, and to use all his force and influence, if that should be necessary, the old man, whose name I am sorry to say I have forgotten, left us and returned to his home. We now lived for three days as well as we could wish.

On the fourth day after Seid's departure, a kind of fair was held at a short distance from our city, and Rais told me

he was going to it, and would try by some manœuvre to liberate us, and to get us on towards the Sultan's dominions.— A man of great influence lived about five leagues distance from that city. He was called a son of the holy prophet, or *Shariff*; had been to Mecca, and was also called *el ajjh*; (the pilgrim;) he was looked upon by all far and near as possessing supernatural powers, and was obeyed and almost worshipped as a superior being; and his word or dictate was equivalent to a law. Rais went to the fair and from thence to the place of worship, and did not return until the afternoon, when he informed me he had bought a bullock at the fair, the best and fattest he could find, though it was but a small one. He had sent one half of it to the son of the prophet (or Shariff) by the hand of a messenger, on a mule, saying, when you deliver the flesh to the *el ajjh*, and he asks you who sent it to him, tell him a pious man, who has lately come from Swearah, and is now a guest with Muley Ibrahim, and wishes to be remembered in your prayers." This, Rais said, was all the message he sent, but he was sure, that if the Shariff accepted the present, he should see him before the sun went down. Rais had given the other half to Muley Ibrahim, and remarked, that it was not so much the real value of a present that was taken into consideration by the Moors, but the manner of giving it, which laid the receiver under such an obligation, as to make him your friend for ever.—This notion I was at a loss to understand, and

therefore supposed it to be some peculiarity in the customs of these singular people. Rais went out to prayers about sunset, and returned in a short time; when he mentioned that he had been waited upon by the Shariff, who had asked him what favour he wanted, that made him send such a present to a stranger.—Rais told him our story, and that he had paid his money for myself and my companions, and begged his assistance to force Sheick Ali (whose power all dreaded) to consent to have us removed quietly to Santa Cruz; where Rais thought his property would be safe: this the Shariff promised to do, and even to exert all his influence if necessary, to remove and protect Rais and his property by force of arms, and requested to be informed without delay when Sheick Ali returned.

On the following day (November 4th) the Sheick did return; and relying on the friendship of Muley Ibrahim, had only one attendant: the Shariff was immediately informed of his arrival, by express, and came to see him as an old friend; then taking him aside, he advised the Sheick to remove his slaves to Santa Cruz as soon as possible, asserting at the same time that he was certain that *Sidi Ishem*, whom the Sheick well knew and dreaded, would set out from his city on the morrow with a force, in order to seize upon the slaves, whom he had before strove hard to purchase for money without success, and if they were not in the dominions of the Emperor before he came, another day would place

them in his hands, when the Sheick would not only lose them, but it must also kindle a war between him and that powerful chief; which would set the whole country in a blaze, and after all it would be impossible to deliver them from his grasp by force of arms. When the Sheick heard the advice of the Shariff, he returned to our prison, and Rais contrived to find out what had passed between them, by again meeting the Shariff at the city gate alone, as had been before agreed upon. Rais being thus fully informed and let into the secret, came into the apartment and informed me how matters stood. Sheick Ali, in the mean time, was unfolding his plan to Muley Ibrahim, and trying to gain his consent to let the slaves be carried off in the night by surprize, but the prince would not consent; they were now within his walls, and he had given his word they should not be removed until the disputed right of property was settled by all parties face to face:—this he should insist on. Finding that plan would not answer any good purpose, and fearing Sidi Ishem's expected arrival, and wishing to make a merit of necessity, this crafty chief, addressing Rais bel Cossim, told him, in a flattering way, that he had found him to be a good and an honourable man, and wished to be called his friend; that he did not doubt Rais's word, since he knew his character, and would therefore consent to go on with the slaves on the morrow morning, as far as Santa Cruz, where they would wait for the arrival of Sidi Hamet,

and settle the right of property amicably. Rais, on the other hand, as crafty as the Sheick, took care not to evince any desire of going, and being in the whole secret, now told Sheick Ali, that he had stopped him and his Christian slaves at first contrary to the laws of justice and hospitality, and that as he had kept them so long a time, he had no wish to remove them at present, but would wait with patience until Sidi Hamet should come down, and convince the Sheick that he had done wrong in detaining him.

At last, however, he suffered himself to be persuaded by the united voices of Sheick Ali and Muley Ibrahim, but on the express condition of being escorted to Santa Cruz by the prince, who was a party in the whole secret. He was also to procure camels for us to ride on, and went forth to engage and have them ready for a start at daylight the next morning. Rais bel Cossim now informed me that Muley Ibrahim had previously agreed to accompany us; that we were to ride on camels, and that two hundred horsemen were to guard us on the road, in order to prevent any treachery on the part of Sheick Ali, who might already have troops stationed on the way to seize and carry us off to the mountains: he had also given private orders to his friends and his vassals, to hold themselves in readiness in case of an alarm. The two hundred horsemen were to take stations, so as to keep us in continual view without exciting suspicion, and to be ready to carry intelligence. Rais then bade me

kill and boil what fowls and eggs remained, which I did, with the *assistance of my men, who had very much recovered.*

CHARACTER OF SIDI ISHEM.

While the fowls and eggs were cooking, I asked Rais who this Sidi Ishem was? as his name alone had seemed capable of inspiring such dread. “This *Sidi Ishem*,” said Rais, “is a descendant of the former kings of Suse, before it was conquered by the Moors;—he is a man of between fifty and sixty years of age, possessed of great wealth and power; is very crafty, and very brave, but rapacious and cruel; he has under his command fifteen thousand horsemen, well armed:—they are of the race of the ancient inhabitants of the country, from whom the whole country derives the name of *Berberia*, corrupted by the Europeans into *Barbary*;—these Berberians are extremely fierce and warlike, and are joined by all the renegado Moors, who escape from the Emperor’s dominion, to evade punishment for crimes they have committed. These men are always ready to join him in any of his enterprizes, for they always get a share of the spoil. He lives in the gorge of a mountain, near the town of Widnoon, on the great route from Morocco across the Great Desert, to Soudain, the country beyond the Desert, and the city of Tombuctoo. All the caravans that go either to or from the Desert are obliged to

go close to Widnoon, and as the Atlas mountains are on the one side, and the ridge next the sea, on the other, they find it highly necessary to secure his friendship and protection by presents.—Between this chief and the Emperor of Morocco there exists the most implacable hatred, and a continual jealousy, which a few years ago broke out into an open war. The Emperor sent a powerful army against him, (said to be 30,000 strong,) but Sidi Ishem was apprized of its approach in time, and sent off all the women, children, and old men, with all their substance, to the south foot of the Atlas mountains, and on the Great Desert. The Emperor's army entered his territory, where they found nothing to subsist upon; yet as they met with no resistance, they carried on their work of destruction, by burning all the towns and every thing that was combustible, tearing down the houses and walls of their cities, so that nothing escaped their violence and rapacity. They continued pursuing Sidi Ishem (who hovered about them with most of his men) until they were exhausted by fatigue and hunger; when this chief fell upon them by surprize with his infuriated followers, who had been rendered doubly desperate by the sight of their ruined cities. They slew more than ten thousand on the spot; those who escaped this dreadful carnage, and fled, were hunted down and nearly all destroyed, before they could reach the city of *Tarudant*, (the southern and westernmost town in the Emperor of Morocco's dominions,) where the few that were left found shelter, and spread such terror and

dismay throughout that part of the empire, by the horrid accounts they gave of their disasters, as to render it impracticable to raise another army for the purpose of reducing Sidi Ishem and his men to submission. All the inhabitants were soon recalled by their chief from the mountains and deserts; took possession of their country anew, rebuilt their cities and dwellings, and are at this time more powerful, more feared and respected, than they were previous to that event." This is the account Rais bel Cossim gave me in Spanish, as nearly as my memory served me, when I took it down at Mogadore:—he also said that we had escaped falling into his hands only by groping our way along a private path on the sea shore. The substance of this account of Sidi Ishem was confirmed, after my arrival at Mogadore, by Mr. Willshire and others.

Our food being prepared, and every thing packed up tight for a start, we got a short nap, and at daylight on the morning of the 4th November, we were placed on five camels, which were saddled much better than any we had hitherto rid: they had on them also bags of barley, and empty sacks, made of tent cloth, that would hold, I should suppose, ten or twelve bushels; these altogether made quite a comfortable seat, though rather a wide one, and we could hold ourselves on by the ropes that secured the lading: they placed me on the largest camel I had yet seen, which was nine or ten feet in height. The camels were

now all kneeling or lying down:—and mine among the rest. I thought I had taken a good hold to steady myself while he was rising—yet, his motion was so heavy, and my strength so far exhausted, that I could not possibly hold on, and tumbled off over his tail, turning entirely over. I came down upon my feet, which prevented my receiving any material injury, though the shock to my frame was very severe. The owner of the camel helped me up, and asked me if I was injured?—I told him no.—“God be praised,” said he, “for turning you over; had you fallen upon your head, these stones must have dashed out your brains; but the camel,” added he, “is a sacred animal, and heaven protects those who ride on him! had you fallen from an ass, though he is only two cubits and a half high, it would have killed you; for the ass is not so noble a creature as the camel and the horse.”—I afterwards found this to be the prevailing opinion among all classes of the Moors and the Arabs. When they put me on again, two of the men steadied me by the legs until the camel was fairly up, and then told me to be careful, and to hold on fast: they also took great care to assist my companions in the same way.

Being now all mounted, we set off to the N. E. leaving *Stuka*, (for that was the name of the place where we had been confined,) accompanied by Rais bel Cossim, Muley Ibrahim, and his two servants, and Sheick Ali, with his attendant, all riding on mules and asses: the five owners of

the camels went on foot, each driving his own camel, and taking care of its rider.—*Stuka* was built in a quadrangular form; its walls would measure about three hundred yards on each angle; they were built of rough stone, laid in clay, and appeared to be four or five feet thick at their base, and twenty feet in height, tapering off to two feet thick at the top, and were crowned with turrets all around. It had but one gate, which was at its north angle, very strongly made, and swinging on the ends of its back posts, which were let into large stone sockets at the bottom and at the top: the gate consisted of two folding leaves, and at night was secured by four heavy wooden bars. The town was divided within, into as many compartments as there were families in it, which I should think might amount to three hundred, probably containing in all five thousand souls. The houses were built of the same materials as the walls; only one story high, and flat-roofed: except the door, they looked like heaps of mud and stone: even that of the prince bore the same appearance, without any other distinction or ornament than being closer jointed and more bedaubed with mud.— All the flocks and herds were driven within the walls every night, and each owner makes those that belong to him lie down in his own yard or inclosure.

As we travelled on, we passed between a great number of cities or towns, similar in appearance to *Stuka*, with which this truly vast plain is chequered. The whole plain seemed

very fertile, was planted with numerous groves and orchards of fig and other fruit trees, with here and there a clump of the arga tree, yellow with fruit. The inhabitants were busied in ploughing up the soil, with a kind of plough which I shall hereafter describe.—We proceeded on very rapidly, keeping those on foot running constantly, and had been travelling about six hours, when we came to the ruins of many towns on our left, similar in appearance to Stuka ; near the shattered walls of some of which stood several battering machines, but they were at the distance of a mile or more from us. These places appeared to have been recently inhabited ; for the gardens near the walls were still green with vegetation. Wishing to know what had been the cause of such desolation, I was informed by Muley Ibrahim and Sheick Ali, through Rais bel Cossim, that a family quarrel happened about one year ago between the chiefs of two of these towns, which soon broke out into the most dreadful kind of warfare—each party engaged their friends to assist them in fighting what each termed their *righteous battles* : the neighbouring towns joined, some on one side, and some on the other, and the plain was deluged with blood. This quarrel being only of a family nature, Sidi Ishem did not interfere, and it was finally settled by the destruction of seven of those small cities, and most of their inhabitants. These ruins were now entirely abandoned, and their environs laid desolate, though the war continued only one month. I

could scarcely believe it possible for such devastation to have been committed in so short a time or on such trivial grounds ; but Rais bel Cossim (who was born near Santa Cruz) assured me that nothing was more common than such feuds between families in those parts : that he had known many himself, with every circumstance attending them, and that they were very seldom finished until one family or the other was exterminated, and their names blotted out from the face of the earth.

We continued our journey until about mid-day still on the plain, when Santa Cruz or Agader was distinctly seen and pointed out to me. It is situated on the summit of a high mountain ; its walls are white, and can be descried at a great distance. The plain on which we travelled was nearly level ; not a brook or stream of water had we passed since leaving the last mentioned river, but the towns and villages had many deep wells near their walls, from which the inhabitants drew water for themselves and their numerous cattle. —Innumerable clumps of the evergreen arga tree, loaded with the rich oil nut, were scattered over the plain in every direction. Vast numbers of leafless fig trees, and inclosures of grape vines with date, pomegranate, almond, orange, and other fruit trees, promised abundance in their seasons ; and delightfully variegated the scene.—Hundreds of the inhabitants were busied in ploughing the soil, which appeared rich, though dry ; and sowing their barley ; while their herds

were browsing on the shrubs round about for the want of grass.—Many unarmed men, with droves of camels and asses loaded with salt and other merchandise, were meeting and passing us almost continually. We saw also, from time to time, bands of armed men on horseback, of about fifty in each band, most of whom I learned from Rais were the friends of Muley Ibrahim, whom he had requested to ride guard, as I before mentioned, and to be ready to act in our behalf in case of treachery, or of any emergency whatever. Our path led us in a N. E. direction, and the camels were kept most of the time on a great trot, while their drivers were running on foot, and kept up with us, seemingly with great ease; though I compute we rode at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour.

About two P. M. approaching the coast, we fell in with huge drifts of loose sand on our left, which extended to the sea shore. This sand had been driven from the sea beach by the constant trade winds, and as the sea had retired, (for it was clean coarse beach sand,) it had undoubtedly for ages been making its way gradually from the coast, (which was now about twenty miles distant,) and had buried, as I was informed, several flourishing villages, towns, and cities, the tops of whose walls were still visible; the circular domes of a considerable number of saint-houses, or sanctuaries, whose bodies were entirely enveloped, were yet to be seen among these barren heaps of overwhelming sands; for the inhabi-

tants take great care to clear away around them, and to give them a whitewashing every year. Muley Ibrahim informed me that a large town called Rabeah, whose ruins we had passed in mounting over the sand hills, was a flourishing place within his remembrance; (probably fifty years ago;) that he himself was born in it—but that large bodies of sand had already encroached upon its northern wall: that as soon as it was overtopped it fell in, and the whole city was filled with sand in the course of one year after, and its inhabitants forced to seek a new shelter. These drifts extended, as far as we could distinguish sand, on our right.

Having got past the high heaps, which filled a space of eight or ten miles in width, we came to the high banks of an apparently once large river, now called by the natives *el Wod Sta*. This river's ancient bed, and the high banks, which are still perfectly distinct, bear the strongest marks of having been once laved by a stream of four or five miles in breadth, and nearly one hundred feet in depth, or by a part of the ocean. The steep, barren, and craggy mountains, rising before us to the eastward and southward, though very high, appeared to serve only as a base to the mighty range of Atlas, whose towering height and grandeur filled my mind with awe and astonishment. Notwithstanding my frame was literally exhausted, yet my imagination transported me back to a time when this region might have been inhabited by men in a higher state of civilization, and when

it was probably one of the fairest portions of the African continent. My reasons for imagining this are, first, that it is well known by historians, that the Romans had settlements along this coast as far south as Salee at least, and no doubt much farther. Second, that the Portuguese and Spaniards had possessed the settlements of *Mamora*, *Mazagan*, *Asbedre*, *Santa Cruz*, &c. Third, by the traditional information obtained from Rais bel Cossim and Sidi Mohammed, I have no doubt that a large city and settlement of civilized men existed at a former period near the mouth of the river *Schelem*, from sixty to one hundred miles west of Santa Cruz, and I am firmly of opinion that the convenience of these harbours, the luxuriancy of the surrounding soil, and the commercial advantages this part of the country offers, were a sufficient inducement for colonization.

We had now approached to within two miles of Santa Cruz or Agader, (the lower town or port,) when rising an eminence, the ocean opened to our view at a distance, and near-by appeared Santa Cruz bay, which was then quite smooth. Nearly one hundred good looking fishing boats were hauled up on the beach out of the reach of the surf, and numbers of long fishing nets were spread out to dry on the sand and over the boats. This view gave a most favourable idea of the importance of this bay as a fishery.

The sun had not yet set, and Rais informed me he did not wish to enter the lower town till dark, and did not mean

to go nearer the fortress than he could help, for fear of insult and detention; so we stopped about a mile short of it, to the southward, where I had an opportunity of examining this bay with a seaman's eye.—It is spacious and perfectly well defended from the common trade winds, say from N. N. W. all round the compass, by the East, and as far as S. W.; thence to N. N. W. it is entirely open, and of course is a very dangerous anchorage in the winter months, when westerly winds prevail on these coasts, at which times, as there is no possibility of getting to sea, vessels at anchor in this bay must remain where they are; not, however, without the greatest risk of being driven on shore in spite of the best of anchors and cables, and large vessels must ride too far out to make it a good harbour for them at any season of the year.—The port of Santa Cruz, or, as it is called by the natives, *Agader*, has been shut by order of the Sultan for many years; yet there are parts of the wrecks of vessels still visible, sticking up through the sand on the beach.

A little while after sunset we entered the lower town, or port, as it is called: this village is situated on the steep declivity of the mountain's base, on which the upper town is built, and near the sea, which washes the south end of the principal street. The steep side of the mountain on which this village is erected has been apparently sloped down by art, so as to make it practicable to build on it;

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has one principal street and several small alleys: the houses are built of rough stone laid in lime mortar, and are but one story in height, with flat roofs terraced with lime and pebbles. We could see the tops of many houses below us, and the whole made but a miserable appearance. It was not quite dark when we entered the village. The street was soon quite filled with Moors, (men and boys,) and they saluted us by spitting on us, and pelting us with stones and sticks, accompanied with the Spanish words, "*Carajo a la Mierda le Sara, perro y, bestias*, and many other chosen phrases equally delicate and polite; but some of the old men now and then uttered a "How de do, Christianos?" in broken English and Spanish. We were conducted through the street to its further extremity towards the north, where we took up our quarters for the night in the open air alongside a smith's shop; our camels and asses were then fed with barley. Some of the inhabitants kindled a fire for our company, whilst others were preparing a rich repast for them of boiled and baked fish, and *cous-coo-soo*, of which, after they had eaten, they gave us the remains, and we found it excellent food. Numbers of men, driving asses before them, loaded with fish, had passed us going into the country the day before, and they were of the same kind as those we had tasted soon after our entrance into Suse, and we had also seen the same kind of fish at Stuka: they carry them from Santa Cruz, or Agader, about the country in

every direction, where they sell them for a good price, being much in request. This fish very much resembles the salmon both in size, shape, and flavour; weighing (from appearance) from eight to sixteen or twenty pounds; and is extremely fat and delicate. I then recollected to have seen in my several voyages to the Canary Islands, numbers of small vessels arrive from the coast of Africa laden with this species of fish, and to have been told they were caught near that coast: they are highly esteemed in the Canaries, where they call them *Bacalao Africano*, or the African cod-fish, and are sold at from five to ten dollars per quintal, or at least one-third higher than the best of American cod-fish: they are dried, without salting, on the vessels' decks, and their scent is so strong as to nearly suffocate the crews of merchant vessels that lie near them while discharging. I have been told that no less than one hundred barks, of from fifteen to fifty tons burden, are continually employed in this fishery, near the African coast, from the Canary Islands, and that scarcely a year passes without more or less of them being driven on shore by tempests or other accidents, when the crews either perish with the vessel, or upon their reaching the shore are massacred by the natives, or else carried off into the interior as slaves, where they are never after heard from. After my arrival in Mogadore, or Swearah, I was informed that the crew of a bark of this description landed imprudently on the beach not far from Santa Cruz,

about two years since, where they were surprized by a sudden attack, but all escaped into the boat except one man, who was seized and carried off. On the return of the bark to Teneriffe, the wife of the man who had been left, upon inquiring for her husband, was informed that he was made a slave: distracted by this shocking event, she ran, raving as she was, to the archbishop, and begged of him either to take her life, or restore to her arms her lost husband, the father of five helpless children: she was poor, but her case excited general pity—a subscription was opened, and the sum of about five hundred dollars soon raised. The archbishop in the mean time wrote to Alexander W. Court, then Spanish agent at Mogadore, to ransom this unfortunate man, which he effected with much difficulty; but as the money did not come on in time, or for some other cause, this poor Spaniard, whose name was *Fermin*, remained in Mogadore for nearly a year without being permitted to go home, when Mr. William Willshire and Don Plabo Riva, of Mogadore, and Mr. John O'Sullivan, of New-York, interfered in his favour; furnished him with clothing; procured for him a passage, and sent him to his disconsolate family. This is said to be the only Spaniard who has been redeemed in that part of Barbary for many years past.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Sheick Ali out-manœuvred again by Rais bel Cossim—they set off in the night—meet with Sidi Hamet and his brother, accompanied by some Moors with mules sent by Mr. Willshire for the sufferers to ride on—occurrences on the road—meeting with Mr. Willshire near Swearah or Mogadore—they go into that city—are ordered before the Bashaw—are cleansed, clothed, and fed, by their deliverer.

AFTER supper Rais bel Cossim told me to keep a good look out; that he would watch the motions of Sheick Ali, who he still feared was plotting against our liberty. After I had informed my enfeebled and desponding companions that we were now out of danger from the Arabs, (having come about fifty miles from Stuka,) and in the Emperor of Morocco's dominions, and, consequently, sure of being liberated, and that too in a very few days; and after telling them that we must bear up under our fatigues with fortitude, and exert our remaining strength and spirits, in order to reach Mogadore, we all laid ourselves down to rest; and my companions, though they had the bare ground for their bed, yet as they were wrapped up in cloaks, and had their

stomachs well filled with good and nourishing food, soon fell asleep. As for myself, fear, hope, and various other sensations, kept me awake, and I could not close my eyes, but waited with extreme anxiety for the appearance of Rais bel Cossim. Soon after midnight Rais came, and finding me awake, he roused me and the owners of the camels, and requested them to get ready to go on speedily, and then told me that on entering this place, while he was busied in feeding his mule, Sheick Ali had stolen off privately to the town, and visited the governor, who had agreed, on his representation, to take us into custody in the morning at day-break, and assist in extorting what money the Sheick demanded; or to connive at our being stolen and carried back by Sheick Ali's men to Suse. "I have learned this (said he) from an old friend of mine, whom I met and commissioned to watch Sheick Ali's motions when we were coming into this place: awaken your shipmates: you must depart this instant: the drivers know the road; it is very rocky: you must tell your men to hold on as tight as possible; and remember, if you are four leagues from this town before daylight, your liberty is secured, if not, you will be again the most miserable of slaves. Encourage your men to use their utmost exertions, and I hope, with God's blessing, in three days more you will be in Swearah with your friend. I will join you as soon as possible." The camels were by this time ready: we were placed on them,

and proceeded up the rocky steps as fast as possible, but with the most profound silence. Sleep seemed to have literally sealed the eyes of all the Moors in the lower town, and in the batteries near the path through which we passed; these batteries rose one above another like an amphitheatre towards the fortress. The quadrangular walls of the town and fortress of Santa Cruz, or Agader, crowned the summit of this mountain, on our right, and stand, from appearance, not less than fifteen hundred feet above the level of the sea. We went fast forward, in profound silence, which was not in the least disturbed by the tread of the camels, because their feet are as soft as sponge or leather: only the hoarse roaring of the surf breaking among the rocks below us, startled the ear, and excited in my mind frightful images of direful shipwrecks, and the consequent miseries of the poor mariner driven on this inhospitable coast.

We had been hurrying on as fast as possible for about two hours, and had gained the distance of probably three leagues from Santa Cruz, when our ears were struck with the clinking sound of iron against the stones, which announced the approach of horses or mules that were shod; and in an instant, though dark, we discovered close by us on our right a considerable number of men riding on mules, and passing the other way. Not a word was uttered on either side, nor could the faces of any be distinguished, though we were not more than three or four yards asunder. A thought darting

across my mind, suggested to me that it was my old master; I instantly called out *Sidi Hamet!* and was quickly answered—*ascoon, Riley?* (who is it? Riley?) the whole company stopped in an instant; and the next moment I had the joy of kissing the hand of my old master and benefactor. Sidi Mohammed, Seid, and Bo-Mohammed, were in his company, together with three or four Moors, whom our kind friend had sent down, charged with the money and mules for our ransom and conveyance. The principal Moor, and who had charge of the money until we were delivered over according to the wish of Sidi Hamet, spoke Spanish fluently: he wanted to inquire of me where Rais bel Cossim was: I told him at Santa Cruz: Sidi Hamet wished to question me himself, and asked me “Where is Sheick Ali?” and when I informed him that I had left him in Santa Cruz, in company with Rais bel Cossim and Muley Ibrahim, he was satisfied; and said Sheick Ali was a bad man, and did not fear God. Seid also pretended to be much rejoiced at our being on the road to Mogadore, and yet I thought I could discover that he was trying to play a deep game of artful duplicity: but old Sidi Mohammed was in truth rejoiced to find us in the Emperor's dominions. Having now been absolutely delivered over to *Bel Mooden*, the Moor who had charge of the money, he paid it over to Sidi Hamet, and three of us were mounted on mules, and proceeded on, while all those whom we met, went towards.

Santa Cruz, except the three Moors who owned and brought the mules down for us to ride on, and who remained and proceeded northward with us.

All the time we had stopped to make the necessary arrangements above mentioned, the owners of the camels were urging us to go forward, thereby showing a disposition to obey the orders of Rais bel Cossim, and would not for a long time believe that those who stopped us were not our enemies. The backs of the mules were covered with large saddles made of coarse cloth, stuffed with straw, and formed very broad, so as to fit their shape, and reached almost from their heads to their tails: this kind of saddle is too broad for a man to attempt to stride. Over the saddles were placed what the Moors and Arabs call a *shwerry*, which is made like a double basket, and formed of palm leaves woven together like mat work: each of these baskets might contain about two bushels: they are attached together by a mat woven in with and like the rest, of about a foot and a half in width, sufficiently strong to bear a burden, and long enough to let them hang down easily on the sides of the mules: the outer part of this *shwerry* is held up by means of a rope passing through the handle on one side, and tied to that on the other, passing over the mule's back. In this *shwerry*, they carry their provisions, merchandise, and spare clothing, (if any they have,) when on their journeys. The rider sits on the saddle above the *shwerry*, with both legs on

one side, balancing his body exactly, and rides extremely easy, as he can shift his position at pleasure, and the mule's gait is an easy, fast ambling walk, which they are taught when very young; their motion is very slight, and was a seasonable relief to our almost dislocated limbs: the change with respect to jolting was so great from the camel to the mule, that we could not keep our eyes open from mere drowsiness, and Burns getting asleep, dropped off his mule, and was so badly hurt as to be from that time incapable of supporting himself; so that a Moor was obliged to sit before or behind him, and keep him on, driving the mule at the same time: and this was continued during the remainder of our journey.

We had proceeded in this way until about ten o'clock, when we were joined by Rais bel Cossim, Sidi Hamet, Seid, Sidi Mohammed, and Bel Mooden. I now inquired of Rais what had become of Muley Ibrahim and Sheick Ali, with their attendants, and he told me they had set out for their respective homes. I wanted to know all the particulars of their proceedings, and Rais promised to satisfy me after breakfast, which we now stopped to eat, (viz. biscuit and butter,) near a well that afforded us good water, though nearly on a level with the sea. After we were again mounted, he began to relate as follows: "When my friend told me of Sheick Ali's plan, I stole away softly, and came and sent you off without the Sheick's knowledge; but Muley Ibrahim

was in the secret, and remained with the Sheick to prevent alarm if he should awake during my absence." Rais bel Cossim further told me in substance, that as soon as we were on our journey, he returned and laid himself down to sleep across the door-way, where Sheick Ali slept, and in such a manner as to make it impossible for the Sheick to go out without alarming him; the Sheick awoke at the dawn of day, and finding himself blockaded in the house, awakened Rais, and told him that they had better wait on the governor that morning, to which Rais consented, but wanted to see the slaves first, so as to have some coffee made: this was agreed on; but when they came where we had slept, and found none of us there, nor the camels, nor their drivers, Rais broke out into the most violent passion apparently; accused the Sheick of having robbed him of his slaves during the night, and said he would instantly have him seized and delivered up to the governor to be punished according to the Moorish law. Muley Ibrahim, who knew the whole affair, joined with Rais, protesting he could no longer hold friendship with a man who was capable of committing such an act, which he considered to be one of the worst breaches of faith that ever disgraced a man of his (the Sheick's) high character. Sheick Ali was thunderstruck by this unexpected event—declared, in the most solemn manner, that he knew nothing about our escape; begged he might not be delivered up to the governor; acknowledged

he had laid a plan the preceding evening for our detention; wished Rais to leave the governor a small present, and proceed on the road towards Mogadore in the hope of finding us, saying, we must have gone that way, as the gates were shut on the other side, and there was no possibility of turning back by any other route. The Sheick added, "I am in your power, and will go on with you and my friend Muley Ibrahim, without any attendants, to prove to you that I am innocent, and that I place the greatest confidence in your friendship." Thus they agreed to pursue and endeavour to overtake the supposed runaway slaves; but soon after they had mounted the hills north of Santa Cruz, meeting our former masters, with Bel Mooden and Sidi Mohammed, who had seen us, (as I before mentioned,) they stopped and talked over their several affairs. Sheick Ali insisted that Sidi Hamet had treated him very ill: that he and Seid owed him four hundred dollars, which they were to pay him on their return from the Desert, but that they had passed by his lands three days' journey with their slaves, without even calling on him to eat bread: he added, he would have gone with them himself, and with an armed force through Sidi Ishem's country, to prevent that chief from taking their property—"but you wished to cheat me of my money, as you did of my daughter," said he, addressing himself to Sidi Hamet. Sidi Hamet, whose voice had been very high before, now lowering his tone, said, it was better

to settle their disputes than to quarrel; so he acknowledged he owed his father-in-law three hundred and sixty dollars for goods, but asserted that they were not worth half the money: he would, however, pay the principal but no interest, which would have swelled the amount of debt to more than five hundred dollars; the Sheick agreed to take the principal, which was counted out in silver, as he would not take gold doubloons in payment, because he did not know their real value. He then delivered up Sidi Hamet's bond, and said he would return to his tribe. Rais bel Cossim gave Muley Ibrahim a present in cash, and they separated, having first vowed everlasting friendship, and joined in prayer for the success of their several journeys.

Our company now consisted of Rais bel Cossim, Bel Mooden, Sidi Hamet, Seid, Sidi Mohammed, and three muleteers, all armed with muskets, swords, or daggers—the five Bereberies with their camels, who had brought us on from Stuka, and myself and four shipmates. We proceeded along the coast, sometimes on a sand beach, now climbing an almost perpendicular mountain of great height by a winding kind of zigzag road that seemed to have been cut in the rock in many places, by art; then descending into deep valleys by this kind of natural steps; the rocks on our right for a great distance rising nearly perpendicularly. The path we were now obliged to follow was not more than two feet wide in one place, and on our left it broke off in a pre-

cipice of some hundred feet deep to the sea—the smallest slip of the mule or camel would have plunged it and its rider down the rocks to inevitable and instant death, as there was no bush or other thing to lay hold of by which a man might save his life. Very fortunately for us, there had been no rain for a considerable time previously, so that the road was now dry. Rais told me, when it was wet it was never attempted, and that many fatal accidents had happened there within his remembrance; though there was another road which led round over the mountains far within the country.

One of these accidents he said he would mention. “A company of Jews, six in number, from Santa Cruz for Morocco, came to this place with their loaded mules in the twilight, after sunset; being very anxious to get past it before dark, and supposing no other travellers would venture to meet them, or dare to pass it in the night, they did not take the precaution to look out, and call aloud before they entered on it; for there is a place built out on each end of this dangerous piece of road, from whence one may see if there are others on it: not being quite half a mile in length, a person by hallooing out can be heard from one end to the other, and it is the practice of all who go that way to give this signal. A company of Moors had entered at the other end, and going towards Santa Cruz at the same time, and they also supposing that no others would dare to pass it at

that hour, came on without the usual precaution. About half way over, and in the most difficult place, the two parties met—there was no possibility of passing each other, nor of turning about to go back either way—the Moors were mounted as well as the Jews—neither party could retire, nor could any one, except the foremost, get off of his mule: the Moors soon became outrageous, and threatened to throw the Jews down headlong—the Jews, though they had always been treated like slaves, and forced to submit to every insult and indignity, yet finding themselves in this perilous situation, without the possibility of retiring, and being unwilling to break their necks merely to accommodate the Moors, the foremost Jew dismounted carefully over the head of his mule, with a stout stick in his hand: the Moor nearest him did the same, and came forward to attack him with his scimitar: both were fighting for their lives, as neither could retreat—the Jew's mule was first pitched down the craggy steep, and dashed to atoms by the fall—the Jew's stick was next hacked to pieces by the scimitar; when finding it was impossible for him to save his life, he seized the Moor in his arms, and springing off the precipice, both were instantly hurled to destruction—two more of the Jews and one Moor lost their lives in the same way, together with eight mules, and the three Jews, who made out to escape, were hunted down and killed by the relations of the Moors who had lost their lives on the pass, and the place has ever

since been called 'the Jews' leap.'" It is, indeed, enough to produce dizziness, even in the head of a sailor, and if I had been told the story before getting on this frightful ridge, I am not certain but that my imagination might have disturbed my faculties, and rendered me incapable of proceeding with safety along this perilous path. The danger over, however, and the story finished, we found ourselves mounting the first bank from the sea on Cape Geer. When we came on the height, at the pitch of the Cape, I rode up to the edge of the precipice to look down upon the tumultuous ocean. The present Cape is about one hundred feet in height, and appeared to have been much shattered and rent by the waves and tempests: huge masses of rocks had been undermined, broken off, and tumbled down one upon another, forming very wild and disorderly heaps in the water all around it. I could not help shuddering at the sight and sound of the surf as it came thundering on, and burst against the trembling sides of this rocky Cape, which is about a mile in length, and is already undermined in such a manner, that the whole road along which we passed will very probably soon tumble down among the assailing billows. On our right, the land rose gradually like an inclined plane, and was covered with pebbles and other round smooth stones that bore strong marks of having been tossed about and worn by the surf on a sea beach: it rose thus for about two miles, when it was interrupted by perpendicular

and overhanging cliffs of craggy and broken rocks three or four hundred feet in height: these rocks and the whole face of the upper Cape bore as strong marks of having once been washed and beat upon by the ocean, as did the cliff below us, against which it was now dashing with dreadful violence. Along most parts of the inclined plane, and particularly near the upper cliff, were large mounts of loose sand in form of snow drifts. This sand was now flying up from the beach below, being blown out from among the rocks by the strong trade-winds at every low tide, and almost as soon as the dashings of the waves among them had prepared it: this sand, and in fact all we had seen since we came to the cultivated country, was the same in appearance as that which we saw and passed through on the Desert, and must have been produced and heaped up by the same causes. After passing the Cape, about one hour's ride, we came to the high bank of a river, and descending to its left shore, we found its mouth was filled up with sand that had been washed in by the sea, though the river was about half a mile wide at its end, and appeared quite deep—here we stopped to take some food, namely, biscuit and butter.

Bel Mooden had also brought some dried figs, dates, and nuts. Having finished our repast, we were again placed on our beasts, and proceeded round the mouth of the river on a sandy beach, about one hundred yards wide, and twenty

feet above the level of the fresh water within, and thirty feet above the sea water on the beach, at high tide. Our guides informed me that this river was called "*el wod Tensha*;" that it had formerly been a very wide and deep one, and used to empty itself into the sea; that in the rainy season it was impossible to pass it without going twenty miles up the country; but for the last few years there had not been rain enough in this part of the country to force open its mouth.

Having left the margin of the river, we entered on a plain, and struck off to our right in a direction nearly east, and we went forward as fast as possible towards the high land. We had passed many sanctuaries, but had not observed a single dwelling house, nor even a tent, since we left Santa Cruz. We now beheld several square walled places, which answer the double purpose of dwelling-house and castle, crowning the top of the high mountain, which appeared very dry and sterile, mostly composed of layers of huge rocks and very steep, with a few dry shrubs scattered thinly about the crevices and small flat spots or spaces. Approaching the foot of the mountain, we came to a very deep hollow, apparently formed by the washings of a small stream of water, assisted by rains that have poured through it from time immemorial. Our way wound up through this steep hollow, and alongside of the little brook before mentioned. As we entered it, the eye was delighted with the beauty of the scene. The bottom of the hollow had been made level

by art, and was covered from its base with gardens, which rose one above another in the form of an amphitheatre : they were kept up to a level by means of solid stone walls laid in lime, and had been filled in with rich soil : the longest was not greater in extent than twenty yards by ten : the sides of the hollow were so steep, that the upright walls were not less than ten or fifteen feet in height between each garden : they were well stocked with most kinds of vegetables cultivated in kitchen gardens, and with melons : gutters were curiously disposed around these gardens to convey water to every part, at the pleasure of the proprietor : they had growing on their sides an abundance of fig and date trees, and grape vines running up the sides of the rocks ; and a little higher up, hundreds of the dwarf Arga tree, whose yellow fruit contributed to enliven the prospect. We were at least two hours in gaining the summit, when it had become dark, and we had to pass down the mountain on its east side through another hollow, though not a fertile one ; for here was no running water. The narrow path we travelled in had been worn into the limestone rock, by the feet of mules and horses that had passed along it, no doubt during the course of many centuries ; and assisted by the rain water streaming through it from above, it was in some places channelled out to the depth of ten or fifteen feet, and just wide enough for a camel or mule to pass. In one place it became necessary, for the want of sufficient room to get

through, to take the lading from the mules and carry it down by hand. After descending about three hours we came to a plain, and kept on in an eastern direction until about midnight; when we approached the walls of a small city, or dwelling-place, and took up our lodgings near it on the flat top of a long cistern, which afforded plenty of water. The chief men of the city, alarmed by the barking of their dogs, soon came out and welcomed their visitors by the well known Arabic salutation, "*Salemo Alikom, Labez, &c.*"

They furnished our company with a supper of cous-cousoo, while I and my men ate some dates and dry figs. The night was damp and cold, and this, with my fatigues, rendered it impossible for me to sleep. We stayed here for about three hours, when daylight appearing, (October the sixth,) we were again mounted and proceeded on our journey. My companions, as well as myself, were so weak, being really worn out, and completely exhausted, that it was with the greatest difficulty they could be supported on the mules. As daylight increased, we saw a number of towns or dwellings handsomely inclosed with high walls of stone, cemented with lime: the land on the plain was divided off and fenced in with rough stone walls made with great labour: numerous flocks of goats were feeding on the oil nut: some herds of cattle, with a few old horses, asses, and camels, were nibbling off the green leaves and branches of small shrubs, for the want of grass: we also saw many regularly planted

orchards of fig trees; and the land was in many places ploughed and ready to receive the seed barley so soon as rain should fall sufficient to ensure its vegetation.

We went forward to the north-eastward, and on rising a hill, we saw two mountains before us to the north, over which I was informed we must pass: the farthest one north appeared to be twenty miles distant. We soon began to climb the nearest, and when we reached its summit, looking to the east, the Atlas was fairly in view, and all its lofty peaks covered with snow. Descending this mountain, we met large droves of camels, mules, and asses, laden with salt and other merchandise, and driven by a considerable number of Moors and Arabs: the Moors were easily distinguished by their dress: they had each, besides his haick, a caftan or close jacket next his skin, and the most of them had turbans on their heads: they were armed with daggers, or scimitars, suspended from their necks by a cord of red woollen yarn thrown over the left shoulder: the scabbards were such as I have before described—the dagger is worn outside of the haick; its handle is made of wood handsomely wrought: the point of the dagger hooks inward like a pruning knife: when they have occasion to use it, they seize it with their right hand, the lower side of the hand being next to the blade, and strike after raising it above their heads, ripping open their adversary: they never attempt to parry a stroke with their daggers.

The valley between these two mountains had been well cultivated, and would be very productive with seasonable rains, but at this time those dreadful scourges, severe droughts, and myriads of locusts, had destroyed almost every green thing: even the leaves of the trees and shrubs had not escaped their devastations. I was informed by Rais bel Cossim that we were now in the province of *Hah hah*, and that the locusts had utterly laid waste the country for the last six years, so that the land now groaned under a most grievous famine; nor could our company procure any barley or other food for their beasts. This province must be naturally a very strong military country; it is very mountainous, and rendered almost inaccessible by the craggy steeps and narrow roads, or defiles, through which an army would be under the necessity of marching. The cities, or rather castles, in which the inhabitants reside, are built strong with stone and lime, and are fifteen or twenty feet in height, generally of a quadrangular form of from fifty to two hundred yards square, and the tops crowned with turrets: within these walls all the flocks and herds are driven every night for safe keeping. All the men in these parts are well armed with long Moorish muskets, and with sabres, or daggers, by their sides: there are no Arabs dwelling in this part of the country, as they always live in tents, and will not be confined within walls; nor had we seen a tent since our arrival at the dwelling of Sidi Mohammed.

The valley now spread out to the right, and might be termed a considerably extensive plain, on which but few castles or dwellings appeared, and we saw no river or stream of water, though there were high mountains on both sides. The little herbage that had sprung up, in consequence of the recent rains, was destroyed by the locusts, which were to be seen thinly scattered over the ground, and rose in considerable numbers on our approach; skipping like grasshoppers. Rais bel Cossim informed me that the flights of locusts, from which these few had strayed, had gone to some hitherto more favoured part of the country to continue their ravages.

While we were tranquilly travelling along, I asked Rais in what manner the oil was extracted from the nuts that grew in such quantities on the Arga tree, which entirely covered the sides of the hills. He told me that in the country these nuts were swallowed by the goats; (and in fact we saw these animals picking them up under the trees;) that the nut passes through, after being deprived of its bark, which though very bitter, was highly relished by the goats, and when voided, the women and children, who tend them, pick up the nuts and put them into a bag, slung about them for the purpose, and carry them home, where they crack them between stones, get out the kernel, and expressing the oily juice from them, they boil it down in a jar, until it becomes of a proper consistence, when it is poured off, and is fit for use.

The appearance of this fruit growing thickly on the trees, different in size, and variegated in colour from green to red, and from that to bright yellow, had a pleasing effect: the ground beneath the trees was also covered with them.

Having come to the foot of the high mountain, we ascended it, winding up its steep side in a zigzag path, very difficult of ascent, and indeed almost impracticable. On our left was a deep gully, with a considerable stream of water running down through it, like a small mill-stream: it poured over the precipices, making a loud roaring, that might be heard at a great distance; though the whole stream seemed to lose itself entirely in the sand before it reached the bottom of the mountain. The sides of this gully were shaded by the Arga and bean tree, and many other bushes, and near the water I discovered a few yew or hemlock bushes, that reminded me of scenes I had been familiar with in my own country. As we rode near the top of the mountain, this gully assumed the appearance of a rich valley, filled with gardens one above another, supported by strong stone walls in the same manner as those I have already described, though much larger, and they were apparently well watered by the stream that was carried around them in gutters fitted expressly for that purpose. These gardens looked as if they were well cultivated, and stored with vegetables, and numbers of men and boys were at work tilling and dressing them.

On the highest part of the mountain that we reached, I was much surprised to find a considerable plain spot, nearly covered with stacks of salt, which stood very thick, and must, I think, have amounted to several hundreds. To see marine salt in such quantities on the top of a mountain, which I computed to stand at least fifteen hundred feet above the surface of the ocean, excited my wonder and curiosity; but we stopped short of them, for the camels we had started with from Stuka were to carry loads of this salt back; so that after Rais had paid the owners of them for their trouble and assistance, they went towards the salt heaps, wishing us a prosperous journey. While we were stopped to settle with them, we were taken from the mules and seated on the ground, when many of the inhabitants came near to have a look at us, *Christian Slaves*. They brought with them a few raw turnips, which they distributed among us: they were the sweetest I had ever tasted, and very refreshing. We were soon placed upon the mules again, and I rode a little to the left, in order to find out in what way this great quantity of salt had been procured and deposited in this singular situation; on a near approach, I saw a great number of salt pans formed of clay, and very shallow, into which water was conducted by means of small gutters cut for the purpose in the clay. The water issues in considerable quantities from the side of the mountain, in the N.W. part of the plain, (which has been levelled down and

regulated with great labour,) and is very strongly impregnated with salt: the pans or basins being very shallow, the water is soon evaporated by the heat of the sun, and a crystallization of excellent salt is the result. It is small grained, and tinged by the reddish colour of the clay of which the pans are formed. The highest peak of the mountain did not appear to rise above the salt spring more than about one hundred feet: a great number of men and boys were employed in raking and heaping up the salt, and numbers more in selling and measuring it out, and loading it on camels, mules, and asses. Rais bel Cossim informed me, that this spring furnished the greatest proportion of the salt that is made use of in the Moorish dominions, and in Suse; and I should estimate the number of camels, mules, and asses that were there at that time waiting for loads, at from four to five hundred. We had met hundreds on the route since we left Stuka, loaded with this article, and I afterwards saw many loads of the same kind of salt enter *Mogadore*, or *Swearah*, *Saffy*, and *Rabat*.

We proceeded to the northward down the mountain, which is not so steep on its north as on its south side. The country, after descending it, was tolerably smooth, with much of the Arga wood flourishing on every side. Soon after dark we came to a wall that inclosed a space of ground forty or fifty yards square: it was built of stone and lime, six or eight feet in height, with an open space like a gateway on its northern side, through which we entered and took

up our lodgings on the ground, which was very smooth. A walled village was near this yard on the west, and on the north, outside of both walls, stood a mosque or house of worship: the inhabitants were chanting their evening or eight o'clock prayers when we entered the yard; yet none of them came out to look at us, their attention being wholly confined to their religious duties. We were taken from the mules and placed near the wall, which kept off the night wind, and after we had nibbled a little biscuit and drunk some water, we thanked God for his goodness, and tried to get a little sleep. The wind did not molest us, and we rested until about midnight, when we were awakened by the noise occasioned by a company of men with loaded camels and mules: they had already entered the yard without ceremony, to the number probably of thirty men, with three times as many camels, mules, and asses. I was awakened by the bellowing of the camels, as they were forced to lie down with their heavy loads;—the men did not speak to ours, and as soon as they had tethered their mules, by tying ropes round their footlock joints, and fastening them to pegs driven into the ground for that purpose, they laid themselves down to sleep, wrapped up in their haicks.

Our whole company being awake, they saddled their mules, put us thereon, and we proceeded on our journey. It was very dark, and the path lay through a rough stony country. We were so weak, that we could not sit on the

mules without one being behind to steady our tottering frames; at daylight we found ourselves near some substantial buildings, and I begged of Rais to buy some milk if it was possible: he rode near the gates and asked some of the inhabitants for milk; but they would not sell any. This to me was a sore disappointment, as I was benumbed with cold, and so much fatigued, that I thought it would be impossible for me to ride much farther; which Rais observing, said to me, "Keep up your spirits, Captain, only a few hours longer, and you will be in Swearah, if God Almighty continues his protection." I was so reduced and debilitated, that I could not support even good news with any degree of firmness, and such was my agitation, that it was with the utmost difficulty I could keep on my mule for some moments afterwards. We had been constantly travelling for three days and most of three nights, and though I concluded we must be near Swearah, I did not think we should reach it before late in the evening. Passing along a narrow footway between high bushes, we came to a long string of sand hills on our left, drifted up like the sand heaps on the Desert, and along the coast: it was then about eight o'clock in the morning, when mounting the side of one of those hills, the city of Swearah broke suddenly upon our view, with the island of Mogadore, forming a harbour, in which was a brig riding at anchor with English colours flying:—"Take courage, Captain," said the good Rais; "there is Swearah,"

pointing towards the town ; “ and there is a vessel to carry you to your country and family :—if God please, you will soon see the noble Willshire, who will relieve you from all your miseries—I thank my God your sufferings are nearly at an end, and that I have been found worthy to be an instrument in the hands of the Omnipotent to redeem you from slavery.” He next returned thanks to the Almighty, in Arabic, with all that fervour and devotion so peculiar to Mohammedans, and then he ejaculated, in Spanish, “ May it have pleased Almighty God to have preserved the lives of my wife and children.”

We now proceeded down the sand hills towards the city—but very slowly. Sidi Hamet had been for some time missing—he had gone privately forward to be first to carry the news to our deliverer of our approach—and now Bel. Mooden and Sidi Mohammed left us for a similar purpose, and made the best of their way towards the city. It would be idle for me to attempt to describe the various emotions of my mind at this exquisitely interesting moment : I must leave that to be conceived of by the reader. We soon approached the walls of an imperial palace, which is situated about two miles south-east of Swearah, or Mogadore. The walls are built in a square of probably one hundred yards at each side, and about twenty feet in height—they inclose four small square houses, built at the four corners within, and which rise one story above the walls—the houses have square roofs,

coming to a point in the centre, and handsomely covered with green tiles—they, as well as the other walls, are built with rough stone, cemented with lime, plastered over and whitewashed.

Near the western angle of the walls we stopped, and were taken off our mules and seated on the green grass. A small stream of fresh water, running from the east, was spreading over the sand near its northern wall, flowing and meandering slowly towards the bay over the beach, in a number of small rills. The water in the bay was quite smooth; small boats were moving gently on its glassy surface, or were anchored near its entrance, probably for the purpose of fishing; this, together with the sight of great numbers of men driving camels, cows, asses, and sheep, and riding on horses, all at a distance, and going different ways, together with the view of the high steeples in Mogadore, infused into my soul a kind of sublime delight and a heavenly serenity that is indescribable, and to which it had ever before been a stranger. The next moment I discovered the American flag floating over a part of the distant city: at this blessed and transporting sight, the little blood remaining in my veins, gushed through my glowing heart with wild impetuosity, and seemed to pour a flood of new life through every part of my exhausted frame. We were still seated on the green sward near the western wall, and the mules that brought us there were feeding carelessly before us at a little distance. Our deliverer,

who had received news of our coming from Sidi Hamet, having first directed the flag of our country to be hoisted as a signal, had mounted his horse, ridden out of the city, and came to the eastern side of the palace walls, where Rais bel Cossim met him—unknown to me. I expected him soon, but did not think he was so near—he had dismounted, and was prepared to behold some of the most miserable objects his imagination could paint—he led his horse along the south angle and near the wall: Rais was by his side, when opening past the corner, I heard Rais exclaim, in Spanish, “Alla estan”—“There they are:”—at this sound we looked up and beheld our deliverer, who had at that instant turned his eyes upon us. He started back one step with surprize. His blood seemed to fly from his visage for a moment, but recovering himself a little, he rushed forward, and clasping me to his breast, he ejaculated, “Welcome to my arms, my dear Sir: this is truly a happy moment!” He next took each of my companions by the hand, and welcomed them to their liberty, while tears trickled down his manly cheeks, and the sudden rush of all the generous and sympathetic feelings of his heart nearly choked his utterance; then raising his eyes towards heaven, he said, “I thank thee, great Author of my being, for thy mercy to these my brothers!”—He could add no more; his whole frame was so agitated, that his strength failed him, and he sank to the ground. We, on our part, could only look up towards heaven in silent

adoration, while our hearts swelled with indescribable sensations of gratitude and love to the all wise, all powerful, and ever merciful God of the universe, who had conducted us through so many dreadful scenes of danger and suffering—had controlled the passions and disposed the hearts of the barbarous Arabs in our favour, and had finally brought us to the arms of such a friend. Tears of joy streamed from our eyes, and Rais bel Cossim was so much affected at this interview, that in order to conceal his weeping, he hid himself behind the wall; for the Moors, as well as the Arabs, hold the shedding of tears to be a womanish and degrading weakness. After a short pause, when Mr. Willshire had in some measure recovered, he said, “Come, my friends, let us go to the city; my house is already prepared for your reception.”—The mules were led up, and we were again placed on them and rode off slowly towards Mogadore. Mr. Savage and Clark were on one mule, and Burns and Horace on another, for the purpose of mutually supporting each other; but their debility was such, that they fell off on the beach two or three times before they reached the city; however, it was on the soft sand, and as they were very light, they seemed to have received no material injury;—they were again placed on the mules, and steadied until our arrival at the gates of Swearah, by Moors walking beside them. The gateway was crowded with Moors, Jews, and negroes—the news of our coming having spread through the city, and a

curiosity to see Christian slaves, had brought them together in great numbers; and the men and boys of the rabble were only restrained from committing violence on us, by the gatekeepers and a few soldiers, who voluntarily escorted us to Mr. Willshire's house, and in some measure kept off the crowd: there we were taken from our mules; but some soldiers coming in at that instant, said it was the Bashaw's orders that we should appear before him immediately, and we were constrained to obey; it was but a few steps, and we were enabled to walk there by supporting one another. When we came to the door, we were ushered into a kind of entry-way, which served as an audience chamber, by Mr. Willshire's Jew interpreter, who, in token of submission, was obliged to pull off his cap and slippers before he could enter. We were ordered to sit down on the floor, and we then saw before us a very respectable looking Moor, of about sixty years of age: he was sitting cross-legged on a mat or carpet, that lay on the floor, which was terrace-work, drinking tea from a small cup—his dress was the *haick*. After he had finished his cup of tea and looked at us a moment, he asked me, through the interpreter, what countryman I was? where my vessel was wrecked? how many men I had in all, and if the remainder were alive? how long I had been a slave, and if the Arab, my last master, had treated me kindly? He wanted, further, to know how much money from my vessel fell into the hands of the Arabs, and what other cargo she

had on board. Having satisfied his inquiries in the best manner I was able, he said we were now free, and he would write to the Emperor respecting me and my men, and hoped he would give us leave to go home to our country :—he then dismissed us. Mr. Willshire was with us, and answered all the questions the Bashaw chose to put to him, and then assisted us in returning to his house.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The author and his companions are cleansed, clothed, and fed—he becomes delirious, but is again restored to reason—the kindness of Mr. Willshire—letter from Horatio Sprague, Esq. of Gibraltar—author's reflections on his past sufferings and on the providential chain of events that had fitted him for enduring them, and miraculously supported and restored him and his four companions to their liberty.

UPON our arrival at Mr. Willshire's house, some Jews were ready to shave off our beards, and as the hair of our heads was also in a very unpleasant condition; being literally filled with vermin; that, as well as our beards, underwent the operation of the scissors and razor: the hair was cut off at least as close as the horrible state of our skin and flesh would admit of: this may be imagined, but it is absolutely too shocking for description. Our squalid and emaciated frames were then purified with soap and water, and our humane and generous friend furnished us with some of his own clothing, after our bodies, which were still covered with sores, had been rubbed with sweet oil. Mr. Willshire's cook had by this time prepared a repast, which consisted of

beef cut into square pieces, just large enough for a mouthful before it was cooked ; these were then rolled in onions, cut up fine, and mixed with salt and pepper ; they were in the next place put on iron skewers and laid horizontally across a pot of burning charcoal, and turned over occasionally, until it was perfectly roasted : this dish is called *Cubbub*, and in my opinion far surpasses in flavour the so much admired beef-steak ; as it is eaten hot from the skewers, and is indeed an excellent mode of cooking beef.—We ate sparingly of this delicious food, which was accompanied with some good wheaten bread and butter, and followed by a quantity of exquisite pomegranates ; for our stomachs were contracted to such a degree by long fastings, that they had lost their tone, and could not receive the usual allowance for a healthy man.—A doctor then appeared and administered to each of us a dose of physic, which he said was to prepare our stomachs for eating. He was a Jew, who had been bred at Moscow in Russia, and studied medicine there, and had since travelled through Germany, Italy, and Spain ; he spoke the Spanish language fluently, and I was convinced, before I left Mogadore, that he possessed much medical as well as surgical skill. He had only been in Swearah or Mogadore two months, and there was no other physician in that city, or in that part of the country, except jugglers or quacks. Good beds had been fitted up for myself and Mr. Savage in the same room, and after being welcomed by

Mr. John Foxcroft and Don Pablo Riva, who had heard of our arrival, we retired to rest.

My mind, which (though my body was worn down to a skeleton) had been hitherto strong, and supported me through all my trials, distresses, and sufferings, and enabled me to encourage and keep up the spirits of my frequently despairing fellow-sufferers, could no longer sustain me: my sudden change of situation seemed to have relaxed the very springs of my soul, and all my faculties fell into the wildest confusion. The unbounded kindness, the goodness, and whole attention of Mr. Willshire, who made use of all the soothing language of which the most affectionate brother or friend is capable, tended but to ferment the tempest that was gathering in my brain. I became delirious—was bereft of my senses—and for the space of three days knew not where I was.—When my reason returned, I found I had been constantly attended by Mr. Willshire, and generally kept in my room, though he would sometimes persuade me to walk in the gallery with him, and used every means in his power to restore and compose my bewildered senses: that I had remained continually bathed in tears, and shuddering at the sight of every human being, fearing I should again be carried into slavery. I had slunk into the darkest corner of my room; but though insensible, I seemed to know the worth of my friend and deliverer, and would agree to, and comply with his advice and directions.

In the mean time, this most estimable and noble minded young man had spared neither pains nor expense in procuring for us every comfort, and in administering, with his own hands, night and day, such relief and refreshment as our late severe sufferings and present debility required. He had sent off persons on mules to the vicinity of the city of Morocco, more than one hundred miles, and procured some of the most delicious fruits that country can produce, such as dates, figs, grapes, pomegranates, &c. He gave us for drink the best of wines, and I again began to have an appetite for my food, which was prepared with the greatest care. My men were furnished with shirts, trowsers, and jackets, and being fed with the most nourishing soups and other kinds of food, gained a considerable degree of strength. Captain Wallace, of the English brig Pilot, then being in the port, furnished us with some pork, split peas, and potatoes, and seemed very friendly. Clark and Burns were but the skeletons of men—Mr. Savage and Horace were nearly as much reduced, but not having been diseased in so great a degree, they were consequently stronger. Many of my bones, as well as my ribs, had been divested entirely, not only of flesh, but of skin, and had appeared white like dry bones when on the Desert; but they were now nearly covered again, though we still might with some reason be termed the dry skeletons of Moorish slaves. At the instance of Mr. Willshire I was weighed, and fell short of ninety

pounds, though my usual weight, for the last ten years, had been over two hundred and forty pounds: the weight of my companions was less than I dare to mention, for I apprehend it would not be believed, that the bodies of men retaining the vital spark should not weigh forty pounds.

The sight of my face in a glass called to my recollection all the trying scenes I had passed through since my shipwreck;—I could contemplate with pleasure and gratitude the power, and wisdom, and fore-knowledge of the Supreme Being, as well as His mercy and unbounded goodness. I could plainly discover that the train of events which, in my former life, I had always considered as great misfortunes, had been directed by unerring wisdom, and had fitted me for running the circle marked out by the Omnipotent. When I studied the French and Spanish languages, I did it from expectations of future gain in a commercial point of view. All the exertions I had hitherto made to become acquainted with foreign languages, and to store my mind with learning and a knowledge of mankind, had procured for me no wealth; without which acquirement a man is generally considered on the stage of the world as a very insignificant creature, that may be kicked off or trampled upon by the pampered worms of his species, who sport around him with all the upstart pride of (in many instances) ill gotten treasure. I had been cheated and swindled out of property by those whom I considered my friends; yet my mind was formed

for friendship :—I do not speak of this in the way of boasting. My hand had never been slack in relieving the distresses of my fellow men whenever I had the power, in the different countries where I had been; but I had almost become a stoic, and had very nearly concluded that disinterested friendship and benevolence, out of the circle of a man's own family, was not to be found; that the virtuous man, if poor, was not only despised by his more fortunate fellow creatures, but forsaken almost by Providence itself. I now, however, had positive proof to the contrary of some of those hasty and ill-founded opinions; and I clearly saw that I had only been tutored in the school of adversity, in order that I might be prepared for fulfilling the purpose for which I had been created.

In the midst of those reflections I received, by a courier from Consul-General Simpson, at Tangier, to Mr. Willshire, the following letter :—it speaks the soul of the writer, and needs no comment.

Gibraltar, 13th November, 1815.

MY DEAR RILEY,

I will not waste a moment by unnecessary preamble. I have written to Mr. Willshire, that your draft on me for twelve hundred dollars, or more, shall be duly paid for the obtainment of your liberty, and those with you. I have sent him two double-barrelled guns to meet his promise to

the Moor.—In a short time after the receipt of this, I hope to have the happiness to take you by the hand under my roof again. You will come here by the way of Tangier.

Your assured friend,

HORATIO SPRAGUE.

My sensations on reading this letter, and on seeing that written by Mr. Sprague to Mr. Willshire, I must leave to the reader to imagine, and only observe that my acquaintance with that gentleman was but very slight, say about ten days, while I remained at Gibraltar, immediately before my disaster—it was sufficient for him to know his fellow creatures were in distress, and that it was in his power to relieve them. Mr. Sprague is a native of Boston, the capital of the State of Massachusetts, and had established himself as a respectable merchant in Gibraltar a little before the breaking out of the late war.—In the early part of that war a number of American vessels were dispatched by individuals with cargoes of provisions, &c. for Spain and Portugal—these vessels were navigated under enemies' licenses, but from some cause or other many of them were seized on the ocean by British ships of war, and conducted to Gibraltar; where both the vessels and their cargoes were condemned, and their crews turned adrift in the streets without a cent of money in their pockets, and left to the mercy of the ele-

ments. Mr. Gavino, the American consul, would not act in their behalf, because (as he stated) his functions had ceased by reason of the war;—when this humane and generous gentleman took them under his protection, hired the hulk of an old vessel for them to live in, furnished them with provisions and other necessaries and comforts for the term of one whole year or upwards, and in this manner supported for the greater part of that time as many as one hundred and fifty men—this he did from his own purse, and out of pure philanthropy—of this I was informed by Mr. Charles Moore, of Philadelphia, and other gentlemen of respectability and veracity. He also furnished and sent a considerable sum of money to Algiers, which bought from hard labour our unfortunate countrymen, comprising the officers and crew of the brig ——, Captain Smith, of Boston, who were made slaves by that regency;—in this he was assisted by Messrs. Charles H. Hall and Co. merchants at Cadiz, and several other worthy and respectable Americans; but the loss of the United States' sloop of war the *Epervier*, when homeward bound, having on board all the redeemed slaves after the peace with Algiers, rendered it impossible for them to communicate their sense of gratitude for Mr. Sprague's humanity. These facts were stated to me by several respectable individuals in Gibraltar, and can be authenticated beyond a doubt.

After my mind had been again tranquillized by a refreshing night's sleep, my reflections returned to my providential preservation.

When my vessel was wrecked, I was endued with presence of mind, judgment, and prudence, whereby my whole crew was saved in the first instance, and safely landed. When I was seized on afterwards by the Arabs, a superior Intelligence suddenly suggested to my mind a stratagem by which my life was saved, though one of my unfortunate companions was sacrificed to glut the brutal ferocity of the natives, whilst I was conducted to the wreck in safety through a tremendous surf that rolled over me every instant. The ways of Providence were next traced out to my wondering eyes in the smoothing down of the sea, so that we were enabled to row our crazy boat out with safety to the ocean, and in our preservation in an open boat amidst violent gales of wind, though her timbers and planks seemed only to hold together by the pressure of the sea acting upon their outer side. When destitute of provisions and water, worn down with privations and fatigues, we were again landed on the coast, carried on the top of a dreadful wave over the heads of craggy rocks that must have dashed us and our boat to atoms without a particular divine protection. We were next forced to climb over the most formidable precipices and obstructions, before it was possible to arrive on the dreary Desert above us; these delays were necessary to bring us, at

a proper time, within sight of fires kindled by Arabs, who had arrived there that day, (and who were the first, as I was afterwards informed, who had been there to water their camels within the last thirty days,) and who were providentially sent to save our lives, as we could not have existed a day longer without drink. Though my skin was burned off by the sun's rays, and myself given as a slave to those wandering wretches—the same Almighty power still preserved my life, endowed me with intelligence to comprehend a language I had never before heard spoken, and enabled me to make myself understood by that people, and in some degree respected. Sidi Hamet (though a thievish Arab) had been sent from the confines of the Moorish empire before I left Gibraltar: he was conducted by the same unerring Wisdom to my master's tent; his heart was softened at the recital of my distresses, and instead of trading in the article of ostrich feathers, (which was his whole business there, as he believed,) he was persuaded by a wretched naked skeleton of a slave, merely retaining the glimmering of the vital spark, against his own judgment, and directly and strenuously opposed by his brother and partner, who insisted that if even I told the truth, and had a friend in Morocco to purchase me on my arrival there, yet my death must certainly happen long before it was possible to get me to that place: yet this same brother, one of the most barbarous of men, was forced, though against his will,

to agree, and to lend the aid of his property in effecting the purchase, and to exert himself to support and to defend myself and four companions through the Desert, whilst all his schemes for selling and separating us had constantly proved abortive. A Spanish barque had been destroyed by the natives on the coast of Suse, north of Cape Nun, and nineteen men had been either massacred by the natives, or were groaning out a miserable existence in the worst kind of barbarian slavery—this event alone had furnished a piece of paper on which I wrote the note, at a venture, to Mogadore: my note fell into the hands of a perfect stranger, whose name I had never even heard of, and who was as ignorant of mine. This excellent young man was touched by the same Power who had hitherto protected me: he agreed to pay the sum demanded without reflection, though his utter ruin might have been the consequence, trusting implicitly to the written word of a wretched naked slave; a person of whom he had no knowledge, and who was then three hundred miles distant, and even out of the power of the government that protected him; and his impatience to relieve my distresses was so great, that he instantly paid the money demanded by my master, on his simply agreeing to stay in Swerah (Mogadore) until we came up, but without the power to keep him one instant if he chose to go away; nor would he allow time to the magnanimous Moor, who kindly volunteered to go down after us, at the imminent

risk of his life, scarcely to take leave of his family : mounting him on his own mule, and begging him to hurry on, day and night, until he reached us, and to spare neither pains nor expense in fetching us to Mogadore.

I cannot here omit mentioning the manner in which Mr. Willshire got my first note. Sidi Hamet (the bearer of it) was one of those Arabs belonging to a tribe surnamed by the Moors sons of Lions, on account of their unconquerable spirit ; when he came to the gate of Swearah or Mogadore, he providentially was met by Rais bel Cossim, who though a perfect stranger, asked him, " From whence come you, son of a lion ?" Upon which Sidi Hamet stopped, and made known his business. This Moor was the only one which Mr. Willshire placed confidence in, or treated as a friend : he conducted Sidi Hamet to Mr. Willshire's house, and offered to leave his family, who were then sick, and to do his utmost to restore me and my men to liberty. Providence had also caused us to be stopped at Stuka, where we had time to recover, in part, from our illness, and to gain strength enough to support us through the remainder of our journey ; had turned the contrivances of Sheick Ali into nothingness, and finally provided for us such a friend as Mr. Sprague of Gibraltar, one of the most feeling and best of men.

This providential chain of events, thus planned and executed, even against the will of the principal agents

employed, filled my mind with unutterable thankfulness and wonder at the wisdom, the goodness, and the mercy of God towards me; and the emotions which these reflections excited kept me almost constantly bathed in tears for the greatest part of a month. When I retired to rest, and sleep had closed my eyes, my mind still retaining the strong impression of my past sufferings, made them the subjects of my dreams. I used to rise in my sleep, and think I was driving camels up and down the sandy hills near the Desert, or along the craggy steps of Morocco: obeying my master's orders in putting on my fetters, or beackets, on the legs and knees of his camels, and in the midst of my agonizing toils and heart-sickening anxieties, while groping about my room, I would hit my head against something, which would startle and awaken me: then I would throw myself on my bed again to sleep, and dream, and act over similar scenes. Fearing I should get out of my chamber and injure myself in my sleep, I always locked the door, and hid the key before I went to bed. There was a grating to the windows of the apartments I slept in, and I often awoke and found myself trying to get out. My mind at length became more composed and serene as my strength increased, and by the first of December I was able to ride out, and to walk about the city. Mr. Willshire, whose whole attention had been shown to me and my companions, tried every means to divert my mind

from the subject of my reflections, and would ride out with me to a garden two miles out of the city, accompanied by a Moor, where we passed away many pleasant hours, which were endeared by every feeling and sentiment of gratitude and esteem on the one part, and of generous sympathy and god-like benevolence on the other.

In this garden stood a venerable fig-tree, whose body and boughs were covered with the names, and initials of the names, of almost all the Europeans and Americans who had visited Swearah, or Mogadore, carved out with knives in the thick bark, accompanied with the dates of their several visits, &c. This was a kind of monument I delighted to examine; it seemed to say that Swearah was once a flourishing city, when its commerce was fostered by the Moorish government; but now, that superstition, fanaticism, and tyranny bear sway, they have swept away with their pernicious breath, the whole wealth of its once industrious and highly favoured inhabitants;—have driven the foreigner from their shores, and it seems as if the curse of Heaven had fallen on the whole land, for in spite of all the exertions of its cultivators and the fertility of the soil, severe droughts, and the ravages of the locusts, have frequently caused a famine in that country, from whence wheat was exported in immense quantities but a few years past for Spain and Portugal, at half a dollar per bushel. Not a single bushel

had been shipped for some years past, and at this time none was to be had at any price, except now and then a few bags, brought from the province of Duquilla, which could only be purchased by the most wealthy: the others were provided with scanty portions of barley, of which they made their **COUS-COO-SOO.**

Y Y

CHAPTER XXV.

The author's motives for requesting of, and writing down, his former Master's Narrative of Travels on the Desert when in Mogadore, together with Sidi Hamet's Narrative of a Journey across the Great Desert to Tombuctoo, and back again to Wednoon, with a caravan.

FROM the time I had a prospect of being redeemed from slavery, I had determined (if that should ever happen) to write an account of our sufferings, which I considered greater than had ever fallen to the lot of man, and also to embody such observations as I had been enabled to make while a slave, in travelling the Great Desert, &c. &c. for the satisfaction of my family and the friends of my fellow-sufferers. My late master was yet in Mogadore, for he remained in the house of my deliverer about two weeks after our arrival, and he now mentioned to me that he and his brother had been three times to Tombuctoo (as he had before informed Mr. Willshire) with caravans, and had crossed the Desert in almost every direction. I felt interested in making every inquiry that could suggest itself to my mind respecting the face and the extent of the Desert

and the countries south of it; and although I was convinced, by my own observations, that both he and his brother, probably in common with the Arabs of the Desert, knew the courses they steered, notwithstanding they had no compass or any other instrument to direct them in their journeys, yet wishing to be fully satisfied in this particular, I took them up upon the roof of the house (which was flat and terraced with stones laid in line cement, and smooth like a floor) one clear evening, and then told them that I wanted to know by what means they were enabled to find their way across the trackless Desert. Sidi Hamet immediately pointed out to me the north or polar star, and the great bear, and told me the Arabic names of the principal fixed stars, as well as of the planets, then visible in the firmament, and his manner of steering and reckoning time by the means of them. His correct observations on the stars, perfectly astonished me: he appeared to be much better acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies than I was, who had made it my study for a great many years, and navigated to many parts of the globe by their assistance. To convince me that he knew the cardinal points, he laid two small sticks across at right angles, one pointing directly towards the polar star—he next placed two others across, dividing the circle into eighths, and then in like manner into sixteenths, so that I was satisfied he knew the requisite divisions of the compass: and on the next day I requested him to give me a narrative of his

journeyings on, and across the Desert, with which he very readily complied, and related as follows;—while I sat in my room with pen, ink, and paper, and noted it down, having the Moor *Bel Mooden* to interpret and explain to me in Spanish such parts of the narrative as I did not perfectly comprehend in Arabic. I give it to the reader as nearly as possible in the words of the narrator, and do not hold myself responsible for Sidi Hamet's correctness, or his veracity, though for my own part I have no doubt but he meant to, and did tell the truth as near as his recollection served him, and as he had a retentive memory, and the incidents related were calculated to impress themselves strongly on his intelligent mind, I have no doubt but his whole narrative is substantially true.

SECTION I.

Sidi Hamet's Narrative of a Journey from Widnoon across the Great Desert to Tombuctoo, and back again to Widnoon.

“THE first time I set out to cross the Great Desert, was several years ago, (about nine or ten,) being in the vicinity of Widnoon, where I had the year before been married to the daughter of Sheick Ali, (a beautiful woman, who is now my wife, and has two fine boys and one girl.) I, with my brother Seid, joined the caravan at Widnoon, by the advice

of Sheick Ali: we had four camels loaded with haicks and some other goods. The whole caravan consisted of about three thousand camels and eight hundred men, with goods of almost every kind that are sold in Morocco. The men were all armed with good muskets and scimitars, and the whole under the command of *Sheick ben Soleyman* of Waldeleim, (Woled Deleim on the map,) with four good guides. We set out from Widnoon, in Suse, which is a great place of trade, late in the fall of the year, and travelled six days to the west, when we came to the last mountain—there we stopped ten days, and let our camels feed on the bushes, while half the men were employed in getting wood from the mountain, and burning it into charcoal, which we put into bags, as it was light, and laid it on the camels over the other goods; then setting off for the Desert, we mounted up to its level, which is a great deal higher than the country near it to the north, and travelled four days on the hard level; we then passed amongst the high sand hills, which you saw when we were coming up, in order that we might keep along by the great sea, so as to be sure of finding water: we travelled through and among these great mountains of sand, which were then very bad to pass, because the wind blew so hard, we could scarcely keep together, being almost covered up by the flying sand: it took us six days to get through them; after which the ground was smooth, and almost as hard as the floor of a house, for ten days more, when we

came to a watering-place, called *Biblah*; there we watered our camels, for they were very thirsty, and eight of them had died and served us for food. We stopped at that great well seven days, and afterwards kept on our journey to the S. W. twenty days, to another well, called *Kibir Jibl*, but there was no water in it, and we were obliged to go six days' journey to the sea-coast, where there was a well close to the sea, whose water was very black and salt: here we were forced to unload the camels, and get them down the bank to the water, but after drinking, they yielded us some milk, which had been almost dried up before:—we found, however, nothing for them to feed on, and had been obliged to give them of the coals to eat once a day for many days: this kept them alive, but it made their milk almost as black as the coals themselves, yet it was good, and we were glad to get it. It took up six days to water the whole of them, when we set out again, and travelled near the sea, where we found wells about every ten days, like the one we had already visited, but very few green leaves on the little bushes, in the few small valleys we saw, for no rain had fallen for a great while on that part of the Desert.

“After a journey of four moons, we came to the south part of the Desert, and went down into the country of *Soudain*, where we found a little stream of good running water, and some bushes, and some grass, and a very large tribe of *Bessebes Arabs*, (Libdessebas on the map,) who had

plenty of barley and maize or Indian corn, of which we bought some, and made bread, and stopped here one moon. We lost on the Desert more than three hundred camels, which died of fatigue, and the want of water and food, but not one man. All the tribes of Arabs we came near, took their stuff on their camels, and rode away as fast as they could, so as not to be robbed, and we did not find any party strong enough to attack us, although we saw a great many tribes, but they were very poor, on the *Zaharah*, or Great Desert." I then asked him how the face of the Desert looked in general, as he passed over it, taking the whole together, or if there was any material difference in different parts of it, near the sea-coast? to which he answered:—

“The whole extent of the Desert near the sea-coast is like that we came over in bringing you up here, except in one place, where we travelled for nearly one moon, without meeting with so much as one valley with green bushes in it for the camels to feed on: the whole is a trackless waste. Close by the sea we were obliged to pass mountains of sand that was blown up from the shore before the wind, but the guides always went before us, to show which way the caravan must go, and to find a place to stop in. Our camels had eaten up all the coals we had laid upon them before we got off the Desert, and two of them had died, so that my brother and I had only two remaining, but we kept all our goods.

After we had rested one moon, and got our camels recruited, we set off to the east on the border of the Desert, close by the low country, with mountains in sight to the south, most of the way, and in two moons more we came near Tombuctoo, where we stopped in a deep valley with the caravan, and went every day close to the strong walls of the city with our goods, (but without our guns,) to trade them off with the negroes, who had gum, and gold rings, and gold powder, and great teeth, such as are sold in Swearah, (i. e. elephants' teeth,) and slaves, and fine turbans: they had plenty of cows, and asses, and a few sheep, and barley, corn, and rice; but the little river that runs close to the wall on the west, was quite dry, and all the people in the city were obliged to fetch water for themselves to drink, with asses, from the great river south of the city, (about one hour's ride on a camel,) and we were forced to go there to water our camels, and get our drink.

“ After staying near Tombuctoo one moon and a half, the season being far advanced, we set out again for Widnoon. I had not been in the city all the time we stopped here, because I was chosen captain of two hundred men that kept guard all the time about the caravan, to keep off the thievish Arabs and the bands of negroes that were hovering around us to carry off our camels, if any of them strayed away; but we lost only twenty during our whole stay at Tombuctoo, and the Sheick gave me for my trouble

a fine young negro girl slave, which I carried home with me, and she now lives with my wife. We set out for home from Tombuctoo in the month of *Rhamadan*, after the feast, and went back by the same route we had come—that is to say, we went first to the west, one moon, along the border of the Desert. We durst not take any thing without paying for it, because we were afraid of the inhabitants, who were a mixture of Arabs and negroes, and all of them Moham-medans, but very bad men : they had also many white men slaves. I saw sixteen or eighteen myself, and a great many blacks. These true believers have very fine horses, and they go south to the country of the rivers, and there they attack and take towns, and bring away all the negroes for slaves, if they will not believe in the prophet of God ; and carry off all their cattle, rice, and corn, and burn their houses ; but if they will adopt the true faith, they are then exempt from slavery, and their houses are spared, upon their surrendering up one-half of their cattle, and half of their rice and corn ; because, they say, God has delivered their enemies into their hands. The negroes live in small towns, fenced in with reeds or bushes, and sometimes with stones, but the Arabs live only in tents, and can move off in a minute on their horses, whilst their wives and children ride on camels and asses. Before we struck off N. W. on the Desert for the sea-coast, we stopped in the hill country, and fatted our camels, and burned wood to make charcoal to carry with

us: we were encamped on the bank of a little river, one day's journey from a large town of negroes, named *Jathrow*. I did not go to it, but the Sheick did, and bought some corn and barley, and forty oxen for our provisions.

“ After we had prepared our coals, and laid in our provisions, we went up on to the level Desert, and set off to the N. W. and in three moons and a half more we reached Widnoon again, having been gone almost a year and a half. We had lost about five hundred camels, that either died, or were killed to give us meat, and while we stayed at Tombuctoo, and were coming home, thirty-four of our men had died, and we lost eighty slaves.” I asked him what were the goods they carried down at that time? he answered:—

“ We had about one hundred camels loaded with iron and knives, and two hundred with salt; all the others carried haicks, and blue and white cloth, and amber, and tobacco, and silk handkerchiefs, and *chilly weed*, and spices, and a great many other articles. Seid and myself had lost two of our camels, but had got two negro slaves, and some gold dust, worth six camels, and ornaments for our wives: but Sheick Ali was not satisfied, because I did not give him two slaves; so that he made war against me, and battered down my town which I built, (it was but a small one,) and took away all I had, together with my wife, because he said I was a bad man, and he was stronger than me: I myself, however, escaped, and after one year I asked him for my wife

again, and he gave her to me with all he had taken, for he loved his daughter: but I had no house, so I removed into the Sultan's dominions, near the city of Morocco, close by the Atlas mountains, and lived there with my father and brothers two years, without going forth to trade."

SECTION II.

Sidi Hamet sets out on another journey for Tombuctoo—the caravan is mostly destroyed for want of water, by drifting sand, and by mutiny, &c.—the few that escape, get to the south of the Desert.

"About that time one of our party, when we first went to Tombuctoo, named *Bel Moese*, came to see me—he was going to join the caravan at Widnoon again, and persuaded Seid and me to go with him; so we bought eight camels between us, and sold off our cattle and sheep, and bought goods and powder, and went with him to Widnoon, and joined the caravan. Sheick Ali came to meet me like a friend, and gave me two camels laden with barley, and wished me a safe journey. The Sheick who was chosen by all the people to command the caravan, was named *Sidi Ishrel*; he was the friend of Sidi Ishem, who owned almost one-half of the whole caravan, and we set out from Widnoon, with about four thousand camels, and more than one thou-

sand men, all well armed. We laid in an abundant store of barley, and had a great many milch camels, and it was determined to go south across the Desert, nearly on a straight course for Tombuctoo, by the way the great caravans generally travelled; though there had been several of them destroyed on that route, that is to say, one within every ten or twelve years. We went to the south, around the bottom of the great Atlas mountains, six days' journey; then we stopped close by it, and cut wood and burned coals for the camels, for the caravans never attempt to cross the Desert without this article: four hundred camels out of the number were loaded with provisions and water for the journey, and after having rested ten days, and given the camels plenty of drink, we went up on the Desert, and steered off to the south-easterly. We travelled along, and met with no sand for fifteen days; it was all a smooth surface, baked together so hard, that a loaded camel could not make a track on it to be seen: we saw no tracks to guide us, and kept our course by the stars, and sun, and moon. We found only one spot in all that time where our camels could satisfy their appetites by eating the shrubs in a shallow valley, but the great well in it was filled up with stones and sand, so we could procure no water there; at the end of fifteen days, however, we came to a very fine deep valley, with twenty wells in it; but we found water in only six of them, because the Desert was very dry: here we watered all our camels,

and replenished our bottles or skins, and having rested seven days, we departed for the south-eastward, our camels being well filled with leaves and thorn bushes.

“ We travelled along three days on the hard sand, and then arrived among innumerable drifts of fine loose sand ; not such coarse sand as you saw near the sea ; it was as fine as the dust on a path, or in a house, and the camel’s feet sank in it every step up to their knees : after travelling amongst this sand (which in the day-time was almost as hot as coals of fire) six days, there began to blow a fierce wind from the south-east, called the wind of the Desert, bringing death and destruction with it : we could not advance nor retreat, so we took the loading from off our camels, and piled it in one great heap, and made the camels lie down. The dust flew so thick that we could not see each other nor our camels, and were scarcely able to breathe—so we laid down with our faces in the dust, and cried aloud with one voice to God—‘ Great and merciful God, spare our lives!’ but the wind blew dreadfully for the space of two days, and we were obliged to move ourselves whenever the sand got so heavy on us that it shut out all the air, and prevented us from breathing ; but at length it pleased the Most High to hear our supplications : the wind ceased to blow ; all was still again, and we crawled out of the sand that had buried us for so long a time, but not all, for when the company was numbered, three hundred were missing—all that were left

having joined in thanks to God for his mercy in sparing our lives,—we then proceeded to dig out the camels from the sand that had buried their bodies, which, together with the reloading of them, took us two days. About two hundred of them were dead—there was no green thing to be seen, and we were obliged to give the camels a little water from the skins, to wash their parched throats with, and some charcoal to eat; then we kept on twenty-four days as fast as we could through the dry, deep, and hot sand, without finding any green bushes worth noticing for our camels to eat, when we came to a famous valley and watering-place, called *Haherah*. All our camels were almost expiring, and could not carry the whole of their loads; so we threw away a great deal of the salt before we got to *Haherah*, where we intended to stop twenty days to recruit our beasts, but who can conceive our disappointment and distress, when we found there was no water in any of the wells of this great valley! not one drop of rain had fallen there for the last year. The caravan, that amounted to upwards of one thousand men and four thousand camels when we set out, was already reduced to about six hundred men, and thirty-five hundred camels. The authority of *Sheick Ishrel* could now scarcely restrain those almost desperate men; every one was eager to save his own life and property, and separately sought the means of relief by running about the valley in a desultory manner, looking for water; this disorder continued

for two days, when being convinced that nothing could be done without union, they became obedient, and joined together in great numbers in digging out the different wells. After digging five days without the smallest sign of water, all subordination was entirely at an end. The Sheick, who was a wise and prudent man, advised and insisted that all the camels should be killed but three hundred, so that the little water found in them, together with their blood, might keep the rest alive, as well as all the men, until, by the aid of Providence, they should reach some place where they could find water ; but the company would not hearken to this advice, though the best that could possibly be given ; no one being willing to have his own property sacrificed. *Sheick Ishrel*, however, directed thirty of the oldest and most judicious men to pick out the three hundred camels that were to be spared, who accordingly selected the most vigorous ; but when they began to kill the others, a most furious quarrel and horrible battle commenced. The Sheick, though a man of God, was killed in a moment—two or three hundred more were butchered by each other in the course of that dreadful day ; and the blood of the slain was drunk to allay the thirst of those who shed it. Seid was badly wounded with a dagger in his arm—about five hundred camels were killed this day, and the others drank the water from their bodies, and also their blood.

... “ Fearing there would be no end to this bloody conflict

until all had perished, and as I had been a captain in the other caravan, and knew how to steer a course on the Desert; and as both Seid and myself were very strong men, we killed four out of six of our own camels that remained, in the first part of the night, and gave their water and blood to the other two: we saved a small package of goods, and some barley, and some meat, and persuaded thirty of our friends privately to do as we had done, and join us, for we meant to set off that night. This was agreed on, for to stay there was certain death, and to go back was no less so. We were all ready about midnight, and without making any noise, we moved off with our company of thirty men and thirty-two camels. The night was very cloudy and dark, and it thundered at a distance, as if the Almighty was angry with us for fighting together; but there was no rain. We went towards the south-west, in the hope of reaching *Tishlah*, another watering-place, before our camels died: the Desert was dry and hard, and as we went along, we found only now and then a little hollow, with a few prickly shrubs in it: these the camels devoured as we passed among them; but many died, so that on the twelfth day we had only eighteen camels left; when the Great God saved our lives by sending a tempest of rain, but he thundered so as to make the whole earth tremble, because of our sins, and we all fell upon our faces and implored his forgiveness: the rain that fell upon the ground gave plenty of water to our camels, and we filled

thirty skins with it; when we steered to the south towards the borders of the Desert. Nine of our company had died, and many of our camels, before we went down from the Desert to the cultivated land, and we then made to the south towards a little river of fresh water, to which some Arabs whom we met with, directed us, after they had first given us some rice and some milk, for all our milch camels had died on the desert.

SECTION III.

Sidi Hamet's journeyings. His arrival on the banks of the river, called by the natives Gozen-Zair, and at Tombuctoo—description of that city—its commerce, wealth, and inhabitants.

“ Those of us who had escaped with our lives from the Desert, only twenty-one in number, with twelve camels, out of a caravan of one thousand men and four thousand camels, stopped near a small town, called *Wabilt*, on the bank of a river about half as broad as from the city of Mogadore to the island, that is to say, fifty yards. We had no provisions, but the negroes seeing us in distress, came out and gave us some meat, and bread made from barley-corn:— here we remained ten days to recruit ourselves and our camels, which were just alive. The river on whose bank we

remained, was called by those who spoke in Arabic, *el Wod Tenij*, and by the negroes, *Gozen-zair*. A very high ridge of mountains, great like Atlas seen from Suse, (but not capped with snow,) lie to the south-westward, and at a distance. After resting ourselves and our camels for ten days, we set forward for Tombuctoo. We travelled for four days to the eastward through Soudan, a hilly country, but of a very rich soil, and much of it cultivated with the hoe."—I then asked him what he meant by Soudan? and he said, "The whole country south of the Great Desert from the Great Ocean, a great way east, and including the district of Tombuctoo, is called by the Arabs and Moors, Soudan; of which Tombuctoo is the capital. Having watered our camels again, and finding the hill country tedious to get through, by reason of the trees, we bought some barley-corn, and killed two cows, and went northward to the border of the Desert, and travelled on to the eastward for eight days, when we fell in with the great path used by the caravans, and in two days more came near to the walls of Tombuctoo. We had seen a great many negroes near the river: they live in small towns, fenced in with large reeds, to keep off enemies and the wild beasts in the night; they dwell in small round huts made with cane standing upright, are covered with the same materials, and daubed with mud, to fill up the openings between them. The negroes were afraid of us when we came near their little towns, and those who were outside ran in and blocked up the passage in a minute; but

finding we did not come to rob them, as the large companies of Arabs often do, but that we were poor and hungry, they were willing to exchange barley-corn and meat for some of our goods. Nearly all the few things we had were expended to keep us alive until we came near Tombuctoo. The king and the people of that city had been looking out for the caravan from Widnoon for two moons, but not one soul had arrived before us, and we were permitted to go into the city after delivering up our guns, powder, and lead, to the king's officers to keep until we should wish to depart. Tombuctoo is a very large city, five times as great as Swearah: it is built on a level plain, surrounded on all sides by hills, except on the south, where the plain continues to the bank of the same river we had been to before, which is wide and deep, and runs to the east; for we were obliged to go to it to water our camels, and here we saw many boats made of great trees, some with negroes in them paddling across the river. The city is strongly walled in with stone laid in clay, like the towns and houses in Suse, only a great deal thicker: the house of the king is very large and high, like the largest house in Mogadore, but built of the same materials as the walls: there are a great many more houses in that city built of stone, with shops on one side, where they sell salt and knives, and blue cloth, and haicks, and an abundance of other things, with many gold ornaments. The inhabitants are blacks, and the chief is a very large and grey-headed

old black man, who is called *Shegar*, which means sultan, or king. The principal part of the houses are made with large reeds, as thick as a man's arm, and stand upon their ends, and are covered with small reeds first, and then with the leaves of the date trees: they are round, and the tops come to a point like a heap of stones.— Neither the *Shegar* nor his people are Moslems, but there is a town divided off from the principal one, in one corner, by a strong partition wall, and one gate to it, which leads from the main town, like the Jews' town, or *Millah* in *Mogadore*: all the Moors or Arabs who have liberty to come into *Tombuctoo* are obliged to sleep in that part of it every night, or go out of the city entirely, and no stranger is allowed to enter that *Millah* without leaving his knife with the gate-keeper; but when he comes out in the morning it is restored to him. The people who live in that part are all Moslems. The negroes, bad Arabs, and Moors, are all mixed together, and marry with each other, as if they were all of one colour: they have no property of consequence, except a few asses: their gate is shut and fastened every night at dark, and very strongly guarded both in the night and in the day-time. The *Shegar* or king is always guarded by one hundred men on mules, armed with good guns, and one hundred men on foot, with guns and long knives. He would not go into the *Millah*, and we only saw him four or five times in the two moons we stayed at *Tombuctoo*, wait-

ing for the caravan: but it had perished on the Desert—neither did the yearly caravan from Tunis and Tripoli arrive, for it had also been destroyed. The city of Tombuctoo is very rich as well as very large; it has four gates to it; all of them are opened in the day-time, but very strongly guarded and shut at night. The negro women are very fat and handsome, and wear large round gold rings in their noses, and flat ones in their ears, and gold chains and amber beads about their necks, with images and white fish-bones, bent round, and the ends fastened together, hanging down between their breasts: they have bracelets on their wrists and on their ancles, and go barefoot. I had bought a small snuff-box filled with snuff in Morocco, and showed to the women in the principal street of Tombuctoo, which is very wide: there were a great many about me in a few minutes, and they insisted on buying my snuff and box;—one made me one offer, and another made me another, until one, who wore richer ornaments than the rest, told me, in broken Arabic, that she would take off all she had about her and give them to me for the box and its contents. I agreed to accept them, and she pulled off her nose-rings and ear-rings, all her neck chains, with their ornaments, and the bracelets from her wrists and ancles, and gave them to me in exchange for it: these ornaments would weigh more than a pound, and were made of solid gold at Tombuctoo, and I kept them through my whole journey afterwards, and carried

them to my wife, who now wears a part of them. Tombuctoo carries on a great trade with all the caravans that come from Morocco and the shores of the Mediterranean sea. From Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, &c. are brought all kinds of cloths, iron, salt, muskets, powder, and lead, swords or scimitars, tobacco, opium, spices, and perfumes, amber beads and other trinkets, with a few other articles; they carry back in return elephants' teeth, gold dust, and wrought gold, gum senegal, ostrich feathers, very curiously worked turbans, and slaves; a great many of the latter, and many other articles of less importance: the slaves are brought in from the south west, all strongly ironed, and are sold very cheap; so that a good stout man may be bought for a haick, which costs in the empire of Morocco about two dollars. The caravans stop and encamp about two miles from the city in a deep valley, and the negroes do not molest them: they bring their merchandise near the walls of the city, where the inhabitants purchase all their goods in exchange for the above-mentioned articles; not more than fifty men from any one caravan being allowed to enter the city at a time, and they must go out before others are permitted to enter. This city also carries on a great trade with Wassanah, (a city far to the south-east,) in all the articles that are brought to it by caravans, and get returns in slaves, elephants' teeth, gold, &c. The principal male inhabitants are clothed with blue cloth shirts, that reach

from their shoulders down to their knees, and are very wide, and girt about their loins with a red and brown cotton sash or girdle: they also hang about their bodies pieces of different coloured cloth and silk handkerchiefs: the king is dressed in a white robe of a similar fashion, but covered with white and yellow gold and silver plates, that glitter in the sun;—he also has many other shining ornaments of shells and stones hanging about him, and wears a pair of breeches like the Moors and Barbary Jews, and has a kind of white turban on his head, pointing up, and strung with different kinds of ornaments; his feet are covered with red Morocco shoes: he has no other weapon about him than a large white staff or sceptre, with a golden lion on the head of it, which he carries in his hand: his whole countenance is mild, and he seems to govern his subjects more like a father than a king. The whole of his officers and guards wear breeches that are generally died red, but sometimes they are white or blue: all but the king go bareheaded. The poor people have only a single piece of blue or other cloth about them, and the slaves a breech cloth. The inhabitants in Tombuctoo are very numerous; I think six times as many as in Swearah, besides the Arabs and other Moslem or Mohammedans, in their Millah, or separate town; which must contain nearly as many people as there are altogether in Swearah.”

[*Note by the Author.*—SWEARAH or Mogadore contains

about thirty-six thousand souls ; that is, thirty thousand Moors and six thousand Jews : this may be a high estimation for Tombuctoo ; making it two hundred and sixteen thousand inhabitants ; yet considering the commercial importance of the place, and the fertility of the country around it, there can be no doubt but it contains a vast number of inhabitants ; and I must also observe, that if it was a small town, and contained the riches attributed to it, they would require a very strong force to prevent the Arabs from the Desert, together with the caravans, from taking it by surprize or by storm.]

“ The women are clothed in a light shirt or under-dress, and over it a green, red, or blue covering, from their breasts to below their knees—the whole girt about their waists with a red girdle ; they stain their cheeks and foreheads red or yellow on some occasions, and the married women wear a kind of hood on their heads, made of blue cloth, or silk, and cotton handkerchiefs of different kinds and colours, and go barefoot. The king and people of Tombuctoo do not fear and worship God, like the Moslems, but like the people of Soudan, they only pray one time in twenty-four hours, when they see the moon, and when she is not seen they do not pray at all : they cannot read or write, but are honest, and they circumcise their children like the Arabs : they have no mosques, but dance every night, as the Moors

and Arabs pray. The Shegar or king had collected about one thousand slaves, some gums, elephants' teeth, gold dust, &c. to be ready for the yearly caravans; but as three moons had passed away since the time they ought to have arrived, he gave them up for lost, and concluded to send a caravan with part of his goods that came across the Desert; viz. some salt, iron, cloths, &c. to a large city at a great distance from Tombuctoo: and having formed a body of about three thousand men, well armed with muskets, long knives, and spears, and three thousand asses, and about two hundred camels, which were all loaded with heavy goods, such as iron, salt, tobacco, &c., he hired my brother Seid and myself (with ten more of our companions) to carry loads on our two camels to Wassanah, for which he was to give us, when we came back, two haicks each and some gold. As we were completely in his power, we did not dare to refuse to go, and he put us under the care of his brother, whose name was *Shelbaa*, who had command of the whole caravan. It was in the month of Shual (——) when we departed from Tombuctoo for a place we had never before heard of. We had in company about two hundred Moslems, but the master of the caravan would not permit us, Moslems, to keep our guns, for fear we *should turn against him, if he was obliged to fight.*"

SECTION IV.

Sidi Hamet sets out for Wassanah—his arrival there, and description of that city, the country, and its inhabitants—of the great river which runs near it, and of his return to Tombuctoo—containing also the author's geographical opinions, founded on this narrative, on the sources of the river Niger—its length, course, and outlet, into the Atlantic ocean.

“ All being prepared, we went from Tombuctoo, about two hours' ride, towards the south, to the bank of the river, which is called at that place Zolibib, and was wider than from Mogadore to the island; (i. e. about five hundred yards;) here was a miserable village, built with canes, and mudded over: it had about two hundred small houses in it, but no walls: we then set off near the side of the river, and travelled on in a plain even country for six days, every day within sight of the river, which was on our right hand, and running the same way we travelled, and our course was a little to the south of east; when we came to a small town, called *Bimbinah*, walled in with canes and thorn-bushes, and stopped two days near it, to get provisions and rest our beasts: here the river turned more to the south-eastward, because there was a very high mountain in sight to the eastward: we then went from the river side, and pursued our

journey more southwardly, through a hilly and woody country, for fifteen days, when we came to the same river again. Every night we were obliged to make up large fires all around the caravan to keep off the wild beasts, such as lions, tigers, and others, which made a dreadful howling. Here was a small town of black people belonging to another nation, who were enemies to the King of Tombuctoo, but were friendly to the King of Wassanah; and not being strong, they did not molest us but furnished us with what corn we wanted, and twenty oxen. We saw a large number of armed black men, nearly naked, on the other side of the river, who seemed to be hostile, but they could not get across to attack us: we also saw two very large towns, but walled in like the others we had passed: we stopped here, and rested our camels and asses five days, and then went onward again in about a S. E. direction, winding, as the river ran, for three days; and then had to climb over a very high ridge of mountains, which took up six days, and when we were on the top of them, we could see a large chain of high mountains to the westward: those we passed were thickly covered with very large trees, and it was extremely difficult to get up and down them; but we could not go any other way, for the river ran against the steep side of the mountain; so having gotten over them, we came to the river's bank again, where it was very narrow and full of rocks, that dashed the water dreadfully: then finding a

good path, we kept on to the S. E. winding a little every day, sometimes more to the east, then to the south again: we kept travelling this way for twelve days after leaving the mountains, during which time we had seen the river nearly every day on our right hand, and had passed a great many small streams that empty into it: it was now very wide, and looked deep—here we saw many trees dug out hollow, like the boats at Tombuctoo, and they were used to carry negroes across the river, and were pushed along with flat pieces of wood: we also saw the high mountains on the west side of the great river, very plainly. Having rested seven days at the ferrying-place, we then travelled on for fifteen days, most of the time in sight of the river. When we came close to the walls of the city of Wassanah, the king came out with a great army, consisting of all his soldiers, to meet us, but finding we had only come to trade by the orders of, and with the goods of, his friend *Shegar* of Tombuctoo, he invited the chief, and the whole of the caravan, to abide within a square inclosure, near the walls of the city: here we remained two moons, exchanging our goods for slaves, gold, elephants' teeth, &c.

“ The city of Wassanah is built near the bank of the river, which runs past it nearly south, between high mountains on both sides, though not very close to the river, which is so wide there that we could hardly see a man across it on the other side: the people of Tombuctoo call it Zolibib,

and those of Wassanah call it Zadi. The walls of the city are very large, and made of great stones, laid up like the stone fences in the province of Hah Hah, in Morocco, but without any clay or mud amongst them: they are very thick and strong, and much higher than the walls of Tombuctoo. I was permitted to walk round them in company with six negroes, and it took me one whole day: the walls are built square, and have one large gate on each side. The country all around the city is dug up, and has barley, corn, and other vegetables planted on it; and close by the side of the river, all the land is covered with rice, and there are a great many oxen, and cows, and asses, belonging to the city, but no camels, nor horses, mules, sheep, nor goats, but all about and in the city, speckled fowls abound, and there are plenty of eggs. The people of the caravan were allowed to enter the city, but only twenty at a time, and they were all obliged to go out again before night.

“ We had been there more than a moon, when it came to my turn to go in. I found almost the whole of the ground inside of the walls was covered with huts made of stones piled up without clay, and some reeds, laid across the tops, covered over with the large leaves of the date or palm tree, or of another tree which looks very much like a date tree, and bears a fruit as large as my head, which has a white juice in it sweeter than milk; the inside is hard, and very good to eat: the trees that bear this big fruit grow in

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Tuckey's Voyage
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abundance in this country, and their fruit is very plenty: their huts have narrow passages between them: the king or chief is called *Oleeboo*, which means, in the negro talk, good sultan: he is a very tall, and quite a young man; his house is very large, square, and high, made of stone, and the chinks filled up with something white like lime, but not so hard: they would not let me go into his house, and told me he had one hundred and fifty wives, or more, and ten thousand slaves: he dresses in a white shirt, that looks like the one worn by Mr. Willshire, and long trowsers made like them you have on, and coloured like an orange." Those I then had on were common wide sailor trowsers. "He has over his shirt a caftan or robe with sleeves to it, made of red cloth, tied about with a girdle that goes from his breast to his hips, made of silk handkerchiefs of all colours, and has slips of fine coloured silk tied round his arms and legs: his hair is also tied in small bunches, and he wears on his head a very high hat made of canes, coloured very handsomely, and adorned with fine feathers: he has sandals on his feet, bound up with gold chains, and a great gold chain over his shoulder, with a bunch of ornaments made of bright stones and shells, that dazzle the eyes, hanging on his breast, and wears a large dagger by his side in a gold case. He rides on the back of a huge beast, called *Ifement*, three times as thick as my great camel, and a great deal higher, with a very long nose and great teeth, and almost as black as the

negroes: he is so strong, that he can kill an hundred men in a minute when he is mad—this is the animal that the teeth grow in which we bring from Tombuctoo to Widnoon, which you call elephants' teeth, and this was the only one of the animals I ever saw, but they told me these creatures were very plenty down the river from Wassanah." This answers to the description of, and no doubt is, the elephant.

"The King of Wassanah has a guard of two hundred negroes on foot, one hundred of them armed with muskets, fifty with long spears, and fifty with great bows and arrows, with long knives by their sides: they always attend him when he goes out on his beast; he has also a very large army: they fight with guns, spears, and bows and arrows. The city has twice as many inhabitants in it as Tombuctoo, and we saw a great many towns near it on the other side of the river, as well as several small settlements on the same side below. The king nor the people do not pray like the Moslems, but they jump about, fall down, tear their faces as if they were mad when any of their friends die, and every time they see the new moon, they make a great feast, and dance all night to music made by singing and beating on skins tied across a hollow stick, and shaking little stones in a bag or shell; but they do not read nor write, and are heathens. Though the free people in this place do not steal, and are very hospitable, yet I hope the time is near when the faithful, and they that fear God and his prophet,

will turn them to the true belief, or drive them away from this goodly land.

“The principal inhabitants of Wassanah are dressed in shirts of white or blue cloth, with short trowsers, and some with a long robe over the whole, tied about with a girdle of different colours: the free females are generally very fat, and dress in blue or white coverings tied about their waists with girdles of all colours: they wear a great many ornaments of gold, and beads, and shells, hanging to their ears and noses, necks, arms, ancles, and all over their hair; but the poorer sort are only covered about their loins by a cloth which grows on the tree that bears the big fruit I have told you about before.” This fruit, I imagine, must be the cocoa-nut, and I have often in the West Indies, and elsewhere, observed the outer bark of this singular palm-tree: it is woven by nature like cloth, each thread being placed exactly over and under the others. It appears like regular wove coarse bagging, and is quite strong: it loosens and drops from the trunk of the tree of its own accord, as the tree increases in size and age. I had long before considered that this most singular bark must have suggested to man the first idea of cloth, and taught him how to spin, and place the threads so as to form it of other materials that have since been used for that purpose, and this first hint from nature has been improved into our present methods of spinning and weaving.

“The male slaves go entirely naked, but the women are allowed a piece of this cloth to cover their nakedness with: they are very numerous, and many of them kept chained: they are obliged to work the earth round about the city. The inhabitants catch a great many fish: they have boats made of great trees, cut off and hollowed out, that will hold ten, fifteen, or twenty negroes, and the brother of the king told one of my Moslemin companions who could understand him, (for I could not,) that he was going to set out in a few days with sixty boats, and to carry five hundred slaves down the river, first to the southward, and then to the westward, where they should come to the great water, and sell them to pale people who came there in great boats, and brought muskets, and powder, and tobacco, and blue cloth, and knives, &c.—he said it was a great way, and would take him three moons to get there, and he should be gone twenty moons before he could get back by land, but should be very rich.” I then asked him how many boats he supposed there were in the river at Wassanah? he said:—“A great many, three or four hundred, I should think; but some of them are very small: we saw a great many of these people who had been down the river to see the great water, with slaves and teeth, and came back again: they said, the pale people lived in great boats, and had guns as big as their bodies, that made a noise like thunder, and would kill all the people in a hundred negro boats, if they went too near them: we saw

in the river and on the bank a great number of fish, with legs and large mouths, and these would run into the water in a minute, if any man went near them, but they told us they would catch children, and sometimes men, when in the boats: [these are, no doubt, crocodiles or hippopotamuses:] the negroes are very kind, and would always give us barley, corn, or rice, milk or meat, if we were hungry, though we could not speak a language they understood. While we stopped at Wassanah, it rained almost every day. Having traded away all the goods we carried there, Shelbaa took three hundred slaves and a great many teeth, dazzling stones, and shells, and gold; with these we set off again, and went the same way back to Tombuctoo, which took us three moons, and we were gone from the time we left it, to the time we returned, eight moons. On my arrival at Tombuctoo, we were paid by the chief of the caravan according to promise, and a few days afterwards a caravan arrived there from Tunis, which we joined to return by that way to our own country."

I must here beg the reader's indulgence for a moment, in order to make some remarks, and a few geographical observations that this part of the narrative has suggested. This narrative I, for my own part, consider strictly true and correct, as far as the memory and judgment of *Sidi Hamet* were concerned, whose veracity and intelligence I had before tested: he had not the least inducement held out to him for

giving this account, further than my own and Mr. Willshire's curiosity; and his description of Tombuctoo agrees in substance with that given by several Moors, (Fez merchants,) who came to Mr. Willshire's house to buy goods while Sidi Hamet was there, and who said they had known him in Tombuctoo several years ago. From these considerations combined, and after examining the best maps extant, I conclude that I have strong grounds on which to found the following geographical opinions, viz.

1st. That the Great Desert is much higher land on its southern side (as I had proved it to be on the north by my own observations) than the surrounding country, and consequently that its whole surface is much higher than the land near it that is susceptible of cultivation. 2dly, That the river which Sidi Hamet and his companions came to within fourteen days ride, and west of Tombuctoo, called by the Arabs *el Wod Tenij*, and by the negroes, *Gozen-Zair*, takes its rise in the mountains south of, and bordering on, the Great Desert, being probably the northern branch of that extensive ridge in which the Senegal, Gambia, and Niger rivers have their sources; and that this river is a branch of the Niger, which runs eastwardly for several hundred miles to Tombuctoo, near which city, many branches uniting in one great stream, it takes the name of *Zolibib*, and continues to run nearly east, about two hundred and fifty miles from Tombuctoo: when meeting with high

land, it is turned more south-eastwardly, and running in that direction in a winding course, about five hundred miles, it has met with some obstructions, through which it has forced its way, and formed a considerable fall: for Sidi Hamet, having spent six days in passing the mountains, came again near the river, which was then filled with broken rocks, and the water was foaming and roaring among them, as he observed, "most dreadfully." This must be a fall or rapid. 3dly, That from these falls, it runs first to the south-eastward, and then more to the south, till it reaches Wassanah, about six hundred miles, where it is by some called *Zolibib*, and by others *Zadi*. 4thly, That as the inhabitants of Wassanah say they go first to the southward, and then to the westward, in boats to the great water; this I conceive must be the Atlantic Ocean, where they have seen pale men and great boats, &c. These I should naturally conclude were Europeans, with vessels; and that it takes three moons to get there, (about eighty-five days,) at the rate of thirty miles a day, which is the least we can give them with, so strong a current; it makes a distance from thence to the sea of about two thousand five hundred miles; in computing this distance, one-third or more should be allowed for its windings, so that the whole length of the river is above four thousand miles, and is probably the longest and largest on the African continent. 5thly, That the waters of this river in their passage towards the east have been obstructed in their course by

high mountains in the central regions of this unexplored continent, and turned southwardly: that they are borne along to the southward, between the ridges of mountains that are known to extend all along the western coast, from Senegal to the gulf of Guinea, and to round with that gulf to the south of the equator: that they are continually narrowed in and straitened by that immense ridge in which the great river Nile is known to have its sources; and which mountains lie in the equatorial region: that this central river receives, in its lengthened course, all the streams that water and fertilize the whole country, between the two before-mentioned ridges of mountains: the waters thus accumulated and pent up, at length broke over their western and most feeble barrier, tore it down to its base, and thence found and forced their way to the Atlantic Ocean, forming what is now known as the river Congo. In corroboration of this opinion, some men of my acquaintance, who have visited the Congo, and traded all along the coast between it and the Senegal, affirm, that the Congo discharges more water into the Atlantic, taking the whole year together, than all the streams to the northward of it, between its mouth and Cape de Verd.

SECTION V.

Sidi Hamet's journey from Tombuctoo to Morocco, by the eastern route—his description of the Desert, and of the country on both sides of it. Of a dreadful battle with the wandering Arabs. Sidi Hamet takes his leave, and sets out to join his family.

“THE caravan we joined at Tombuctoo was a very large one, belonging to Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Fez, four united together. They remained near that city two moons, and bought two thousand slaves, besides a great deal of gold dust, and teeth, and turbans, and gold rings, and chains, and gum; but Seid and I had only our two camels, and they were but partly loaded with gum, for account of *Ben Nassar*, the Sheick of the Tunisian part of the caravan, for there were three Sheicks in it. When every thing was ready, we set off from Tombuctoo, and travelled east-northerly, twenty days through the hilly country, crossing a great many little streams of water that ran to the south and west towards the great river, it having rained very hard almost every night whilst we were at Tombuctoo.

When we were going amongst the hills and trees, we saw a great many small towns, or cities, most of them fenced in with good stone walls, but some with cane and thorn bushes.

The land of that country is very good, and plenty of corn grows on it, and some rice and dates, and we saw some oxen, sheep, and asses, and a few horses. The inhabitants are Moors and Arabs mixed with the negroes, and almost as black as the latter; all of our own religion: they are very stout, fierce men, but they did not attempt to molest us, and sold us every thing we wanted at a cheap rate: they wear no clothing but a strip of cloth about their middles, and a ring of bone or ivory round the women's ancles and wrists, and some beads in their hair; they are peaceable people, and never attack the caravans unless the latter attempt to rob them: they are armed with muskets and with long knives, and with bows and arrows. When they are forced to fight, they do it with the greatest fury, and never take prisoners or receive quarter, and only defend their rights. Some of the people in our caravan told us, that a few years ago a caravan, going from Tombuctoo to Tunis, Algiers, &c. in passing through this country, surprized and stole about four hundred of the inhabitants for slaves, and a great number of cattle and much corn, and went towards the Desert; but these people assembled a large host, and came up with them in the night near the edge of the Desert, and cut the whole of them to pieces, though they were more than two thousand men strong, and well armed; only about fifty of the people of the caravan escaped and got back to Tunis to tell the news, and they only by riding on the swift-

est camels without any loads. After having refreshed our camels for ten days in a beautiful valley, where there was a good stream of water for them to drink, and filled the sacks with coals, we mounted up to the Desert, and steered on the flat level away to the north. As we went along we came to some small valleys, where the Arabs feed their camels and live on their milk, and think themselves the most learned, virtuous, and religious people in the world, and the most happy too, though they have neither bread, nor meat, nor honey, nor any clothing but a rag tied round their waist, and live in tents, wandering about. We steered about north for eighteen days, when we came to the usual watering-place, called *Weydlah*; here was a great deal of water in a pond, but it was black and quite salt, like the water in the wells close by the great sea;—it was very dead and stinking and tasted of sulphur;—it is in a very deep pit and difficult to get at, there being only one place by which we could lead the camels down to the water: it is said to be very deep in the middle, and was never known to be dry: it was almost covered over by a thick green scum;—we could see the tracks of wild beasts, such as tigers and lions, near the water. We had seen a great many of these animals in our travels to *Wassanah*, and when we were coming from *Tombuctoo* to the eastward. Our caravan consisted of about fifteen hundred men, most of us well armed with double-barrelled guns and scimitars, and we had about four thousand camels. It

was a long journey to the next well ; so we stopped here six days peaceably, having encamped in a valley a little distance west of the pond or lake. We had always made the camels lie down in a circle, placing the goods in the centre, and the men between the camels and the goods ; we had two hundred men on guard, and always ready for any emergency. In the night of the sixth day, about two hours after midnight, we were attacked by a very large body of wandering Arabs : they had got to within a few yards of us before they were discovered, and poured in a most destructive fire of musketry, at the same time running in like hungry tigers, with spears and scimitars in their hands, with dreadful yellings :—they threw the whole caravan into confusion for a moment ; but we were in a tight circle, formed by the camels, which with the guards kept them off for a short time, till the whole of our men seized their arms and rallied. The battle now raged most furiously : it was cloudy and very dark ; the blaze of the powder making only a faint light, whilst the cracking of musketry, the clashing of swords, the shouts of the combatants, and the bellowings of the wounded and frightened camels, together with the groans of the wounded and dying men, made the most dreadful and horrid uproar that can be conceived ; the fight continued for about two hours, hand to hand and breast to breast, when the assailants gave way and ran off, leaving their dead and wounded on the field of battle. We remained with our

arms in our hands all night. I was wounded with a ball in my thigh, and Seid with a dagger on his breast." They then showed me their scars. "In the morning we numbered our men, and found that two hundred and thirty were killed, and about one hundred wounded: three hundred of the camels were either slain or so badly wounded, that they could not walk, and so we killed them. We found seven hundred of our enemies lying on the ground, either dead or wounded;—those that were badly wounded, we killed, to put them out of pain, and carried the others that could walk along with us for slaves; of these there were about one hundred. As the enemy fled, they took all their good camels with them, for they had left them at a distance, so that we only found about fifty poor ones, which we killed; but we picked up two hundred and twenty good double-barrelled guns from the ground. The gun which Seid now uses is one of them;—we got also about four hundred scimitars or long knives. We were told by the prisoners that the company who attacked us was upwards of four thousand strong, and that they had been preparing for it three moons. We were afraid of another attack, and went off the same day, and travelled all the night, steering to the N. E. (out of the course the caravans commonly take,) twenty-three days' journey, when we came to a place called the Eight Wells, where we found plenty of good water. Fifty of our men had died, and twenty-one of the slaves. We remained near

these good wells for eleven days; our camels feeding on the bushes in the valleys near them, when we again travelled to the north-westward ten days to *Twati*, a good watering-place. For the last three days we waded through deep sands, like those we passed among while going from Widnoon. We rested here two days, and then went down north, into the country of dates, and came to the town of *Gujelah*, a little strong place belonging to Tunis—there we found plenty of fruit and good water, and meat and milk; we stopped there ten days, and then the part of the caravan going to Tripoli left us and went towards the east, by the mountains, and the rest went on to the north-easterly twelve days to *Tuggurtah*, close by a mountain near the river *Tegsah*, that is said to go to the sea near Tunis;—here we stopped twenty-five days, and the caravan for Tunis left us. *Tuggurtah* is a very large city, with high and thick walls, made tight, and has a great many people in it, all of the true religion, and a vast number of black slaves, and a few white ones. After stopping here twenty-five days, we set off to the north-westward through a very fine country, full of date and fig-trees, and cattle, and goats, camels, sheep, and asses;—we then travelled ten days to the high mountains, where the caravan for Algiers parted from us, and we remained with about two hundred camels and eighty men going to *Fez*. We then travelled over the great mountain, which we were told belongs to the same ridge we see close

to Morocco and in *Suse*; (the Atlas;) and in two moons more we passed through *Fez*, where what remained of the caravan stopped, and we returned to our father's house and our families, on the side of the Atlas mountains, near the city of Morocco, having been gone more than two years.— We brought back only one camel, and a small load of merchandize, out of the eight camels richly laden when we set out; yet we thanked God for having preserved our lives—for the whole caravan with which we started had perished on the Desert, and out of the twenty-eight men who left it with us, only four reached their homes, and they on foot, and entirely destitute of property. I found my wife and all my children and my father's family in good health. Sheick Ali came to see me as soon as he got the news of my arrival, and after staying with me one moon, he invited me and Seid to go with him to his place, which invitation we accepted, and he furnished us with one camel and some haicks and blue cloth, and advised us to go up on to the Desert and trade them away for ostrich-feathers, to sell in Morocco or Swearah; so being poor, we accepted his offer; bought his goods and his camel, and he was to have been paid when we came back. We set off for the Desert, and had passed a great many tribes of Arabs without finding any feathers of consequence, when the great God directed our steps to your master's tent, and I saw you. I was once as bad a man as Seid, but I had been in distress and in a strange land, and

had found friends to keep me and restore me to my family, and when I saw you naked and a slave, with your skin and flesh burnt from your bones by the sun, and heard you say you had a wife and children, I thought of my own former distresses, and God softened my heart, and I became your friend. I did all I could to lighten the burden of your afflictions : I have endured hunger, thirst, and fatigues, and have fought for your sake, and have now the high pleasure of knowing I have done some good in the world ; and may the great and universal Father still protect you ; you have been true and kind to me, and your friend has fed me with milk and honey ; and I will always in future do what is in my power to redeem Christians from slavery.”

Here Sidi Hamet finished his narration. He then said he wished to go and see his wife and children, and that as soon as he had rested for a few days, he would set off again with a large company to seek after the rest of my men. The next morning I made him a small present, and Mr. Willshire also gave him some fine powder and many other small articles. After he was prepared to go, he swore by his right hand, he would bring up the remainder of my crew if they were to be found alive, and God spared his life ;—he then took his leave of me by shaking hands, and of all my companions, wishing us a happy sight of our friends, and set off for his home. I did not part with him without feelings of regret, and shedding tears ; for he had been a kind

master to me, and to him I owed, under God, my life and deliverance from slavery; nor could I avoid reflecting on the wonderful means employed by Providence to bring about my redemption, and that of a part of my late unfortunate crew.

CHAPTER XXVI.

An account of the face of the great African Desert, or Zaharah—of its inhabitants, their customs, manners, dress, &c.—A description of the Arabian camel or dromedary.

IN giving an account of the Great Western Desert, or Zaharah, and of its inhabitants, &c. it must be remembered, that in journeying across, or on the Desert when a slave, I did not go over but a very small part, comparatively speaking, of that extensive region; I cannot therefore undertake to describe what did not come under my own observation. I can, however, state, without fear of future contradiction, the following facts, viz. that the face of this desert, from about the latitude of 22 degrees north, where we were forced ashore in our boat, to near the latitude of 28 degrees north, and from the longitude of *Cape Barbas*, about 19 to 11 degrees west, is a smooth surface, consisting partly of solid rocks, of gravel, sand, and stones mixed, and in some places of what is commonly called soil: this mass is baked down together in most places, by the extreme heat of the sun, nearly as hard as marble, so that no tracks of man or beast are discoverable; for the footstep leaves no impression.

The whole surface is as smooth, when viewed on every side, as the plain of the ocean unruffled by winds or tempests, stretching out as far as the eye can reach; not a break that might serve as a landmark, or guide to the traveller; not a tree, shrub, or any other object to interrupt the view within the horizon; the whole is in appearance a dreary waste; the soil is in colour of a light reddish brown—not a stream of water (at least for many centuries past) has refreshed this region, which is doomed to eternal barrenness; but as we went forward on this flat, hard surface, we met from distance to distance with small valleys or dells, scooped out by the hand of nature, from five to thirty feet below the plain—those we saw and stopped in, were ten, fifteen, and twenty miles apart, and contained from one to four or five acres each—they seem to serve as receptacles for the little rain water which falls on the Desert; for the inhabitants always expect some in the winter months, though they are frequently disappointed; and none had fallen on those parts on which we were thrown for the last two years.

It was already September, and they were offering up prayers to the Almighty every day, and most fervently imploring him to send them refreshing rains. These little valleys are mostly scooped out in the form of a bowl, though in some the sides are steep, and bottoms nearly level, and the whole irregular. Here grows a dwarf thorn bush, from two to five feet in height; it is generally scattered thinly

over the valley. The leaves of this shrub, which is almost the only one that is to be found on that part of the Desert, are a fourth of an inch in thickness, an inch and a half in width, and from two to two and a half inches in length, tapering to a sharp point, and are strongly impregnated with salt, so much so, that neither myself nor my companions could eat them, though nearly perishing with hunger and thirst, and a green fresh leaf would have been a great relief to us, when neither meat nor drink was to be procured. Such is the face of the Desert over which we passed, until we came within a short distance of Cape Bojador, where we fell in with immense heaps of loose sand, forming mountains of from one to three or four hundred feet in height, blown and whirled about by every wind, and dreadful to the traveller, should a strong gale arise whilst in the midst of them; for he and his beasts must then inevitably perish, overwhelmed by flying surges of suffocating sand.

The face of this part of the Desert is still the same as that before described, when laid bare and seen between the sand hills, by reason of the sand being blown off. This sand has evidently been driven from the sea-shore, and in the same degree as the ocean has retired; by means of the trade-wind blowing constantly on to the Desert, and that too very strongly in the night-time, through a long succession of ages. The heavy surf dashing perpetually among the rocks gradually reduces them to grit, which then mixes with the

sand that is washed up upon the shore, where it is left by the tides that rise on this coast to the height of twelve or fourteen feet;—this becomes dried by the excessive heat of the sun, and is whirled about and driven before this constant gale, upon the surface, and then into the interior of the Desert. Such have unquestionably been the causes which have produced such astonishing accumulations of sand on that part of the Desert; and I am further confirmed in this belief by the enormous strings of sand hills to be found all along the coast of Suse and Morocco, near the sea-shore. These accumulations are, in many parts, so great, as to have raised new bounds to the ocean some miles beyond its original limits, which have evidently been washed by the sea at a former period, and the intermediate spaces are filled up with loose sand hills; which circumstances altogether amount, in my opinion, to a demonstration of the origin of the sand on this part of the Desert.

Some authors have supposed that there were some fertile spots on the Great Western Desert which were cultivated, &c. &c. but this is, I think, an impossibility: the whole Desert being a level plain, it can produce neither spring nor stream of water, and no herbage can consequently grow unless by means of rain, and this falls on the Desert so seldom, and is so soon evaporated, as to render even a passage across it with a caravan of Arabs and camels, at all times dangerous in the extreme, as is proved by Sidi Hamet's narrative of his jour-

neys, connected with my own observations. That there are more shrubs growing in some parts than in others, is true, from natural causes. The small valleys or dells which now furnish a scanty subsistence for the hardy camel, and that only by feeding on the coarsest shrubs and leaves, serve as basins to catch the little water that sometimes falls there: this is immediately dried away by the intense heat of the sun, which beats down upon the surface in all parts most violently, and scorches like actual fire;—yet that moisture, little as it is, causes the growth of the dwarf thorn-bush, and of two or three other prickly plants resembling weeds; these grow only among sand, and there are spots on the Desert which produce a shrub that grows up in a bunch at the bottom as thick as a man's leg, and then branches off in every direction to the height of two feet, with a diameter of four or five feet. Each branch is two or three inches in circumference, and they are fluted like pillars or columns in architecture, and almost square at their tops: these are armed with small sharp prickles all over, two or three inches long, and yield, when broken off, a whitish liquid that is very nauseous, and bites the tongue like aqua-fortis, so that the camels will nip it only when they can find nothing else: they are so numerous in some places, that it is difficult for the camels to get along amongst them, and they are obliged to dodge about between these bunches.

In many valleys, the thorn bushes furnish a few snails.

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In many valleys, the thorn bushes furnish a few snails.

A few ground nuts are also to be found, resembling in shape and size small onions; and there are also to be seen under the shade of the thorn bushes, an herb known by the name of shepherds' sprouts in America; but like the other things before mentioned, they are very rarely to be met with. These are, as far as came within my knowledge, the whole of the productions of the Desert.

It has been imagined by many, that the Desert abounded in noxious animals, serpents, and other reptiles; but we saw none, nor is it possible for any animal that requires water, to exist on the Desert, unless it is under the care of, and assisted by man in procuring that necessary article. I saw no animal that was wild, except the ostrich, nor can I conceive how that animal exists without fresh water, which it is certain he cannot procure, nor what kind of nourishment he subsists on. There are neither beasts, nor birds, nor reptiles, to be seen on that dreary waste on which we travelled, and it is certain that there are other districts still worse, bearing not the smallest herb nor bush wherewith the camel can fill his stomach: but near the borders of the Desert, where more shrubs are produced, sheep and goats are fed in considerable numbers, and we saw many of those light-footed and beautiful animals, called the *Gazelle*, tripping across the sand hills, and near watering-places: some tigers also now and then made their appearance. Such is the Great Western Desert, or Zahahrah, which can only

afford a description as dry and as barren as its dreary surface. For its extent, see the Map.

Nearly all parts of this vast Desert are inhabited by different tribes of Arabs, who live entirely on the milk of their camels, and wander from valley to valley, travelling nearly every day for the sake of finding food for their camels, and consequently food for themselves: they live in tents formed of cloth made of camels' hair, which they pull off by hand, and spin with a hand spindle; this they twist round with the fore-finger and thumb of the right hand; after they have pulled out the thread sufficiently long from a bunch of camel's hair, which they hold in their left hand, whilst the spindle descends to the ground, when they take it up in their hand again, and wind off the yarn in a ball, and then spin another length in like manner: they afterwards double and twist it by hand, making a thread as thick as a goose quill. When they have spun a sufficient quantity, and have agreed to stop for two or three days in one place, (which they always do when they can find sufficient food for their camels,) they drive into the ground two rows of pegs, in parallel lines, sufficiently wide for a tent cloth, that is, about two and a half feet apart: they then warp the yarn round the pegs, and commence weaving it by running a kind of wooden sword through the yarn under one thread, and over another, in the manner of darning: this sword they carry with them, and it appears to have been used for ages;

they then tuck through the filling by hand, after turning up the sword edgeways; haul it tight, and beat it up with the sword. They weave it the whole length which they intend the tent to be, and then roll up the pieces or length, until they have made enough to finish a tent. This, in my opinion, must have been the very first method of weaving practised in the world, and the idea, I imagine, was taken from a view of the outer bark of the cocoa-nut tree, as I have before observed. The tent is then sewed together with the same kind of twine, through holes made with an iron bodkin. After it is sewed together to a proper width, from six to ten breadths, they make four loops on its ends, by fastening short crooked sticks to the cloth, and two on each side. When they are about to pitch the tent, they spread it out, stretching the cords by which it is fastened, and driving a stout peg into the ground for each cord: this is done with a hard smooth stone, which they always carry with them, in place of a hammer; then getting under the tent and raising it, they place a block, whose top is rounded like a wooden bowl, under its centre, and set the tent pole into a hole made for that purpose, and set the pole upright, which keeps the tent steady in its place. After the tent is raised, all the ropes that hold and steady it, (ten in number,) are tautened: these ropes are made of skins partly dressed, or of camels' hair, so that the tent is suspended in form of an oblong umbrella, and about two feet from the ground. In

the day-time they raise up the south part of their tents (as those on the Desert are always pitched facing the south) with two small stanchions fixed under the cords that hold it in front, so that they can go under the tent by stooping: this tent serves all the family for a shelter. Each family has a mat, which serves as a bed for the whole: they lie down on it promiscuously, only wrapped up in their haick or blanket, if they have one; if not, in the skin that covers their loins only, and lie close together, to keep off the cold winds which blow under the tents in the night: the children lie between the grown persons; their heads are as low, and frequently lower than their feet, and their long bushy hair, which is never combed, and resembles a woollen thrum mop, serves them instead of a pillow. The families consist of the father, and one or more wives, and the children that are unmarried, (generally about four to a family, but sometimes six or eight,) and their slaves, who are blacks.

The rich Arabs have one, two, or three slaves, male and female: these are allowed to sleep on the same mat with their masters and mistresses, and are treated in all respects like the children of the family in regard to apparel, &c.—they are not, however, permitted to marry or cohabit with the Arab women, under pain of death, and are obliged to take care of the camels and follow them, and to do other drudgery, such as getting fuel, &c. but they will not obey the women, and raise their voices higher than their master.

or any of his children in a dispute, and consequently are considered smart fellows. They marry among their own colour while they are slaves, with the consent of their masters, but the children remain slaves. After a slave has served his master faithfully for a long time, or has done him some essential service, he is made free: he then enters into all the privileges that the free Arabs enjoy, and can marry into any of their families, which he or she never fails to do, and thus become identified with the families of the tribe in which they were slaves, and may rise to the very head of it. The negroes are generally active and brave, are seldom punished with stripes, and those who drive the camels do not scruple to milk them when they are thirsty, but take care not to be discovered: they are extremely cunning, and will steal any thing they can get at to eat or drink, from their masters, or indeed any one else. If they are caught in the act of stealing, they are only threatened, and promised a flogging the next time. The father of the family is its absolute chief in all respects, though he seldom inflicts punishment: his wives and daughters are considered as mere slaves, subject to his will or caprice; yet they take every opportunity to deceive or steal from him: he deals out the milk to each with his own hand, nor dare any one touch it until it is thus divided: he always assists in milking the camels, then puts the milk into a large wooden bowl, which has probably been in the family

for ages: some of the largest bowls will contain five gallons: they are frequently split in every direction, and the split parts are fastened together with small iron plates, with a rivet at each end, made of the same metal. All the milk is thrown into the great bowl; then, if in the old man's opinion, there is a sufficient quantity for a good drink round; he takes a small bowl, (of which sort they generally have two or three,) and after washing or rubbing it out with sand; he begins to distribute the milk, by giving to each grown person an equal share, and to the children in proportion to their size, measuring it very exactly, and taking a proportionate quantity to himself. If there is any left, (which was very seldom the case with those I lived among,) he has it put into a skin, to serve for a drink at noon the next day: if there is not a sufficient quantity of milk for a good drink all round, the old man fills it up with water (if they have any) to a certain mark in the bowl, and then proceeds to divide it as before related.

The camels are driven out early in the morning, and home about dark, when they are made to lie down before the tent of their owner, very near, with their tails towards it: a doubled rope with a large knot in one end is then put round the knee joint when the leg is doubled in, and the knot being then thrust through the double part at the other end, effectually fastens the knee bent as it is, so that the camel cannot get up to walk off, having but the use of three of his

legs. This kind of becket is also fixed on the knees of the old camels that lead the drove ; and the others remain quiet when their leaders are fast : in this manner they are suffered to lie until about midnight, when they have had time to cool and the milk to collect in their bags—the becket is then taken off, and as soon as they get up, the net which covers the bag to prevent the young ones from consuming the milk, is loosened : this is fastened on by two cords, that go over the back of the camel, and are knotted together. As each camel is milked, the net is carefully replaced, and she is made to lie down in the same place again : here they lie until day-light, when all the camels are made to get up ; a little milk is then drawn from each, and the young ones are suffered to suck out the remainder, when the net is put in its place again, not to be removed until the following midnight. While the head of the family is busied milking the camels and suckling the young ones, assisted by all the males, the wife and females are striking and folding up the tent, selecting the camels to carry the stuff, and bringing them near, where they make them lie down and pack on them the tent and all their other materials. This being done, they fasten a leather or skin basket, about four feet wide, fitted with a kind of tree, like a saddle, on the back of one of the tamest camels, in which the women place the old men and women that cannot walk, and young children, and frequently themselves, and proceed forward according to their daily

custom. The women take care of the stuff and the camels that carry it, and of the children: the other camels are driven off by slaves, if they have any, if not, by some of the boys, and kept where there are some shrubs to be found, until night. The old man, or head of the family, generally precedes the women and stuff, after having described to them the course they are to steer. He sets off on his camel, with his gun in his hand, at a full trot, and goes on until he finds a fit place in which to pitch the tent, when he gives the information to his wife, who then proceeds with all possible dispatch to the spot, unloads her camels, and lets them go; then she spreads her tent, puts all the stuff under it, clears away the small stones, and spreads her mat, arranges her bowls, hangs up the skins containing water, (if they have any,) on a kind of horse or frame that folds together, &c. &c. They start long before sun-rising in the morning, and calculate to pitch their tents at about four o'clock in the afternoon, if they can find a convenient spot; otherwise a little sooner or later. When one family sets off, the whole of that part of the tribe dwelling near, travel on with them; and I have frequently seen from five hundred to one thousand camels in one drove, all going the same way, and I was greatly surprised to see with what facility they could distinguish and separate them; each knowing his own camels, even to the smallest: they would sometimes march together for half a day; then in a few minutes they would separate, and each

take his own course, and would generally pitch within a few miles of each other. As soon as the place is agreed on, the men go out on their camels, with their guns, different ways, to reconnoitre and see if they have enemies near.

When they rise in the morning, after having first milked their camels, and suckled the young ones, they next attend to prayers, which is done in the following manner: they first find a sandy spot, then unwrap themselves, and take up sand in both their hands; with this they rub their faces, necks, arms, legs, and every part of their bodies, except their backs, which they cannot reach: this done, as if they washed with water, they stand erect, facing towards the east; wrap themselves up as neatly as they can in their blankets or skins; they look up towards heaven, and then bow their heads, bending their bodies half way to the ground twice, crying aloud at each time, *Allah Hooakibar*. They next kneel down, and supporting themselves with their hands, they worship, bowing their faces in the dust, twice successively; then, being still on their knees, they bend themselves forward, nearly to the ground, repeating, *Hi el Allah Sheda Mohammed Rasool Allah*; then rising, they again repeat, *Allah Hooakibar*, two or three times; and this is the common mode of worshipping four times a day. In addition to this, at sun-setting, they implore the Almighty to send rain to moisten the parched earth; to cause the food to grow for their camels; to keep them under his

special care, with their families and tribes ; to enrich them with the spoils of their enemies, and to confound and destroy them that seek their hurt : they thank the Almighty for his past mercies, for food, raiment, and his protection, &c. &c —they then repeat part of a chapter from the Koran, in which God's pretended promises to the faithful are made known by their prophet ; and repeating at all times the *Hi el Allah*, or, " Great is the Almighty God, and Mohammed is his holy prophet." Their times of prayer are, before sun-rising in the morning, about noon, the middle of the afternoon, about sun-setting, and again two or three hours after the sun has set : this makes five times a-day, washing themselves (at least their faces and hands, when they have water) before praying ; when they cannot get water, (which is always the case with those on the Desert,) they perform their ablutions by substituting sand. Mohammed, their prophet, when he arrived with an army on the deserts of Arabia, found that there was no water either for himself or his followers to wash in ; yet by the laws he had already promulgated, ablutions could not be dispensed with : a new chapter, however, of revelation, soon relieved him from this dilemma, and he directed his followers to use sand, when no water was to be had. In the ninth chapter of the Book of Numbers, it appears that Moses, in a similar dilemma, found it necessary to apply for a new command from the Lord on a particular subject.

The Arabs always wash when it is in their power, before they eat, nor does any business divert them from the strict observance of their religious ceremonies: and with respect to particular stated times, while pursuing their journeys, and going on in the greatest haste, when the time for prayers arrives, all stop, make the camels lie down, and perform what they conceive to be their indispensable duty; praying, in addition to the usual forms, to be directed in the right course, and that God will lead them to wells of water, and to hospitable brethren, who will feed them, and not suffer them to perish far from the face of man: that he will enrich them with spoils, and deliver them from all who lie in wait to do them mischief; this done, they mount again cheerfully, and proceed, encouraging their camels by a song, a very lively one, if they wish them to go on a trot; if only to walk, something more slow and solemn.

The Arabs who inhabit the Great Western Desert, are in their persons about five feet seven or eight inches in height; and tolerably well set in their frames, though lean: their complexion is of a dark olive: they have high cheek bones, and aquiline noses, rather prominent; lank cheeks, thin lips, and round chins: their eyes are black, sparkling, and intelligent: they have long black hair, coarse, and very thick; and the men cut theirs off with their knives, to the length of about six or eight inches, and leave it sticking out in every direction from their head. They all wear long

beards—their limbs are straight, and they can endure hunger, thirst, hardships, and fatigues, probably better than any other people under heaven: their clothing in general is nothing more than a piece of coarse cloth, made of camels' hair, tied round their waists, hanging nearly down to their knees; or a goat-skin so fastened on as to cover their nakedness; but some of the rich ones wear a covering of linen or cotton cloth over their shoulders, to their knees, hanging something like a shift or shirt, without sleeves, and some have, besides, a haick or a woollen blanket, about four feet wide, and four yards long, which they wrap about them; but this is the case only with the rich, and their number is very small. These haicks, and blue shirts, they get from the empire of Morocco, in exchange for camel's hair and ostrich feathers; the only commodities in which they can trade. The Arab women are short and meagre; and their features much harder and more ugly than those of the men; but they have long black hair, which they braid and tuck up in a bunch on their heads, and fasten it there by means of thorns. They generally wear strings of black beads round their necks, and a white circular bone, of three inches in diameter, in their hair, with bands of beads or other ornaments around their wrists and ancles. Their cheek bones are high and prominent; their visages and lips are thin, and the upper lip is kept up by means of the two eye-teeth. They take great pains to make these teeth project

forward, and turn up quite in front of the line of their other fore-teeth, which are as white and sound as ivory. Their eyes are round, black, very expressive, and extremely beautiful, particularly in the young women, who are generally plump and lascivious. The women wear a dress of coarse camels' hair cloth, which they manufacture in the same way they make their tent cloth: it covers their shoulders, leaving their arms and breasts naked: it is sewed up on each side, and falls down nearly to their knees; they have a fold in this, like a sack, next their skin on their shoulders, in which they carry their little children; and the breasts of the middle aged women become so extremely long, lank, and pendulous, that they have no other trouble in nursing the child which is on their backs, when walking about, than to throw up their breasts over the top of their shoulders, so that the child may apply its lips.

All the Arabs go barefoot; the children, both male and female, before they come to the age of puberty, run about entirely naked, and this exposure to the sun is one great cause of their black colour. The males are all circumcised at the age of eight years, not as a religious rite, but because it is found necessary as a preventive of a disease incident to the climate. The men are very quick, active, and intelligent—more so, taken collectively, than any other set of men I had ever come across in the different parts of the world I had before visited. They are the lords and masters

in their families, and are very severe and cruel to their wives, whom they treat as mere necessary slaves, and they do not allow them even as much liberty as they grant to their negroes, either in speech or action: they are considered by the men as beings without souls, and consequently, they are not permitted to join in their devotions, but are kept constantly drudging at something or other, and are seldom allowed to speak when men are conversing together. They are very filthy in their persons, not even cleansing themselves with sand, and are covered with vermin. The continual harsh treatment, and hard drudgery to which they are subject, have worn off that fine edge of delicacy, sensibility, and compassion, so natural to their sex, and transformed them into unfeeling and unpitying beings; so much so, that their conduct towards me and my companions in distress was brutal in the extreme, and betrayed the extinction of every humane and generous feeling.

The Arab is high-spirited, brave, avaricious, rapacious, revengeful; and, strange as it may appear, is, at the same time, hospitable and compassionate: he is proud of being able to maintain his independence, though on a dreary desert, and despises those who are so mean and degraded as to submit to any government but that of the Most High. He struts about sole master of what wealth he possesses, always ready to defend it, and believes himself the happiest of men, and the most learned also; handing down the

tradition of his ancestors, as he is persuaded, for thousands of years. He looks upon all other men to be vile, and beneath his notice, except as merchandise: he is content to live on the milk of his camels, which he takes great care to rear, and thanks his God daily for his continual mercies. They considered themselves as much above me and my companions, both in intellect and acquired knowledge, as the proud and pampered West India planter (long accustomed to rule over slaves) fancies himself above the meanest new negro, just brought in chains from the coast of Africa. They never correct their male children, but the females are beat without mercy. The men were not cruel to us further than they thought we were obstinate, and always gave us a small share of what they themselves had to subsist on.

I never witnessed a marriage among them, but was told that when a young man sees a girl that pleases him, he asks her of her father, and she becomes his wife without ceremony. Polygamy is allowed, but the Arabs of the Desert have but very seldom more than one wife, unless amongst some of the rich ones, who have need of servants, when they take another wife, and sometimes a third.

They all learn to read and write: in every family or division of a tribe, they have one man who acts as teacher to the children: they have boards of from one foot square to two feet long, and about an inch thick, by eighteen inches wide: on these boards the children learn to write with a

piece of pointed reed; they have the secret of making ink, and that of a very black dye: when a family of wandering Arabs pitch their tents, they set apart a place for a school: this they surround with broken shrubs in the Desert to keep off the wind—here all the boys who have been circumcised, of from eight to eighteen or twenty years old, attend, and are taught to read and to write verses from the Koran, which is kept in manuscript by every family on skins: they write their characters from right to left—are very particular in the formation of them, and make their lines very straight: all the children attend from choice or for amusement.—The teacher, I was told, never punishes a child, but explains the meaning of things, and amuses him by telling tales that are both entertaining and instructive; he reads or rehearses chapters from the Koran or some other book, for they have a great many poems, &c. written also on skins: when the board is full of writing, they rub it off with sand, and begin again: they enumerate with the nine figures now in use among all European nations, and in America, and were extremely astonished to find that I could make them, and understand their meaning, saying one to another, “This man must have been a slave before to some Arabian merchant, who has taught him the manner of using the Arabic figures, and contrary to his law, unless indeed he is a good man and a believer.” The boards on which they wrote seemed to have lasted for ages—they had been split in many

places, and were kept together by small iron plates on each side, fixed by iron rivets: these plates, as well as their rude axes, of which each family has one, are made of tempered iron by the smiths which belong to and journey with the tribe. I saw several of them at work. They burn small wood into charcoal, and carry it with them on camels: their anvil is made of a piece of iron a foot long, and pointed at the end—this they drive into the ground to work on—the head of the anvil is about six inches over: they make their fire in a small hole dug in the ground for that purpose, and blow it up by means of two skins curiously fixed; so that while one is filling with air, they blow with the other, standing between them—with a hand placed on each, they raise and depress them at pleasure. By means of a clumsy hammer, an anvil, and hot irons to bore with, they manage to fix the saddles for themselves to ride on, and to make knives and a kind of needles, and small rough bladed axes. This forge is carried about without the smallest inconvenience, so that the Arabs even of the Desert are better provided in this respect than the Israelites were in the days of Saul their King. Samuel, chap. xiii. verses 19 to 23—“ Now there was no smith in all the land of Israel; for the Philistines said, Lest the Hebrews make them swords or spears.”

There appeared to be no kind of sickness or disease among the Arabs of the Desert during the time I was with them: I did not hear of, nor see the smallest symptom of

complaint, and they appear to live to a vast age: there were three people I saw belonging to the tribe in which I was a slave; namely, two old men and one woman, who from appearance were much older than any I had ever seen; these men and the woman had lost all the hair from their heads, beards, and every part of their bodies—the flesh on them had entirely wasted away, and their skins appeared to be dried and drawn tight over the sinews and the bones, like Egyptian mummies; their eyes were extinct, having totally wasted away in their sockets, the bones of which were only covered by their eye-lids; they had lost the use of all their limbs, and appeared to be deprived of every sense, so that when their breath should be spent and their entrails extracted, they would, in my opinion, be perfect mummies without further preparation; for from their appearance there was not sufficient moisture in their frames to promote corruption, and I felt convinced that a sight of such beings (probably on the deserts of Arabia) might have given the Egyptians their first idea of drying and preserving the dead bodies of their relations and friends. An undutiful child of civilized parents might here learn a lesson of filial piety and benevolence from these barbarians; the old people always received the first drink of milk, and a larger share than even the acting head of the family when they were scantied in quantity. Whenever the family moved forward, a camel was first prepared for the old man, by fixing

a kind of basket on the animal's back; they then put skins or other soft things into it, to make it easy, and next lifting up the old man, they place him carefully in the basket, with a child or two on each side, to take care of and steady him during the march, while he seems to sit and hold on, more from long habit than from choice.—As soon as they stopped to pitch the tents the old man was taken from his camel, and a drink of water or milk given him, for they take care to save some for that particular purpose. When the tent was pitched, he was carefully taken up and placed under it on their mat, where he could go to sleep: this man's voice was very feeble, squeaking, and hollow. The remarkably old man I am speaking of belonged to a family that always pitched their tent near ours, so that I had an opportunity of witnessing the manner of his treatment for several days together, which was uniformly the same.

After I was redeemed in Mogadore I asked my master Sidi Hamet of what age he supposed this old man to have been, and he said about eight *Zille* or Arabic centuries. Now an Arabic century, or *Zille*, is forty lunar years of twelve moons in each year, so that by this computation he must have been nearly three hundred years old: he also told me that it was very common to find Arabs on different parts of the Great Desert, five *Zille* old, retaining all their faculties, and that he had seen a great many of the ages of from seven to eight *Zille*. He further said, that my old master

from whom he bought me had lived nearly five Zille or centuries, though he was very strong and active; and from the appearance of a great many others in the same tribe I could have no doubt but they were much older. I then asked him how they knew their own ages, and he answered —“ Every family keeps a record of the ages and names of its children, which they always preserve and pack up in the same bag in which they carry the Koran.”—I told him that few people in other parts of the world lived to the age of two Zille and a half, and the people of those countries would not believe such a story.

“ The Arabs who live on the Desert (said he) subsist entirely on the milk of their camels; it is the milk of an animal that we call sacred, and it causes long life: those who live on nothing else, have no sickness nor disorders, and are particularly favoured by heaven; but only carry the same people off from the Desert, and let them live on meat, and bread, and fruits, they then become subject to every kind of pain and sickness when they are young, and only live to the age of about two Zille and a half at the most, while a great many die very young, and not one-tenth part of the men or women live to the age of one Zille. I myself (added he) always feel well when I live on the milk of the camel alone, even though I do not get half as much as I want, for then I am strong and can bear heat, and cold, and fatigue, much better than when I live on flesh, and

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bread, and fruit, and have plenty of good fresh water to drink, and if I could always have as much camel's milk as I could drink, I would never taste of meat again : but I love bread and honey very much."—This account from an Arab, who was my friend and the preserver of my life, and one who has traversed the Desert in many directions, and who was also a good scholar for an Arab, and on whose veracity I could rely, together with what fell under my own observation, has removed all doubt from my mind on that subject, and I am fully of opinion that hundreds and thousands of Arabs on this vast expanse of Desert, actually live to the age of two hundred years of our calendar. My reasons for this belief, in addition to those already given, are,

1st. That their lives are regular, from the day of their birth to the day of their death.

2d. That there is no variation in their food, which is of the most pure and nutritive kind, and cannot cause in them disorders originating from indigestion, &c. &c.

3d. That the climate they inhabit, though hot, is perfectly dry, and consequently must be healthy for those born there ; and,

4th. That in their wandering life they are never subjected to hard bodily labour, and their daily movements afford them sufficient exercise to promote a due circulation of the fluids ; nor do they ever taste wine or any ardent spirits,

being entirely out of the way of those articles, and are besides strictly forbidden by their religion. I am no physician, and cannot therefore enter into any learned disquisition on this subject, but merely give my own impressions respecting it, without pretending to be less liable to err in judgment than others. It cannot be doubted but that the Arabs existed as a wandering race long before the time of the Greeks, and it is possible that they possessed in those early ages the art of writing, and reckoned time by the same method they do at this day; say forty lunar years for a Zille or century, and that in translating or quoting from their writings, a Zille may have been taken for a hundred of our years.

The tribe of Arabs to which I belonged, owned four horses, or rather mares: they were the general property, and were fed on milk, and watered every two days: with these animals they hunt the ostrich, and with this view, having agreed on the time and place, the whole of the men assemble before daylight on their camels, and surround a certain spot of ground where they calculate on finding ostriches, with the horses to windward, and their riders with loaded muskets in their hands: they then approach each other until they start the ostriches, who seeing themselves surrounded on all sides but one, run to the southward before the wind, followed by the horses, which it is said run extremely swift, and pressing on the ostrich very hard, the bird runs himself out

of breath in about three hours, when the men on horseback come up and shoot him: but let these birds run against the wind, and no horse can overtake them, for then they do not lose their breath.

After my arrival at Mogadore, I heard of the *Heirie*, or small swift camel of the Desert, but I never saw any camel that differed from the common one either in size or shape, and can only suppose that it may be a camel of the same race trained for running swift, and fed on milk like the horses. The common camel can easily travel one hundred miles in a day. A good new milch camel gives at one milking when on the Desert about one quart, which is very rich and good: this is besides what suffices to sustain the young camel, and is drawn at midnight—they only draw about a gill in the morning.

Most of the Arabs are well armed with good double-barrelled French fowling pieces, (which have excellent locks,) and with good scimitars and knives: each has a kind of bag to carry his slugs, &c. in, slung by his neck and hanging down to his waist on the left side: their big powder-horn is suspended in like manner: this contains coarse powder, and is used for loading the muskets, but they all have a little horn in which to carry their fine powder for priming. Many of the gun barrels that I saw were worn through, and the holes were stopped up by brazing:—they have procured many of their guns no doubt by shipwrecks on the coast of

the Desert; many more from caravans that they have overpowered, and others in the way of trade from the French settlements of Senegal, and from Tunis, Tripoli, and others ports on the Mediterranean Sea. I did not see a single Moorish musket or lock during the time I was among the Arabs of the Desert: they were all made in Europe, and generally in Paris, with the maker's name on the locks. They have tolerably good powder, which they say they know how to manufacture, but do not make it fine, so that first rate English or French musket powder is much in request, and looked upon as invaluable for priming. Their swords or scimitars they most probably obtain by the same means as their muskets: they are ever ready to attack an inferior, or even an equal force, and fight for the sake of plunder.

Their language is the ancient Arabic; is spoken with great fluency, and is distinguished for its powerful emphasis, and elegant cadence. When they converse peaceably, (and they are much given to talking with each other,) it thrills on the ear like the breathings of soft wind-music, and excites in the soul the most soothing sensations; but when they speak in anger, it sounds as hoarse as the roarings of irritated lions, or the most furious beasts of prey. They attack the small towns in the vicinity of the Desert, on all sides; which are walled in to ward off their incursions: if they are successful, they put all to the sword, burn the towns, and

retire again to the Desert with their spoil. Such is the wandering Arab of the great African Desert: his hand is against every man, and consequently every man's hand is against him.

DESCRIPTION OF AN ARABIAN CAMEL OR DRÖMEDARY.

THE Arabian camel, called by the ancients and by naturalists, the dromedary, is, perhaps, the most singular, and at the same time one of the most useful animals in nature. He is, when full grown, from eight to nine feet in height, and about ten to twelve feet in length, from the end of his nose to the root of his tail; his body is small, compared with his height; his neck resembles in shape that of a goose more than any other animal, being long and slender, and it seems to grow out of the lower part of his body, between his fore legs: he raises his head to the height of his back, poking his nose out horizontally, so that his face looks directly upwards, and his nose bone so high as to be on a line with the top of the bunch on his back: his head is small, his ears short; his eyes are of various colours, from a black to almost a white; bright, and sparkling with instinctive intelligence, and placed on the sides of his head in such a manner, that he can see before, behind, and on every side at the same time. His tail is short, and hangs like that of a cow, with a small bunch of hair at the end: his legs are

long and slender, though their joints are stout and strong; his feet are divided something like those of an ox; but he has no hoof except on the extreme points of the toes; in other parts they are only covered with skin, and are soft and yielding: the soles of his feet are not thicker than stout sole leather: he is generally of a light ash colour, but varying from that to a dark brown, and sometimes a reddish brown; many of them are also marked with white spots or stripes on their foreheads, and on different parts of their bodies; the hair on his body is short and fine, like the finest of wool, and serves the Arabs instead of that necessary article, with which they make their tent cloth and coarse covering; it is pulled or else falls off once a year; the hair about his throat and on the hump is eight or ten inches in length, and hangs down; he has a high bunch on his back, which rises from his shoulders, and comes to a blunt point at about the centre of his back, and tapers off to his hips; this bunch is from one to two feet high above the back bone, and not attached to it nor to the frame of the camel, so that in skinning him, the Arabs take off the bunch with it, which is larger or smaller, as the camel is fat or lean. He who rides on a camel without a saddle (which saddle is peculiarly constructed so as not to touch the bunch) is forced to get on behind it, where the breadth of the body keeps the rider's legs extended very wide, while he is obliged to keep himself from slipping off over the beast's tail, by

clenching both hands into the long hair that covers the bunch.

The camel is a very domestic animal ; he lies down on his belly at the command of his master, folding his legs under him something like a sheep ; there he remains to receive his rider or his burden, when he rises at a word, and proceeds in the way he is driven or directed, with the utmost docility and cheerfulness, while his master encourages him by singing. The Arabs use neither bridle nor halter, but guide and manage the camel (whose head is quite at liberty) by means of a stick, assisted by words and sounds of the tongue ; having one sound to urge him on faster ; one to make him go slower ; and a third, which is a kind of cluck with the tongue, to make him stop. He chews his cud like an ox, and has no fore teeth in his upper jaw ; but his lips are long and rough, so that he nips off the rugged shrubs without difficulty, on which he is obliged to feed. The camel seems to have been formed by nature to live on deserts : he is patient, fleet, strong, and hardy ; can endure hunger and thirst better than any other animal ; can travel through deep and dead sands with great ease, and over the flinty parts of the Desert without difficulty, though it is hard for him to go up or down steep hills and mountains, and to travel on muddy roads, as he slips about and strains himself ; but he is sure-footed, and walks firmly on a hard dry surface, or on sand. I have never made the natural

history of animals my study, and it cannot be expected that I should be acquainted with the particular formation of their interior parts; but I will venture to say a few words in regard to those of the camel, without fear of contradiction from any one who shall see and examine for himself, having assisted in butchering three camels while a slave.

The camel is described by naturalists as having, besides the four stomachs common to ruminating animals, a fifth bag, exclusively as a reservoir for water, where it remains without corrupting or mixing with the other aliments: this is a mistake—for the bag that holds the water contains also the chewed herbage, and is in the camel what a paunch is in an ox. Into this bag all the rough chewed herbage enters, where it is softened by the water, thrown again into the mouth, chewed over, and passes off by another canal, and the fæces are so dry, that the day after they are voided, the Arabs strike fire on them instead of touchwood or punk. Having to draw water for these animals, I am certain that the largest sized ones drink at least two barrels of water at one time, when they have been long without it, and that the whole of the camels belonging to the tribe by whom I was made a slave, which were then at a well, did not again get a drop of water within twenty days; these camels were at least two thousand in number, and were then on one of the hottest and driest parts of the Great Western Desert, where there was scarcely a green leaf or shrub to be found, and

their owners knew how far it was back to the same watering-place at which myself and crew were seized, and to which they drove them again at the end of that period—and even that water was almost as black as ink, owing probably to its stagnant state in the well, and very brackish, because it filtered through the sand beach from the ocean, which was not more than three hundred yards from the well; and these camels went twenty days without water:—under such circumstances I have not the smallest doubt but that they can go thirty or forty days without water before they would die with thirst. At the end of fifteen days after watering the camels, my old master, *Mohammed Bessa*, killed an old and very poor camel, and I was obliged to assist in dressing, though not in eating it, for its flesh, bones, and intestines, were divided among the whole tribe; a small piece to each family: they cut open the paunch of this camel, (for he had no other bag to contain water,) and dipped out the contents, though thick with fæces, in order to boil the intestines in it, as well as to drink. When my master, Sidi Hamet, killed a camel to give me and my companions some meat, and procure something to sustain us on our journey across the Desert, the paunch was rolled out of the camel, and the water taken from it, thick as it was, to boil the unclesed intestines. After drinking this stuff we put the remainder (about two gallons) with the filth it contained, into one of our bottles or goat skins, and it served to sustain life, though

the most rank and nauseous both to the smell and taste that can be imagined.

The camel is considered by the Arab as a sacred animal ; with him he can transport a load of merchandise of several hundred weight with certainty and celerity through deserts utterly impassible with any other animal ; on him the wandering Arab can flee with his family from any enemy across the trackless waste one hundred miles or more in a single day if he wishes, and out of the reach of his pursuers : for the Desert, like the ocean, neither retains nor discloses any trace of the traveller. Its milk is both food and drink for the whole family, and when they have a sufficiency of that article, they are contented, and desire nothing more : with his camel the Arab is perfectly independent, and can bid defiance to all the forces that uncivilized foes can send against him ; with him they collect in strong bands, all well armed, and fall upon the caravans, slaying without mercy all they can overpower, and divide their spoil ; should they meet with a repulse, they can flee and soon be out of sight ; they also attack the settlements and small walled towns in the cultivated country near the Desert, and if strong enough, destroy all the inhabitants, and drive off the cattle ; all the goods of the slain they carry away on their camels, and return to the Desert, where no force can pursue them without meeting with certain destruction.

The camel's motions are extremely heavy and jolting ; his

legs being long, he steps a great distance, and though he appears to go slowly when on a walk, yet he proceeds at about the rate of four miles an hour, and it is difficult for a man to keep pace with him without running. When the camel trots, he goes very fast; the small trot being about six, and the great one about eight miles an hour—this they can do with great ease with light loads for a whole day together, and will replenish their stomachs at night with the leaves and twigs of the sullen thorn-bush, that is barely permitted by nature to vegetate in that most dreary and desolate of all regions. The flesh of the camel is good for food; and that of the young ones is esteemed preferable to that of the ox: they bring forth a single young one at a time, and generally once in about two years, their time of gestation being about one year. When the camel is in a heat, he is extremely vicious, so that none dare come near him: his organ in some measure resembles that of a horse, but it has a contrary direction, so that the water is voided behind; and when obeying one of the most important instincts of nature, he is obliged to make his approach in a retrograde manner. In the year 1804 I was in the island of Lanzarote, one of the Canaries, and loaded my vessel (the brig *Eliza* and *Mary* of New-York) with barilla, which I carried to Belfast in Ireland;—the barilla is brought from the interior of the island to the port on camels, from whose backs I received and weighed it. Their common loads were from nine to

twelve quintals of one hundred pounds; but many loads overran that weight, and one load in particular weighed over fifteen hundred pounds. Those were the same kind of camels used in Barbary, and on the Desert, and indeed I never saw any other kind; they are said to come to their full growth in six or eight years, and to live, in many instances, to the age of fifty or sixty.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Some account of Suse, or South Barbary, and of its inhabitants, cities, &c.—the primitive plough, and mode of using it—primitive churn, and method of making butter.

THE country of *Suse*, or South Barbary, is bounded by the Moorish province of *Hah-Hah* on the east, by the Atlas mountains and the Great Desert south, and by the Atlantic Ocean on the north and west: its length from east to west is about two hundred and fifty miles; its breadth from north to south one hundred miles. In coming from the Desert, its principal towns are, *Waldeleim*, which is said to be very large and strong, and to contain ten thousand inhabitants. *Widnoon* is much the largest town in *Suse*, and its inhabitants are computed by the Arabs at thirty thousand. *Schelem* contains four thousand. *Stuka*, where I was shut up a slave, does not appear to be a principal town, but is made up of a cluster of small ones, nor could I learn the names of the many little towns or castles in sight of which I passed coming up: it was formerly a kingdom, and was afterwards united to those of Morocco and Fez, which now form the Moorish empire. *Suse* has however become entirely inde-

pendent, for though the Emperor of Morocco claims jurisdiction over the whole of Suse, and indeed of the whole Desert as far south as Soudan, yet all those countries are, in fact, independent, and the Emperor's power extends only a few leagues south and west, from a line drawn through Santa Cruz or Agader, and Tarudant, south to the Atlas.

The soil of this country is very rich and fruitful: here wheat, barley, and Indian corn, or maize, are cultivated, and most kinds of kitchen-garden vegetables thrive with great luxuriance: the date, fig, pomegranate, olive, orange, lemon, sweet and bitter almond, arga, and many other fruit and forest trees, thrive exceedingly well, and produce, it is said, great abundance in their seasons: the gum arabic and sanderach are also produced there in great quantities. The country being speckled over with small cities, towns, and castles, all strongly walled in with stone laid in clay, is calculated to remind one of the times of the feudal system; each place is under the government of its own chief, who is by common consent the head of the family: they are under a kind of patriarchal government, and each individual feels himself perfectly free and independent. In case of attack or danger, all unite for the general defence, under such leaders as shall have proved themselves brave, enterprising, and worthy of command; and by this means they are enabled to secure themselves against the frequent inroads and insults of the wandering Arabs, who inhabit the Great

Desert in their vicinity, and to repel the more formidable attacks of the forces of the Moorish Emperor. They raise great numbers of camels, horses, asses, mules, oxen, goats, and sheep, which are guarded by their negro slaves, (of whom they have many,) or by the young boys, and they are driven into their towns or castles every night to prevent their being surprized and carried off by the Arabs, or other predatory neighbours: their horses are very handsome, strong, and fleet, of the real Arabian kind, and very high spirited.

The inhabitants are of a tawny colour, like the Moors, though not quite so dark, and I was informed they were principally descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the country before it was overrun by the Arabs or Saracens: they are in their persons about five feet eight or nine inches in height; stout built, robust, and athletic, and are very straight limbed: they have rather a round visage, with prominent features, black hair, sharp pointed noses, and great bushy beards: their eyes are black, but not so lively, expressive, or intelligent, as those of the Arabs: their mouths are wide, and their lips plump. Their dress consists of a kind of shirt made of blue guinea or linen cloth, or coarse white muslin, that passes over their shoulders, and falls down near their knees, but without sleeves: over this they wear a haick or blanket made of woollen cloth, of about five yards in length, and an ell in width; this they wrap round them; some of them also wear the cloak, or

sulam, and Moorish trowsers; and have on their heads either turbans of white cotton cloth, or a fold of their haick. The heads of the men are generally shaved smooth, at least once a month: their women, like those of the Moors, are not to be seen by the men, except their husbands or fathers: the men are very industrious, and work their land by ploughing it up with a plough formed out of the trunk of a tree hewn sharp to a point that projects about two feet forward, from a stout crooked limb, that serves as a beam to the plough; while a smaller, and particularly formed limb, is used as a handle to steady and govern it. In order to fix their animals to the plough, they first attach them together, say a cow and an ass, (for this seemed to make a favourite pair, and I observed a great many such pairs yoked together,) by fastening a rope round the horns of the cow, and about the nose of the ass in form of a halter: they next place a short piece or stick of wood, hollowed out like one end of an ox yoke, across the neck of each animal, and fasten it by means of a rope tied to one end of the stick; this going round under their necks, is made fast to the other end of the short yoke; they then run a long pole through under their bellies just behind their fore legs, and fasten it there by means of two ropes, like the draw ropes or traces of a horse's harness: these are fixed to the rope that goes round the animal's neck at one end, which pole serves for a yoke, and projects out a foot or two on each side: to the

centre of this pole the end of the plough beam is lashed fast. The point which enters the ground is hewn in a triangular shape, but the edges soon wear off, so that it becomes nearly round. In loamy and sandy soils they plough with the naked wood, but in stony places they point it with a round piece of iron, tapering to a sharp point that lets on with a socket: it turns up the earth on both sides, and goes into the ground about eight inches deep. The people of Suse and those of Morocco use only one pair of beasts, whatever they may be, and have lines leading from the heads of the animals into the hands of him who steadies the plough, by means of which he directs and governs them: he also carries a thick stick sufficiently long to reach them, with a sharp-pointed iron like a spear in its end; by the help of which he pricks and goads his beasts along at pleasure. This instrument is an ox-goad, and no doubt is similar to those spoken of in Sacred Writ—1st Samuel, iii. 1. but these Moors do not obey that part of the law of Moses; "Thou shalt not plough with an ox and an ass together." See 22d chapter of Deuteronomy, 10th verse, except by sometimes substituting a cow instead of an ox. This, I imagine, was the primitive plough, or something very near it, and the first method hit upon for using it.

I have also promised to treat of the primitive churn, and manner of making butter, which is simply this. The Arabs, or people who inhabited the country near the river Eu-

phrates, as long ago as the time of Abraham, the father of the Jews, and probably much earlier, knew the use of the camel, and actually kept him in a domestic state: they would very naturally feed on its milk, and they, no doubt, in those days, made use of the same means to carry their milk about with them, that the wandering Arabs do at present—that is, whatever milk is left of what the family has been using over night or in the morning, is put into a goat skin, or some other skin, and slung on a camel to serve for drink in the heat of the day—thus equipped, they set off together: and when they stop to take refreshment or to pitch their tent, they find a lump of butter in the milk; for the violent and continued agitation occasioned by the heavy motions of the camel, has churned, or forced it to produce butter; this simple method was suggested to my mind by seeing a lump of butter in my old master's milk bag, when we were wandering on the Desert—this must, without doubt, have been the first mode found out by chance, of making butter; for what reason would he have, who had never seen such a thing as butter, for supposing milk could be converted into that substance, more than any other fluid?

The country of Suse, altogether, resembles the narrow country as described in Holy Writ, called the land of Canaan: its vast number of small cities, or rather castles, with

centre of this pole the end of the plough beam is lashed fast. The point which enters the ground is hewn in a triangular shape, but the edges soon wear off, so that it becomes nearly round. In loamy and sandy soils they plough with the naked wood, but in stony places they point it with a round piece of iron, tapering to a sharp point that lets on with a socket: it turns up the earth on both sides, and goes into the ground about eight inches deep. The people of Suse and those of Morocco use only one pair of beasts, whatever they may be, and have lines leading from the heads of the animals into the hands of him who steadies the plough, by means of which he directs and governs them: he also carries a thick stick sufficiently long to reach them, with a sharp-pointed iron like a spear in its end; by the help of which he pricks and goads his beasts along at pleasure. This instrument is an ox-goad, and no doubt is similar to those spoken of in Sacred Writ—1st Samuel, iii. 1. but these Moors do not obey that part of the law of Moses; "Thou shalt not plough with an ox and an ass together." See 22d chapter of Deuteronomy, 10th verse, except by sometimes substituting a cow instead of an ox. This, I imagine, was the primitive plough, or something very near it, and the first method hit upon for using it.

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The country of Suse, altogether a different country as described in Holy Writings, is the same as the naan: its vast number of small settlements

high and strong walls, with gates and bars, each under its own sovereign, must be similar to the cities there described, as taken and destroyed by the Jews, (together with their kings,) soon after they emerged from the deserts of Arabia, under the command of their chieftain and prophet, Joshua, and have, doubtless, been constructed for the same purpose, i. e. to guard against the irruptions of the wandering inhabitants of the contiguous deserts, &c. The inhabitants are brave and warlike—all well armed with single-barrelled muskets, stocked and mounted in the Moorish manner, and with Moorish locks; they have also knives, daggers, scimitars, and swords, and are the best of horsemen: they seldom or ever go out of their little cities unarmed; but like the wandering Arab on the Desert, they are completely equipped either for offence or defence, even when they go to visit their nearest friends. They are said to be, like the Arabs, warm and sincere in their friendship; in their enmities implacable, cruel, and revengeful; and in trade, cunning and deceitful.

The whole number of inhabitants in Suse, including white and black slaves, is estimated at near *one million*: they are all strict observers of the Mohammedan doctrine and ceremonies, and appear to be enthusiasts in religion, though like the Moors they are not generally taught the arts of reading and writing, and are in consequence considered by the wandering Arabs much beneath them in acquirements,

as well as in point of natural abilities. Their language is the corrupt Arabic, not easily understood by the Arabs of the Desert, who pretend to speak and write that ancient and beautiful language in its greatest purity.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

Some account of an insurrection in Morocco—the Bashaw of Swearah is seized and put in irons—change of Governors—the Jews are forced to pay their tribute or turn Mohammedans—their treatment by the Moors—a Jew burial—a circumcision—a Jewish priest arrives from Jerusalem—the author obtains from him some account of the present Jerusalem and its inhabitants, and of the method pursued by the priests for getting money from the Jews in Europe and in Barbary—a Moorish execution and maiming—of the Jews in West Barbary.

THERE had been an insurrection in the province of Duquella the last year, (1815,) which had spread itself into the province of Abdah and Siedmah, and was said to have originated from a false report of the Emperor's death. The governor or bashaw of these provinces, whose name was Mohammed ben Absedik, resided in Swearah, and had been a bashaw and a man of great power during nearly the whole reign of Muley Soliman, the present Emperor—he was the officer before whom I was carried on my arrival at Swearah, or Mogadore. I was informed that he had used all the

means in his power to quell this insurrection, but could not succeed until the Emperor joined him with an army of thirty thousand men, when a most desperate battle was fought, which terminated in the destruction of more than fifteen thousand of the rebels, and the remainder were reduced to unconditional submission. The whole of their flocks, herds, and substance, fell into the hands of the Sultan, or rather his black troops, who showed them not the least mercy, but seized on the wretched fugitives wherever they could be found, massacred many thousands, and carried those that remained of the revolters, with their families, into the provinces that had not rebelled, where they were distributed as slaves.

This war being thus terminated, Mohammed ben Absedik had returned in triumph to Mogadore, or Swearah, a few days previously to my arrival there, when he caused presents to be made to him, as if he had taken possession of a new government. In the mean time the death of the Sultan's first minister, named *Ben Slowy*, was announced;—he had been the firm friend of *Mohammed ben Absedik*, and with the aid of *Muley a Tea*, (the Sultan's princely tea maker,) who was always about his person, managed the whole affairs of the Moorish empire. Ben Slowy being dead, and *Muley a Tea* sent to Fez to transact the imperial business in that quarter, the enemies of Mohammed ben Absedik (for he had been long in power, and had a host of them) found

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means to transmit heavy complaints to the Sultan against him (Ben Absedik) and his administration, who perceiving the cloud lowering upon him, set out for Morocco about the 20th of November, 1815, hoping, by an early interview with the Emperor, to dispel the impending storm—he had only been gone from Mogadore or Swearah four days, when late in the evening a new governor arrived, accompanied by six hundred horsemen. The gates had been shut for the night; the brother of the Bashaw was civil governor of the city and port: the Emperor's order was sent to him over the wall:—the gates were soon opened and the new governor, or Alcayd, entered amidst the general and joyful acclamations of the inhabitants, both Moors and Jews. These ignorant and discontented people (ever fond of change) flattered themselves that this arrangement would be for the better, and in the morning all were ready to prefer complaints against their former governor, when they waited on the new one, and made their customary presents. This governor took charge of the civil affairs of the city and the custom-house in the room of Ajjh Hamet, (or Hamet the pilgrim,) the Bashaw's brother, who was ordered to repair with his family to Morocco, and set out for that city the next day, accompanied by a strong guard of black troops.

In the evening of the same day a commander of the troops, or military governor, arrived: he was a black man, and had three hundred horsemen for an escort, all of the

same colour: he was received with considerable pomp, and took on himself the immediate command. We now learned that Mohammed ben Absedik had been put in irons on his arrival at Morocco, and sent off to Fez, and that all his property was seized by order of the Sultan as soon as it could be found: "new lords, new laws," says the old adage. A small vessel had arrived from Gibraltar—no goods could be landed—new duties were announced, and new regulations, by which no vessel was allowed to be supplied with provisions except for daily consumption: the duties and impositions to be paid every day amounted to more than the first cost of the articles consumed.

The Moors who had rejoiced at the fall of the old Bashaw and civil governor, or Alcayd, soon changed their tone, and began to wish them back again—all the Moors in the town up to that time were considered as imperial soldiers or sailors, and accordingly received a monthly allowance out of the *Beetle mell*, or treasury: this was now ordered to be stopped from the white Moors, but that all the black Moors, or negro troops, should be paid double: new officers were appointed; and many of the old ones confined and sent to Morocco, or despoiled of their property. The Christian merchants residing there, four in number, were obliged to make costly presents to the new governor. The Christians are, William Willshire, Esq. my deliverer, of the house of Dupuy and Willshire, the most respectable there in point of

property, as well as on every other account;—Don Estevan Leonardi, an old unfeeling man, and his nephew, Don Antonio, French, Portugueze, and Genoese Consular Agents;—Don Pablo Riva, a respectable Genoese, and Alexander W. Court, and Mr. John Foxcroft, formerly respectable. The Jews that were overjoyed at the recent change, soon turned their joy into mourning, when they received, a day or two after, an order to pay their *Gazier*, or yearly tribute, to the Sultan: the order was for about three thousand five hundred dollars, including expenses, (for the Moor who brought the order must be paid,) in a gross sum to be raised directly: the gates of the Jews' town, or Millah, were immediately closed upon them, nor were any suffered to go out until the money was forth coming.

The whole number of Jews here does not probably exceed six thousand souls, and they are very poor: the priests soon convened them in their synagogues, and apportioned the tax according to their law—they were classed thus: the four Jew merchants, Ben Guidalla, Macnin, Abilbol, and Zagury, formed the first class, and I was told their share was two thousand dollars or more: the few petty traders the second, the mechanics the third, and the lowest order of miserable labourers the fourth class: the priests and Levites (who are a great proportion of their number) were of course exempted, as the other classes support them at all times: not a Jew, either man, woman, or child, was allowed to go

out of their town for three days, except they were wanted by the Moors or Christians to work, and not then without an order from the Alcayd.

During this period I visited the Jew's town several times, but never without seeing more or less of these miserable wretches knocked down like bullocks by the gate-keepers, with their large canes, as they attempted to rush past them, when the gates were opened to procure a little water or food for their hungry and thirsty families. On the fourth day, when the arrangements had been made by the priests and elders, they sent word to the governor, and the three first classes were ordered before him to pay their apportionment. I knew of it, because I was informed by Mr. Willshire's interpreter and broker, who was a Jew of considerable understanding, named *Ben Nahory*—he was one of the committee of arrangement to wait on the governor. I wished to see the operation, and went to the house of the Alcayd for that purpose. The Jews soon appeared by classes—as they approached, they put off their slippers, took their money in both their hands, and holding them alongside each other, as high as the breast, came slowly forward to the talb, or Mohammedan priest, appointed to receive it; he took it from them, hitting each one a smart blow with his fist on his bare forehead, by way of a receipt for his money, at which the Jews said, *Nahma Sidi*, and retired to give place to his companion.

Thus they proceeded through the three first classes without much difficulty, when the fourth class was forced up with big sticks; this class was very numerous; (as well as miserable;) they approached very unwillingly, and were asked, one by one, if they were ready to pay their *gazier*; when one said, yes, he approached as the others had done, paid his money, took a similar receipt, and then went about his business—he that said, no, he could not, or was not ready, was seized instantly by the Moors, who throwing him flat on his face to the ground, gave him about fifty blows with a thick stick upon his back and posteriors, and conducted him away; I was told, into a dungeon, under a *bomb proof battery*, next the western city wall, facing the ocean: there were many served this way—the Jews' town was all this time strongly guarded, and strictly watched. At the end of three days more, I was informed that those who were confined in the dungeon were brought forth, but I did not see them: the friends of these poor creatures had made up the money, and they were dismissed: whilst the others, after receiving more stripes, were remanded and put in irons. Before the next three days had expired, many of them changed their religion, were received by the Moors as brothers, and were taken to the mosque, and highly feasted, but were held responsible for the last tax notwithstanding. The four above-named Jew merchants, in Swearah or Mogadore, live

in high style; are absolute in the Jews' town, and manage nearly all the English trade at Mogadore: at present, their stores are allowed to be kept in the fortress part of the town, or *el Ksebbah*, where *Guidalla* and *Macnin* are permitted to reside and stay at night, by paying a handsome sum to government.

I had the pleasure to see two brigs arrive from England, and to receive a letter from Mr. Simpson at Tangier, and a kind letter from Mr. Sprague at Gibraltar, which are before mentioned and inserted. Two days after the arrival of these vessels from London, the one commanded by Captain Mackay, and the other by Captain Henderson, I went down to the water port to see these gentlemen when they should land in the morning: on my arrival there, I saw a great concourse of soldiers, and on inquiring the cause, found that an execution was about to take place, and some malefactors were the same time to be maimed. The governor arrived at this moment, and the prisoners were driven in with their hands tied: the order for punishment was read by the Cadi or Judge, and the culprits told to prepare themselves, which they did by saying, *Hi el Allah Sheda Mohammed Rasool Allah*, and worshipping. They were then made to sit down in a line upon their legs on the ground: a butcher then came forward with a sharp knife in his hand; he seized the first in the line on the left, by the beard, with his left hand; two men were at the same time holding the prisoner's hands:

the butcher began cutting very leisurely with his knife round the neck, (which was a very thick one,) and kept cutting to the bones until the flesh was separated; he then shoved the head violently from side to side, cutting in with the point of the knife to divide the sinews, which he seemed to search out among the streams of blood, one by one: he finally got the head off, and threw it on a mat that was spread to receive the mutilated limbs of the others. There were eight more who were sentenced to lose a leg and an arm each, and nine to lose only one arm. The butcher began to amputate the legs at the knee joint, by cutting the flesh and sinews around with his knife, which he sharpened from time to time on a stone: he would then part the joint by breaking it short over his knee, as a butcher would part the joint in the leg of an ox. Having in this manner got off the leg, and thrown it on the mat, he proceeded to take off the arm at the elbow, in the same leisurely and clumsy manner; he seemed, however, to improve by practice, so that he carved off the hands of the last eight at their wrists, in a very short time—this done, they next proceeded to take up the arteries, and apply a plaster, which was soon accomplished by dipping the stumps into a kettle of boiling pitch that stood near, or something that had the same appearance and smell. Is not this last circumstance an improvement in surgery? They then carried the lifeless trunk and mutilated bodies, with the head and other limbs, to the market: the

head and limbs were carried on a mat by six men, who were making as much sport as possible, for the spectators: the bodies were thrown across jackasses, and they were exposed in the most public part of the market place, nearly the whole day. The two governors, and other officers who were present during the execution of the sentence, were sitting on the ground next to a wall, appearing quite unconcerned, and were conversing gaily on other subjects. The Moors, who came from mere curiosity, did not show the least mark of disapprobation, or any signs of horror: they jested with the butcher, who seemed highly gratified with the part he was acting.

I now asked Rais bel Cossim, who attended me, concerning the mode of procuring an executioner, &c. &c. He told me, that when an order came to execute or maim any culprits, it generally embraced several at the same time, so as to make but one job of it: that the butchers were called on by the Alcayd or governor, and forced to find one out of their number to do this work: that they then made up a purse agreeably to a rule, made among themselves in such cases; that is, two and a half ducats per man for cutting off heads, and two ducats per man for maiming; (two and a half ducats make one dollar, or forty cents per ducat;) they then question each other to know who will accept of the money, and do the job: if no one appears willing, they cast lots, and the one on whom it falls, is obliged to undertake it:

this man is protected by the governor for twenty-four hours after the execution, when he is left to take care of himself, brave the public odium, and the revenge of the friends of the sufferer; or else to fly: he generally goes off the first night afterwards to some other place, and never returns: his wife, if he has one, can be divorced from him by applying to the Cadi or Judge, and swearing, that as her husband has served as an executioner, she is afraid to live with him, lest he should be tempted to commit some violence on her, in a similar way.

The butcher who acted on the present occasion, was a voluntary executioner for forty-eight ducats, and he decamped the next night, leaving, as I was informed, a wife and seven children to shift for themselves: he was poor, and carried away his wages of death with him. Mr. Willshire and Don Pablo Riva confirmed this statement.

Taking a walk round the walls of the city one day, to make observations on it at low water, in company with Mr. Savage, and being escorted by a Moor, in order to protect us from insults, we came to the Jews' burial place: it is situated a little without the walls, and on the north side of the city, near the ruins of a couple of wind-mills, which I was informed, used to do all the grinding for the city; but this work is now performed in the town by horse-mills. On our approach, we observed a great concourse of Jew women, and heard a great outcry; curiosity led us to the spot

where they were collected; here was a newly dug grave, and the dead body of a man lying on the ground near it, enveloped in a cotton wrapper, with his face partly covered; some men were busied in clearing out and preparing the grave; others had brought and were bringing lime, mortar, and stones, to fill it up with; whilst upwards of one hundred women were standing in a circle eastward of the grave, howling in an extraordinary manner. On a nearer approach, I observed about a dozen women in tattered garments, who formed an inner circle. As I gazed with pity on this spectacle, these twelve women, who were before quiet, seemed to be seized with a sudden paroxysm of grief, and they began to approach each other with their hands uplifted above their heads; stretching the palms towards each other's faces, and commenced howling, at first moderately, but which soon increased to wailings the most violent, and yellings that it is impossible to describe: they tore their faces with their long finger-nails, and made the most hideous contortions of their features: the mania was now communicated to all the women present, who joined in the lamentation, but the others did not tear their faces like the twelve, who kept it up, stamping with their feet, and going round in their circle; their blood and perspiration mixing together, and streaming from their faces, ran all over their filthy garments, and dyed them red in streaks from head to foot: this paroxysm lasted fifteen or twenty minutes, when they were so much exhausted as to be

under the necessity of ceasing for a few moments, to take breath, when they commenced again, and went over the same ceremony, seemingly with redoubled vigour. The grave being at last ready, the body was put in by the men, who then built up over it a wall of mason-work, even with the surface of the ground. The grave was dug in a direction north and south; the head was placed toward the south, and space enough left on one side of the body to support the weight of the mason-work, without bearing upon the corpse: they next rolled a stone on it, formed of lime and small pebbles about two feet square, and as long as the grave; this they placed level on a bed of lime mortar, and then retired without speaking, except as much as was necessary to prompt mutual assistance: the women all this time keeping up their howlings. After the men had retired, the women ceased their wailings, and seating themselves alongside the wind-mill, were refreshed by eating cakes, and drinking copious draughts of anniseed, Jew brandy, which had been previously prepared for the purpose, and they soon became as merry in reality, as they had before appeared to be sad. While these women were regaling themselves in this manner, I observed an old woman washing the corpse of a child of about two years old, in the surf: she then wrapped it up in a dirty piece of woollen cloth, and carried it to a man who had been digging a hole for it in the side of another grave, where he shoved it in; put

a flat stone before it; filled up the hole with stone and lime, and went away: one woman only attended the burial of the child, besides her who wrapped it up; and this must have been its mother, as I judged from her emotions: she sobbed aloud, while an abundance of tears trickled down her worn cheeks. I concluded she was poor and a widow; not a soul seemed to join her, or pay the least attention to her grief. After a short pause, she kissed the stone that covered, I presume, the remains of both her husband and child; wet it with her tears; wiped it with a clean white cloth she had in her hand, and returned weeping, amid the brutal scoffs of the Moorish boys, as she dragged herself along towards her cheerless abode. The women who had assisted at the other burial, had by this time ended their repast, and they went round amongst the graves; many kissed their hands, and laid them on the grave-stones of their deceased relations, while others kissed the rude resemblance of a face carved on the stone; others plucked up the weeds and grass that encroached on the grave, or replaced the earth and small stones which had been dug out by the rats, or broken off by the corroding tooth of time.

On my way home to Mr. Willshire's house, I learned that the corpse of the man that was buried, was that of a Levite, who was poor, and had not been able for a long time to perform the duties of his office, and was buried by charity; I also learned from Ben Nahory, Mr. Willshire's interpreter,

that a priest had arrived from Jerusalem to gather the tribute paid yearly by all the Jews in Barbary towards the support of the few Jewish priests who are permitted to reside in Jerusalem, by paying a tribute to the Grand Seignior, or Sultan of the Turkish empire, and for purposes of traffic; this is called a voluntary contribution for the support of Jerusalem. All the Jews in these countries believe that their nation is one day to sway the sceptre of universal dominion, and that Jerusalem must be kept as a kind of possession until the time arrives predicted by their prophets, when the little stone is to be cut out without hands from the mountain of Jerusalem, and is to fill the whole earth. This and other predictions, constantly and adroitly handled by the crafty priests, together with the miseries inflicted on the Jews in Barbary by the merciless Moors, tend to nurse their natural superstitions, and render them completely subservient to the will of those who are considered their spiritual guides, and who rob them without mercy, under the pretext of applying the money to good purposes.

A schooner arrived from Gibraltar under the English flag, though a Genoese vessel, as the Barbary powers were at war with Genoa—she brought a cargo of dry goods, iron, steel, cotton, &c. to Ben Zagury, a Jew; one of his sons came passenger in the vessel: his name was Elio Zagury; he was a young Jew, was dressed in the European fashion, had been educated in England, and spoke the English language

fluently. As soon as he had seen his father, he called on Mr. Willshire, and to see me; expressed great joy at my deliverance, and invited Mr. Willshire, myself, and Mr. Savage, to dine with him at his father's the next Saturday: the invitation was accepted, because I wanted to learn some of the Jewish customs, and get acquainted with the priest from Jerusalem, who was a guest in his father's house. On our arrival there, I was presented to the priest—he was a man of middling stature, dark complexion, short hair, and a most venerable, manly beard, that reached down nearly to his ceinture, or girdle: his dress was a brown striped mantle, that buttoned close round the neck, and fell loosely to his feet, on which he had a pair of black slippers, down at the heel, as is the custom of Moorish Jews: his head was covered with a camblet coloured turban, very high: in his hand he held a string of very large beads, which he was continually counting or telling over; his mantle was girt above his hips with a brown silk girdle that took several turns round him; and was about six inches wide. I accosted him in Spanish, which he spoke very fluently—and made inquiries of him respecting the present city of Jerusalem and its inhabitants. From his answers (as he was very intelligent) I learned that Jerusalem now contains thirty thousand Turks, and twenty thousand Jews, Armenians, and Greeks: that a very brisk trade is carried on there, principally by Jews, between it, Persia, Constantinople, and

Jaffa, which Jews are permitted to reside there and trade, on paying a tribute to the Grand Seignior: that the language mostly spoken by the Jews at Jerusalem is the Spanish: that there is a convent of Christian monks near it, containing a number of St. Francisco's order.

The walls of Jerusalem are strong and well built: all religious denominations are there tolerated by paying contributions, and protected by order of the Grand Seignior, provided they pay the soldiers well for their trouble. The name of this priest was *Abraham ben Nassar*: he said he should get about twenty thousand dollars from the Jews in the Moorish dominions, and carry the amount of contributions in gold, embarking again at Tangier for Gibraltar, where he should deposit the money while he went to England, France, Holland, and Germany, for the same purpose; that there were six more associated with him on the collecting expeditions; one of them had gone to Alexandria, and other parts of Egypt, to collect from the Jews there, from whence he would return by way of the different islands in the Archipelago; one had sailed for Tripoli, who would take money from the Jews there and at Malta; thence to Italy and back; one had gone to Tunis and its various towns, and would go from thence to Sicily and Sardinia, and back; one had gone to Algiers and the towns in that regency, and would go from thence to ancient Greece, including Venice and that part of Germany bordering on the Venetian gulf;

one had gone over land to Russia, and would meet him in Germany, after passing through Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, &c. I wished to have an estimate of the sums likely to be collected in all those places, and then he began to be a little reserved. However, after considerable conversation and solicitation, he one day gave me what he stated to be the amount of collections as per the last returns of 1813, which he had with him in Hebrew, and I set it down as he interpreted, after he had first brought the several sums into Spanish dollars; it made up in the countries already mentioned, five hundred and eighty thousand dollars: this was exclusive of the expenses of collecting and travelling out, and returning again to Jerusalem. Many individuals of the priests also came from Jerusalem to Barbary, begging on their own account. Out of this fund a yearly tribute is paid to the Grand Seignior, besides impositions in the form of presents to the Turkish officers; and the remainder serves to support the priests, who are very numerous in Jerusalem, and for commercial purposes: thus the superstition and credulity of the ignorant Jews in all Europe and Africa, as well as in Asia, are made subservient to the purposes of the priests and elders of that singular people, who still reside, by permission, at Jerusalem.

The city of Jerusalem lies from forty miles east of Jaffy, a small port on the Mediterranean sea: from thence to Jerusalem the road is good; and the priest told me he had

walked the distance in two days. Jaffy is the port anciently called Joppa : it has a small town and fortress, and considerable trade with Jerusalem, the islands in the Archipelago, and with Egypt, and some with Malta and Italy : here the Jewish priests who are sent out on begging expeditions, embark, and return by way of the same place, generally in Greek vessels of small burden, but very well built and manned.

The priest asked me many questions respecting America, of which he knew but very little, and thought it was a wilderness or a desert. After I had put him right in regard to those points, and informed him we had many Jews in America, where they enjoyed every kind of privilege in common with people of other religions ; that they could hold landed estates, &c. and that many of them were very rich, he declared that as soon as he should have finished his present tour, which would still detain him more than a year, he would try to obtain leave to visit America, and collect the dues there. I informed him that our Jews were not so superstitious, nor in such bad repute as those in Africa or Europe, where they were looked upon as a set of sharpers and villains : “ That may be, (said he,) but if they are Jews, they must conform to the laws of Moses, and must contribute towards the support of those of their nation who reside in the Holy Land, in order to be ready for the future conquest of Jerusalem, which would be the fulfilment of God's

promise to his people." I asked him in what manner they collected this contribution?—and he told me, that "having letters from the chief priest and elders at Jerusalem, the collectors (who were always priests) were kindly received and well treated by all Jews wherever they came—that soon after their arrival in any place where synagogues are established, they convene all the Jews together, and having laid before them the authority by which they make the demand, they then proceed, with the assistance of the priests and chief Jews of the place, to class them, and apportion the sum to be raised amongst them according to their ability—when that is done, the tax must be paid without delay—it takes up six or eight months time to make up the sums and finish the collections in the empire of Morocco."

The Jews in West Barbary are as completely under the control of the Moors, as if they were slaves, though they fancy themselves, in some measure, free: even their dress is regulated by a Moorish law: that of the men consists of a shirt, without a collar, and wide petticoat drawers that come tight below the knees—the sleeves of the shirt, which are of the full breadth, of coarse muslin cloth, fall a little below their elbows, and are not plaited in any way, but hang flowing;—they wear above the shirt, a jacket with short sleeves to their elbows—the jacket is generally made of green woollen cloth, with a small collar, buttoned tight round the lower part of the neck; it is sometimes wrought with needle-work

from the collar to the waist in front, with which, and small round buttons, made from the same materials, it is almost covered: they hook this together with wire hooks, and again over this, (those who can afford it,) have a black cotton mantle, which comes over their shoulders, and falls down to the calves of their legs—this is so contrived, that one end can be thrown over the left shoulder in such a manner as to discover the drawers: they are girded with sashes of various colours over the mantle round about their loins: they wear long beards, and black woollen caps on the back part of their heads, leaving the forehead uncovered, which is shaved often, and kept smooth. The four merchants that lived in Mogadore wore coloured-silk handkerchiefs on their heads, covering their caps, and tied loosely under their chins: they all go bare-legged, and wear black slippers on their feet, (as the luxury of coloured slippers is forbidden them.) In riding, they were formerly restricted to the ass alone, but now they use mules, which they are not, however, allowed to mount or ride within the gates of the city. When Jews or Jewesses are about to pass a mosque or place of worship, they must take off their slippers, and carry them in their hands, going barefoot past it, and that too, until they enter another street.

The dress here described is that of the wealthy who can afford it, but the greater part of the Jews in West Barbary are poor, miserable, and covered with rags. A Jewess of

the first class is clad with a shirt made of muslin, that is very wide; the sleeves, not less than a yard, hang loosely down to the elbow, when the two hinder parts are doubled and fastened together behind their backs; the bosom of this shirt is wrought with fine needle-work on both sides; it laps over before, and covers part of the breasts; a white waistcoat, wrought in like manner, is superadded; the lower extremity of this is covered by a wrapper, in form of short petticoats, wrapped round above the hips, and just laps over in front; this is commonly made of green broad cloth, and falls down below the knees; the two lower corners in front are covered with a fancifully cut piece of red broad cloth—the whole is fastened together by a girdle round the hips, to which are suspended behind a number of red woollen cords of different lengths, hanging down with a piece of plated silver, or other metal, bent round each at its lowest end; these make a kind of tinkling when they walk by, striking against each other. Their hair is long, coarse, and black, and the principal part turned up, and fastened on the top of the head, while two small braids from behind each ear, are attached together at their extremities, and fall down to their girdles.

Married women of the first class cover their heads with a flowing silk handkerchief. Both married and single women are extremely fond of ornaments, and are generally corpulent; they wear amber and pearl necklaces, with golden

hearts, set about with fine diamonds and other precious stones ; many other ornaments are also hung to their necklaces, which are frequently connected by golden chains ; they wear silver or gold bracelets around their wrists and ancles, from one to two inches wide, enriched with enamel and precious stones. I examined several of these ornaments ; they are made of the finest gold, silver, and stones, and the best amber ; the weight of the four bracelets on the wrists and ancles of a young girl, (a broker's daughter,) was fourteen ounces, and they cost, together with her necklaces, ear and finger rings, and other ornaments, about two thousand dollars. Those of the Jews who can get money are excessively fond of ornamenting their wives and daughters, and setting off their charms to the very best advantage ; for it is their interest to do so ; but there are very few of them that have the ability to do it ; not more than twenty Jews in Mogadore can afford this expense ; and but few of the rest can furnish their wives and daughters with bracelets of even base metal, washed over with silver or gold ; yet every woman feels as if she were naked, without some ornaments of this description.

The Jews are forced to live in a town by themselves, called *el Millah*, but the Moors enter it whenever they choose, without the smallest restraint, and go into their houses without any ceremony, where they take whatever liberties they please with their wives and daughters. If a

Jew happens to be in the house, the Moor either drives him out, or hires him to absent himself, or keep the door, which latter is commonly the case. The Moor compliments the woman, and no Barbary Jew thinks it a disgrace to wear antlers, provided they are gilded, for if he should set about seeking redress, he could never obtain it. Should a Jew attempt to resist a Moor on any occasion, he is sure of getting a sound drubbing, and as his testimony cannot be taken against a Moor, any more than that of a negro slave in the West Indies and the Southern States of America, can be given against a white man; he is forced to pocket every affront, and content himself with getting all the money he can from the paramour; so that to a Jew, a handsome wife or daughter in Barbary, while young, ensures to her husband or father a competence, and of course, a consequence among his brethren.

The Jews' Sunday begins on Friday evening at sunset, after which time no Jew can even light a candle or lamp, or kindle a fire, or cook any thing until Saturday night, at the same hour, so that they heat their ovens on Friday; put in their provisions before night, for their next day's meals, and let it stand in the ovens until Saturday noon, when it is taken out, and set on the table, or on the floor, by Moors, whom they contrive to hire for that purpose. Every Jew who can afford it has brass or silver lamps hanging up in his house, which are lighted on Friday, and not extinguished

until Sunday morning: they burn either olive or argan oil. Their principal and standing Sunday dinner, is called *skanah*; it is made of peas baked in an oven for nearly twenty-four hours, with a quantity of beeves' marrow-bones, (having very little meat on them,) broken to pieces over them: it is a very luscious and fattening dish, and by no means a bad one: this, with a few vegetables, and sometimes a plum-pudding, good bread, and Jews' brandy, distilled from figs and anniseed, and bittered with wormwood, makes up the repast of the Jews who call themselves rich. The poor can only afford *skanah* and barley-bread on their Sunday, and live the rest of the week as they can. They make no scruple of offering for money their wives and daughters, who are voluptuous in the extreme; they will furnish their customers with every facility required, and often even boast of the quality and merits of their wives' paramours. The men and boys attend their synagogues, (on their Sundays,) of which there are twelve in Mogadore; but these are no more than small rooms, where all join in jabbering over prayers in Hebrew, as fast as they can speak, every one in his own natural tone of voice, making, altogether, a most barbarous kind of jargon.

The Jewish women are considered by the men as having no souls, nor are they allowed to enter the synagogues but once a year, nor do the women partake of their sacraments. The sacraments consist of bread and wine, and of circum-

cision. While in Mogadore, I attended a Jewish circumcision. The child being ready, and the friends present, the priest took him on his left arm, having a pair of silver tongs in his left hand, with which he gauged and prepared the parts, and performed the operation with a sharp knife he had in his right hand, cutting off a piece of the flesh, as well as all the foreskin; this appeared to me to be a painful and cruel operation, and it made the infant scream out most piteously. The Jews circumcise at the age of eight days, and the Moors and Arabs at the age of eight years: the Arabs cut the foreskin and flesh off square, as well as the Jews; but with the Arabs, as I have before observed, it is a preventive of disease, and not a religious rite.

During my journey towards Tangier, when we put up at Saffy, during the Jews' Sabbath, having two Jews in company, who had friends or relations in that place that entertained them, and furnished a supper; before eating they brought forward a cup in the form of a tankard, and some white bread, in which some green herbs had been chopped up, and mixed with it before baking: they all arose at once, formed a circle round the supper dish, consisting of boiled fowls, which was set on the floor, and when standing, all began to chant over their prayers in Hebrew, as fast as they could speak: there were about twenty in all, relations and visitors. As I was ignorant of the Hebrew language, which they spoke, and which, I am told, differs materially from

CHAPTER XXIX.

New orders arrive from the Emperor—Mr. Willshire is grossly insulted by Moors—A description of the city and port of Swearah or Mogadore—its inhabitants, commerce, manufactures, &c.

ABOUT the last of November a courier came to Mogadore from the emperor to the governor, ordering him not to suffer a Moor to serve either a Christian or Jew under any pretence whatever, or to live in their houses, under the severest penalty; this letter was no sooner read than the news flew to every part of the town. In consequence of this order, Rais Bel Cossim, Bel Mooden, and a Moor of the name of Soliman, who had been constantly in and about Mr. Willshire's house, durst not return to take their leave; the life of a Christian previous to this was not safe, even in the city, without a Moor in company to ward off the insults of the boys and those of the Moors who were vicious or fanatical. New orders had also been given to the guards of the water-port, not to allow any one to go on board vessels, except the captains and crews, without a special order from the governor.

On New-year's day Captains Mackie and Henderson, of whom I have before spoken, dined with Mr. Willshire; when they went down to go on board their vessels, Mr. Willshire and myself went to take a walk round the water-port, it being low tide; the guards ran after us, seized hold of Mr. Willshire, and turning him round, bade him, in an insulting tone, to go back, uttering the most abusive language; and drawing their scimitars, they threatened to cut him down. We had no Moor with us to witness this insult, but Mr. Willshire's spirit could not brook this indignity, and he rebuked these fellows in a very resolute manner, bidding defiance to them and the Alcayd, and told them that if they offered to touch him again he would revenge himself instantly, and at any rate would complain to the emperor, and would cause them to lose their heads for insulting a consul and a merchant. I advised him to return to the port, which he did; but the Moors were so enraged that they ran with all speed to the Alcayd, and told him that Mr. Willshire had beat them; that he called them hard names, and defied the power of the Sultan. Immediately soldiers were sent after him, who came up with us before we got to his house; they insisted on taking him before the Alcayd forthwith by force, if he would not go without; he told them, however, that he must and would wait for his Jew interpreter Nahory, and that then he would come; this answer was carried to the Alcayd, and in a few moments

Ben Nahory made his appearance, and they went before the Alcayd together. The Alcayd reprimanded Mr. Willshire for having cursed the Sultan, and advised him to settle the business, by giving a present to the guards, or they would depose against him before the *Cadi*, which if they should do, he would be obliged to go up to Morocco to the emperor, and he (the governor) said he could not be answerable for the result. Mr. Willshire defended himself so well by the help of his interpreter, who was a cunning Jew, that his accusers began to lower their tone a little: he stated that he had the Sultan's letter, which ordered the governors and alcayds to see his person protected from insult, as well as his property, and that the late order had deprived him of the aid and evidence of a Moor, to which he was entitled by that letter; he added, that he would write the Sultan an account of the insult immediately, and of the villany of the port guards, but would not pay a *blanquille*, (i. e. a farthing,) to any one. The Alcayd said he was ordered to protect him and the other Christians in the port, and wished them to be respected, but they must respect themselves, and by way of an excuse, remarked that the consuls at Tangier did not go down with the captains that have the honour of dining with them, to their boats after dinner; that this was derogatory to the etiquette due to their office; but, at the same time, calling the guards, he told them that Mr. Willshire was the Sultan's consul; that they must never lay a

finger on him ; but if he should wish to go off in one of the boats of the vessels in port, they must permit him to get into the boat, but prevent it from going off until they sent him information, in order that he might give a permit for him to go on board. He further told the guards that they had done very wrong, and if they were not careful in future he should dismiss them. The guards were very angry, and said it was intolerable for a Moor to be insulted with impunity by a Christian dog, and that they would swear against him before the Cadi that instant ; that they did not fear his (the governor's) power, and they would appeal to the Sultan and abide his decision. As they were going to the Cadi the Alcayd told them if they did it contrary to his orders it would cost them their heads, and bade them return to their duty immediately ; and in order that there might be no further complaint on their part, he would make inquiry, and have justice done to them as well as the consul : thus ended the affair, which I at first was apprehensive would be attended with more serious consequences. Mr. Willshire, however, took care to send presents to the Addals, or four assistants of the Alcayd, who took occasion to convince the Alcayd that the guards were in the wrong—however we durst not go out walking or riding as formerly, but were obliged to restrict ourselves to the city, and I had time to examine it within and round about.

The city of Mogadore, called Swearah by the Moors and

Arabs, or *the beautiful picture*, is situated on the Atlantic Ocean, in latitude 31. 15, (thirty-one degrees, fifteen minutes north,) and longitude 9— (nine degrees) west from London. It is built somewhat in form of an oblong square ; its length from north to south is about three fourths of a mile, and its greatest breadth is not more than half a mile. It stands on a peninsula that has been recovered from the sea, which washes its walls on the W. N. W. and south sides every tide, and is sometimes completely surrounded by water at high spring tides. The walls are built of stone and lime, generally six feet thick at their base, and about twenty feet in height, surmounted with small turrets ; and have batteries of cannon on them at every angle. The walls generally are made of rough stone and small sea pebbles, mixed and cemented together by liquid lime-mortar, filling up every crack solid ; they are plastered over with this kind of stucco within and without, and are thick, solid, very firm and hard. On the eastern angle as you approach the gates, there is a round tower built of hewn stone, thirty feet high, mounted with about forty pieces of brass and iron cannon, that command the approaches of the city on the east side, assisted by the four batteries on the N. E. angle, and a heavy battery on the water-port. It is divided into three ports—*el Ksebah*, or the strong and lion-like fortress, is the southernmost, and is surrounded by a double wall on the east and south sides ; a single wall, but very thick, next the sea, where there is a

strong bomb-proof battery, mounting about forty pieces of cannon of different calibers, and most of them are of brass; this is its whole defence on the seaboard. Vessels of war might anchor, in smooth weather, within half cannon shot of the town in thirty fathoms water, rocky bottom. This town is separated from the main town by a strong wall, whose gates are regularly shut at eight o'clock every evening, and not opened until broad daylight the next morning. The Christian merchants reside in the fortress, and the four Jew merchants keep their goods in it. The next is the main town, where the market is held, and where the artificers live: there is a very handsome square set apart in that section of the town for a grain market, surrounded by small shops, kept by Moors and Jews: these shops are on the ground floor, have a door, but no window to them, and are so very small that the keeper can sit at his ease in the centre and reach every article in them. They, among other things, manufacture at Mogadore large quantities of haicks, which are made of woollen yarn spun by hand with a common iron spindle, and wove in common rough looms similar to such as we made use of, even in America, not more than fifty years ago—they throw the shuttle by hand, and weave their pieces about five yards long and six feet wide, and they are sold from the looms at about two dollars each, but are not allowed to be exported by sea: they also make axes and many other iron tools, such as adzes, scimitars, knives,

&c. East of the main town, is the town occupied by the blacks, in a corner or kind of a triangle made by the outer wall: it is said to contain two thousand free blacks: this part is also walled in by itself, and has its gates shut every night. The negroes that are free enjoy nearly all the privileges of the Moors, being of the same religion; still they are not allowed to live together promiscuously.

The fourth division, is the Jews' town, or Millah: it is very confined, and occupies the N. W. angle of the city: the sea washes its outer wall every tide, and has nearly beat it through on the west side; it is divided from the principal town by a high strong wall. The Millah has but one gate, which is on its eastern side, near the north city gate: this is always strongly guarded, and has a governor or Alcayd to adjust and settle disputes between the Jews, and between them and the Moors. The water-port is two hundred yards south of the city, within the outer-wall—this is a wall built of hewn-stone, with several arches, through which the tide flows and ebbs: the wall is about twenty feet thick, and has a strong battery of heavy cannon well mounted on it, for the defence of the harbour: it is extremely well built; its arches are well turned, and the whole work would bear a comparison with an European fortress. The harbour spreads itself before the town to the south, and is shielded from the sea by an island about two miles long, and half a mile broad, only distant from the water-port point about five hundred

yards. Between the island and water-port, the vessels enter, keeping the island side close on board, until they run down half the length of it, when they may anchor in two and a half fathoms at low water, within a cable's length of the island, and with good cables and anchors ride safe during three quarters of the year ; but vessels drawing over fourteen feet water, cannot ride secure on account of the shallowness of the harbour. In the months of December, January, and February, strong gales prevail from the westward, which heave in such heavy swells round the two ends of this island, that what seamen call the send, or swing of the sea, breaks the strongest cables, and forces all the vessels in this port on shore. In the winter of 1815, an English brig was driven on shore with a full cargo, and totally lost ; another parted her cables, and was drifting fast towards the water-port, when the master and crew deserted her in their boat, in hopes of saving their lives ; but the boat was upset, and all hands were either drowned or dashed to pieces against the rocks ; the brig's cables, however, caught round some craggy rocks, which held her through the remainder of the gale, though within a few feet of the rocks astern. An American schooner's crew were also lost in this port a few years ago, together with her supercargo, in consequence of quitting the vessel, and taking to their boat, while the captain, who was soliciting assistance from the other vessels in port, was saved, and the schooner was also finally saved,

though she had been totally abandoned : it is in the winter a very dangerous port, and any vessel entering it, should have three good cables and anchors, to moor her head and stern by, and should strike her yards and topmasts immediately.

The island is called Mogadore by the Europeans, and was thus named by the Portugueze or Spaniards, when they first partially surveyed this coast, and thence the European name of Mogadore is derived for the town, and not from the sanctuary or saint-house near it, which in Arabic is called *Milkah*. This island serves as a State Prison for the Moorish empire : it is fortified and strongly guarded, commonly containing not less than one thousand State prisoners, who have mostly been Alcaydes and military men, and who are frequently pardoned and restored to their former posts again, after a few years trial of their fortitude and patience there in irons. Provisions are sent to the island twice a week in good weather. All communication with the island is forbidden to strangers, under pain of death. On a rocky point, without the water-port, the nearest to the island, stands a circular battery to defend the entrance of the harbour, and protect the island : on the east side of the harbour, near the Sultan's palace, there is also a circular battery, well built of stone, calculated to mount twenty guns, but the guns that had been mounted on it were taken away, under an impression that they might fall into the hands of the

Arabs, who attacked Swearah during the quarrel for the succession, which was terminated in the elevation of the present Sultan, Muley Soliman, to the Moorish throne.

Swearah, or Mogadore, was built by Sidi Mohammed, the father of Muley Soliman, who spared no pains nor expense in making it correspond with its name: it is the only tolerable sea-port in the Moorish dominions, except Tangier, and the only one in which foreign vessels are allowed a kind of free trade, or one without special licenses; the houses are built of rough stone and lime; are from one to three stories high, and nearly all have flat terraced roofs; the streets are narrow and some of them almost entirely covered with houses arched or projecting over them, particularly in the fortress part; the buildings at first, it is said, were erected under the inspection of artisans who were brought from Europe for the purpose; it is by far the neatest town in the empire, and is computed to contain about thirty thousand Moors and blacks, and six thousand Jews. During the contest for the succession, at the death of Muley Eitzid, who reigned a short time after the death of Sidi Mohammed, Swearah was attacked by surprize in the night, and about three thousand of the assailants entered the fortress part over the walls, and actually got possession of the streets: but they were soon destroyed by the garrison and town's people, from the roofs of their houses; and the army before it, consisting of field Moors and Arabs, were put to flight. It has been since

visited and nearly depopulated twice by the plague, which spread terror and devastation in all the western part of the empire. Mercantile trade was here encouraged by its founder, and flourished to a great extent; large quantities of wheat were sent from hence to Spain and Portugal; sheeps' wool and the gums were also shipped in great abundance; namely, gum-sandarach, arabic, &c. &c.—almonds, olives, dates, dried figs, and large quantities of olive-oil, bees-wax, and honey—anniseeds, cummin, worm, and other medicinal seeds—pomegranate peel, and many other drugs—goat, calf, and a few camels' skins, and camels' hair—haicks for the Guinea trade, and many other articles. Their imports were bar-iron and steel, knives, and other cutlery, raw cotton, and many kinds of manufactured cotton goods, woollen cloths, silks, and silk handkerchiefs, teas, sugars, spices, gold and silver ornaments, pearls, amber beads, small Dutch looking glasses, German goods, platillas, nankeens, lumber, &c. &c. There were at one time no less than thirty Christian mercantile houses established there: the duties on imports are ten per centum, taken in kind when the goods are landed, except on the articles of iron, steel, and cotton, on which the duties are paid in cash at the same rate: (the government allowing the importer a short credit on the duties :) this is the duty the Sultan is entitled to by the Koran as tithes, or tenths, according to their sacred code, for he is the religious, as well as the

temporal sovereign. The duties on exports are regulated by an imperial order, and are not steady.

Trade has been depressed of late years by enormous duties on exports, and by prohibitions, so much so, that there are now only two respectable Christian establishments in Mogadore, and those who conduct them are forced to put up with every kind of insult and imposition: they do no business to a profit, and must, if it does not soon alter for the better, quit the place altogether. It is the policy of the present emperor, who is absolute, to keep the people as poor as possible, that they may not have it in their power to rebel; for a rebellious army cannot be supported there without money or kept together without an immediate hope of plunder, and the Moorish government has very little to fear from a partial and ill organized insurrection, the chiefs of which must have money as well as bravery, and display good conduct or they will soon be forsaken. The Sultan commenced his system by shutting the ports of Santa Cruz, Saffy, Rabat, Azamore, Darlbeida, &c. and ordering the foreign merchants residing in them to go to Mogadore or Swearah, where he said they should be protected. Soon afterwards they began to prohibit the introduction of some articles, then the exportation of many—such as wool, wheat, olive oil, &c. and laid a duty that amounted to a prohibition on several other articles of exportation; when the people murmured, they were told it was a sin to trade with men who

did not follow the true and only holy religion on earth: that their prophet had strictly forbidden such traffic as would be liable to corrupt their morals and defile them in the sight of God: that this sin had been committed, and that God was now taking vengeance of his people by sending the locusts and the plague that followed them, laying waste the country, and unpeopling so many fine cities. These were arguments which had great weight with the superstitious Moors, aided by the plague which at that time raged with dreadful fury and swept off three fourths of the inhabitants of Mogadore, Saffy, and several other towns; the whole garrison of *el Ksebbah* on *Tensift* river, &c. &c. Several of the Christian merchants died also of the plague, and many of the most respectable mercantile Moors: this caused an almost total stagnation of business, which stagnation has been increasing, if possible, ever since, owing to these causes and other heavy commercial restraints imposed by the present emperor.

Should any of the maritime nations declare war against the Moors, Mogadore might be easily taken and destroyed, though the place could not be retained any length of time: a few sloops of war of a light draft of water might enter the harbour and sail down near the south end of the island, where they might land troops and take possession of it, which being high, commands the town; here they might construct batteries and beat down its walls at their leisure. The country near it is covered with nothing but drifts of

sand for a distance beyond cannon shot. The Moors are very awkward gunners, though as brave as men can be, believing that if they venture even up to the very mouth of a cannon, they cannot die one moment before the time appointed by fate, nor in any other manner than that which was predestined by the Almighty before they were created, and even from the foundation of the world.

CHAPTER XXX.

Of the Moors and Moorish Arabs—Feast of expiation—A Moorish review, and sham-fight—Horsemanship—of the Arabian horse and his furniture.

THE Moors are a stout athletic race of men, and generally of about five feet ten inches in height. They sprung from the Bereberies, or old inhabitants of the north and western parts of northern Africa, together with the descendants of the Carthaginians, and various Greek and Roman colonies on those coasts, conquered by and commixed with the Arabs or Saracens who passed the Isthmus of Suez, and subjugated the north of Africa under the caliphs of the pretended prophet Mohammed. Fez is at present the great capital of the empire and chief residence of the emperor, who is styled by the Moors and Arabs *el Sultan*, (the Sultan,) or as they pronounce it, Sooltan. Suse has become independent of the Moors. The Moors are all strict followers of the Mohammedan doctrine, and firm predestinarians. I call the doctrine *Mohammedan* instead of *Mahometan*, because the name of their prophet is pronounced, both by the Moors and Arabs, *Mohammed*, and both of them pro-

nounce their letters very distinctly, and with their mouths open like the Spaniards, giving to every letter its full sound; for though they write with characters, and do not know how to form a Roman letter with a pen, yet a person understanding letters, who hears them speak, would say they were perfectly familiar with the Roman alphabet, and laid more emphasis and stress on the letters, by means of which they speak their language better than any other people on earth.

The Moors, in general, do not learn to read and write, but their *Talbs* are learned men, who take great pains to become acquainted with the principles of their own and the ancient Arabic language, and with the laws of the Koran, which is held by them to be a sacred book, and to contain nothing but divine revelation. The *Talbs* transact all the business that requires writing, and serve alternately as scribes, lawyers, and priests. The Moors use no bells for their places of worship, but in the towns and cities, their religious houses have high minarets or steeples, with flat tops and a kind of balustrade round them: to the tops of these the *Talbs* ascend to call the people at stated times to prayers, and as the steeples are very high, and the *Talbs* are accustomed to call aloud, they are heard at a great distance, particularly when all is still in the city. Their times of prayers are before daylight in the morning, at about mid-day, about the middle of the afternoon, at sunset, and again before they retire to rest, about 8 or 9 o'clock in the evening.

The *Talbs* who are on the steeples before daylight in the morning commence by calling all the faithful to prayers: their voices sound most harmoniously, and thrill through the air in a singular manner. I was always awakened by them myself while I staid at Mogadore, and often went to the window to hear them; their call reminded me of my duty also. After they summoned all the faithful to attend prayers, they either rehearsed particular passages from their Bible or Koran, or sang some sacred poetry with a loud and piercing, but at the same time a very melodious and pleasing tone of voice. The Moors who live near the places of worship go in, join with the *Talbs* and pray together, but by far the greater number perform their devotions in their own rooms. The *Talbs*, I am informed, perform their religious duties, which are very fatiguing, merely from motives of piety—they do not receive the smallest remuneration either from the prince or people in any shape or way whatever. All worship by turning their faces to the east, and bow their heads in the dust like the wandering Arabs: they wash their bodies all over with water before prayers, as well as their hands and faces; for which purposes, within the walls of their mosques or churches, they have wells or fountains of water, and large stone basins in which to bathe. When they appear before God, (as they call it,) in their places of worship, they divest themselves of all superfluous ornaments and clothing, and even of their breeches; after

purifying with water, they wrap themselves decently up in their haick or blanket only, and go through their ceremonies with signs of the most profound devotion. If a Christian enters a Mohammedan place of worship, he must either change his religion, by having his head shaved, undergoing the operation of circumcision, and confessing there is but one God, and that Mohammed is his holy prophet, &c. or suffer instant death—but I have ventured to look into them from the street. The court leading to the mosque was paved with tiles, and kept very clean, with stone basins filled with pure water on each side for the purposes of purification; though I durst not approach so near as to see in what manner the interior part was arranged, but I was informed they were entirely free from ornaments. The women are not generally permitted to enter their houses of religious worship, nor even to appear in the streets, unless they are completely covered by their clothing, which going over their heads, is held in such a manner by their hands on the inside, as only to permit them to peep out with one eye, to discover and pick their way; so that no Moor or Christian can see their faces. In the streets, they are very seldom seen, and are so extremely fleshy, that they waddle, rather than walk along, like fat and clumsy ducks. No Moor will marry a wife until she is well fatted by her father, and if it is not in the husband's power afterwards to keep her in the same good case and condition, or rather, to improve upon it, he is dissatisfied,

and endeavours to get clear of her, which he very often effects, for he will not keep a wife unless she is very fleshy, or bed with what he calls "*a death skeleton.*" The women visit each other, and walk together on the tops of their houses, but even the husband cannot enter the room they are in when uncovered, or get a sight of his neighbour's wife or daughter, being strictly forbidden by his religion to look on any other woman than his own wife or wives:—thus the Moors, when they receive company, sit down with them on the ground outside of their houses, where they converse together; but notwithstanding all these precautions, as the women are very amorous, they manage to introduce their gallants by means of the female covering, and the privilege they enjoy of visiting each other, and get their lovers off by the same means undiscovered.

The Moors go off in large numbers every year, forming a great caravan, on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and return in three or four years; every Moslemin being by law obliged to visit the tomb of his prophet once in his life-time, if he can afford to pay the expenses of his journey. The men who have been to Mecca, and returned, are dignified by the name of *el ajjh*, (or the pilgrim,) and the women who go and return, (for there are a few who venture,) are allowed the privilege of wearing the haick, or man's blanket; of walking the street uncovered, like men, and of conversing with them promiscuously, as they may deem fit, being considered

holy women, and as possessing souls by special grace and favour. Every Moor, who is born an idiot, or becomes delirious, is considered a saint, and is treated with the greatest attention and respect by every one; is clothed, and fed, and taken the greatest care of by the whole community; and, do what he will, he cannot commit a crime in the eye of their law.

Soon after my arrival at Mogadore, about the 15th of November, 1815, the feast of expiation was celebrated by the Moors, at which every Mohammedan is by law obliged to kill a sheep, if it is possible for him to procure one; if not, each kills such other animal as he can obtain: the rich (if liberal) kill a number proportioned to their wealth and inclination, and distribute them amongst their relations, or the poor who have none to kill. Rais bel Cossim (i. e. Captain bel Cossim) killed seven sheep; they had been bought long before, and were well fatted for the purpose: the first day of the feast was spent in visiting, and in giving and receiving presents or gifts; and the second in military parade. On the morning of that day, I accompanied Mr. Willshire to the top of a house, formerly occupied by a Mr. Chiappi, deceased, who was the Portuguese Consul at Mogadore, for many years; this house was, before it went to decay, the largest and most elegant in that city; it stood near, and overlooked the eastern wall; from that place, we saw from thirteen to fifteen hundred Arabian horses, fleet as

the wind, and full of fire, mounted by Moors and Arabs, who sat on strong Moorish saddles that came up high before and behind, covered with rich quilted scarlet broadcloth. They were paraded between the outer and main walls of the city—the horsemen were dressed with red caftans or vests, not generally worn by them, except on great occasions; these were covered with worsted haicks, wove transparent like bunting for ships' flags; each rider was armed with a long Moorish musket, and had a knife or scimitar hanging loosely by his side; they wore on their heads, either white turbans twisted and wound many times around, or a red cap, in token of their being regular imperial soldiers, or else a fold of their haick; their bridle-bits were the most powerful of the Arabian kind. The horses were all studs, and wore their whole natural quantity of mane and tail un-mutilated in any part, and consequently retained all their natural fire, beauty, strength, and pride; each horse was furnished with a head-piece, resembling the stall of a bridle at top, and a halter below—this stall or head-piece, was made of the richest scarlet cord and velvet, with fringe hanging down over, and nearly covering his eyes, and a large pendulous pad of scarlet velvet cloth under each ear; the neck of each was adorned with a very elegant scarlet cord, having a handsome knob and tassal underneath; these trappings were solely for ornament, and not for use, and put on before the bridle. Each had, besides, a small red

cord about his neck, to which was fastened a number of little bags, made of fine red Morocco leather—these bags, I learned on inquiry, were stuffed with scraps of paper, covered with Arabic writing, furnished to the owner of the horse by jugglers; and, as they pretend, serve as a charm to ward off the effects of “*evil eyes*,” or witchcraft, in which they all believe: the Moors and Arabs are so firmly attached to this superstitious opinion, that they believe both themselves and their horses are in imminent danger without this favourite charm.

The Moorish and Arabian saddle, which I consider to be the very best that can be invented by man to keep the rider steady in his seat, is fastened on by a strong girth under the horse's belly, and by one round his breast, but without any crupper; the stirrups are made of broad pieces of sheet iron or brass, and for the most part plated with silver—the bottom of them is as long as a man's foot, so that he can shift the position of his feet in them at pleasure; they are kept exceedingly bright, and are taken up short and tied to the saddle by braided leather thongs; so that in order to support himself firmly in his saddle, the rider has only to press his feet to the horse's sides, near his flanks; his knees on the lower part of the saddle; thus resting at five points at one and the same time. The bridle is of that kind which will either stop the fiercest horse in an instant, or snap off his lower jaw—so that the rider has his horse under

the most perfect command possible. This body of horsemen, thus mounted and equipped, were reviewed by the Bashaw and Alcayd, or military and civil governors: there were also five or six thousand foot soldiers assembled for the same purpose: these were dressed in haicks and red caps, and armed with muskets and daggers. After the review, the exercises began by a discharge of seventy-four pieces of cannon, mounted on the different batteries about the city, and then followed a kind of sham-fight, which was begun near the northern gate, between two bodies of infantry: they marched forward to the attack, and each poured in an irregular fire, which was supported and kept up in almost one continual blaze by successive advancing lines, until it seemed necessary to bring forward the heavy cavalry, in order to arrest the progress of a solid column of men, that kept slowly and constantly advancing upon the opposing troops. The expected signal was at length given: the whole of the cavalry was instantly in motion: it advanced in squadrons of about one hundred, in close order, and at full speed, and seemed to fly like the wind: the distance between the opposing forces was near half a mile: the horsemen shouting loudly, "*Hah-hah! hah-hah!*" raised themselves on their stirrups, took a deliberate aim with their long muskets, when within five yards of the enemy's lines, and poured in their fire while going at their greatest speed. I expected they would inevitably dash in amongst the in-

fantry, and trample many of them to death ; but the moment the men had fired, they brought their horses down upon their haunches, and stopping them short, reined them instantly round, to make room for the next approaching squadron, while the horses of the first squadron walked steadily and leisurely back, giving time for the riders to reload their muskets at their ease : thus furiously attacked by numerous squadrons, in quick succession, and so closely, the infantry was soon broken and dispersed, by which means the cavalry remained apparent masters of the field.

Nothing of the kind could exceed the ardour, activity, and intelligence, displayed by those noble looking horses—they seemed almost to fly to the attack, and looked as if determined to rush through the opposing host, and trample it to atoms ; but when the riders had fired their muskets, and the horses were turned about the other way, they were perfectly calm in an instant, and walked on leisurely until they were again faced round towards the enemy ; then their eyes seemed to kindle with fire : they pawed up the dust, which they seemed to snuff up into their wide-stretched nostrils, and into which one might see, as they then appeared, nearly up to their eyes—they snorted and pranced about in such a manner, that nothing short of the heavy and true Arabian bridle could have been capable of checking or keeping them in subjection, and nothing short of the Moorish or Arabian saddle, could have prevented their riders from

being dashed against the ground. The long spurs of the horsemen had gored their flanks, so as to make the blood stream out, which, uniting with their sweat, formed a kind of streaked froth, that nearly covering their sides, dropped fast upon the ground, whilst the severe working of the bit upon their mouths, caused them to bleed profusely. The dazzling of their stirrups and arms in the sun, the rattling of their spurs against their stirrups, and the clashing of their arms against each other; the beautiful appearances of the squadrons of horses; the cracking of musketry, and continual shoutings of the mock combatants, produced an effect truly imposing, and I was of opinion that no lines of infantry, of equal numbers, however well formed and commanded, would be capable of withstanding their impetuous and repeated shocks, when actually attacked: this was truly a superb school for horsemanship.

Sidi Hamet, my old master, had borrowed and mounted Mr. Willshire's fine horse, and seemed to be in all his glory while exercising him like the others. After they had nearly finished the sham fight, he, together with a line of Moors, consisting of about fifteen or twenty, commenced their last career towards the enemy: they had a quarter of a mile to ride, and all with long muskets in their hands; they set off their horses at full speed, in a line, when on their seats—then turning over, they placed their heads upon their saddles, and rode with their feet in the air, and their backs

towards the horses' heads for a considerable part of the distance ; then regaining their seats by a sudden movement, they rose in their stirrups, fired off their pieces close to the wall, reined their horses around, and returned again to their post. Many of these horses were extremely fleet and beautiful, and seemed as much to exceed in spirit, strength, and courage, the first-rate race horses I had ever seen in Europe or America, as those fine animals excel the common old plough horse.

The Moors soon wear their horses down by hard service, and then put them into mills to grind their grain, as there is scarcely such a thing as a wind or water-mill wherewith to grind their breadstuff, to be found in the Moorish empire. The mares are never rid or worked, and are kept solely for the purpose of breeding, and I found that what I had considered as an exaggerated account of the good qualities attributed to the Arabian horse, fell far short of his real merits ; for, though the most proud, fierce, and fiery of the horse kind, he is, at the same time, the most docile of those noble animals. The true Arabian horse is about fourteen hands in height ; his body is long, round, and slender ; his limbs small, clean, and straight ; he is square-breasted and round-quartered ; his neck well set and slim, with a beautiful natural curve ; his head small, with a face inclining to a curve, from the top of the head to the nostrils, with eyes full, bright, quick, and intelligent—many of them are of a beautiful

cream colour, and frequently spotted with black, and vary in colour from a light sorrel, through all the shades of bay and chesnut, to the deepest jet black; they are strong jointed, and full of sinew: they are naturally docile, and very active; but if they become in the least vicious, they are doomed to the mill for the remainder of their days. It was with much regret I learned that these beautiful and serviceable animals could not be exported from either the Moorish dominions, or any other of the Barbary States, without a special permission, as a private favour, from the reigning prince, which is very seldom granted, and only on particular and important occasions.

The Arabs inhabiting Morocco, live in tents, in a wandering state: for the true Arabs will not be confined within walls, and are a distinct race of men from the Moors. They keep large herds of cattle, horses, camels, sheep, goats, and asses, making use of the milk of all the females for butter and for drink: they supply the cities with butter, which they make by the simple process of putting the milk into a goat-skin, the hair side in, hanging it up by the legs, and shaking it by the help of a rope, by which it is fastened; when the butter is made, they pack it, hair and all, into earthen jars that hold from two to four pounds each, and in that state, carry it to market without salting, selling the butter, jar, and all, for a mere trifle: they cultivate nearly all the plain land that is cultivated in the empire of Morocco, (as

the Bereberies till the hilly country and sides of the mountains,) except the grounds in the immediate vicinity of the cities, which they do not approach for the purposes of agriculture, those being cultivated and dressed by the Moors and their slaves. They live in families or sections of tribes, and pitch their tents in companies of from twenty to one hundred and fifty tents, each tent containing one family: these tents, when pitched, are called a *Douhar*; they elect a chief to each of these douhars, whom they dignify with the title of Alcayd or Sheick, for the time being: their authority, however, is rather of an advisory than mandatory kind. Near seed time, they remove and pitch their douhar (or encampment) near the spot they mean to cultivate, and plough and sow the land with wheat, barley, corn, or peas: they fence in some parcels of land with good high stone fences, particularly orchards of fig-trees, but for the most part they are entirely open; the sowing being finished, they remove again, for the sake of pasture, to other parts of the same province, in which they continue to reside, as they cannot move out of a province without leave being first obtained from the Emperor—thus they wander from place to place, until near harvest time: when they return and gather in their crops which they have sowed, and which are considered safe from the flocks, herds, and hands of other tribes, by common consent or interest, as all rove about in a similar way, having no fixed habitations; yet sometimes one tribe sows, and another

reaps the fruit of its labour, but that is only done by force of arms.

The Moorish Arabs are rather below the middle stature; of a dark complexion, resembling that between the mulatto and a white man, with long black hair and black eyes; they are strong and healthy: they wear round their bodies a woollen haick, which does not cover their heads, and go without any other clothing; their legs and feet are generally bare; their beards long; their cheek-bones high; their noses regularly hooked; their lips thin; and they are as hardy a race of men as exists; perhaps, indeed, with the exception of the wandering Arabs. The women wear a kind of a garment made of a haick, through which they thrust their arms to keep it up—it hangs down to their knees, and nearly covers their breasts; they have a fold behind, like those living on the Desert, in which they carry their young children;—they all stoop forward very much; are treated by their husbands as mere necessary slaves; are obliged to milk the cows, camels, mares, goats, sheep, and asses; make the butter, and spin and weave the tent-cloth and clothing by hand for themselves and families. They both spin and weave in the same manner as the Arab women of the Desert, and bring all the water they use, in large pitchers on their shoulders, let the distance be ever so great: they take care of, and help to draw the water for the flocks of sheep, and goats, and herds of cattle: but the men manage the camels and

horses. They grind their wheat and barley in their hand-mills, which are the same as on the Desert and in Suse, as already described, and they make cakes, which they roast in the fire. The women are, in fact, complete slaves: they are obliged to strike the tents when they remove, and pack them on camels, with all the other stuff that is possessed by the family; to pitch the tent again, and pack away the stuff, &c. &c. while the men take upon themselves to lord it over them, and drive them about at pleasure, only looking after the flocks and herds, and punishing the women and girls, if any are lost: the men also plough and sow the land, and attend to the reaping and thrashing out the corn. The sickle they reap with is nothing more than a knife with a blade of about a foot long, with the point bent inwards: the principal part of the labour in this business, they also oblige the women to perform.

Their law permits them to have seven wives, but it is recommended to them by their prophet to have only one, in order to prevent contention in the family. When they increase, however, in wealth or substance, they need more help, and instead of hiring or buying slaves, they take more wives; and on this economical and agreeable plan, they make out to manage the affairs of their household. They are the same race of people in appearance and manners, as the Arabs of the Desert, and have bartered their liberty for the comforts afforded by a country susceptible of cultivation.

The Arabs are said to have continued migrating gradually from the deserts and other parts of Arabia into Africa, ever since the irruptions of the first Saracens, by joining themselves in small numbers to the returning caravans which go yearly from Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, &c. on a pilgrimage to visit the tomb of their prophet at Mecca. These caravans carry large quantities of goods with them, and make a trading trip of it, as well as a religious duty; and many of the pilgrims return home very rich for Moors.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The present Arabs and ancient Jews compared.

SOON after I was seized on as a slave by the wandering Arabs of the Great Western Desert, I was struck with the simplicity of their lives and manners, and contrasted the circumstances of their keeping camels, living in tents, and wandering about from day to day, with the simplicity of the lives of the old Jewish patriarchs, who also lived in tents, had camels, and wandered about from place to place; possessed men-servants and maid-servants—that is, they owned slaves; but as they for the most part lived in countries where the soil was capable of culture, they also had flocks of sheep and goats, and herds of cattle, and asses; yet the patriarchs lived in a thirsty land for a part of the time, and were often in want of water, as well as of bread. My mind was also strongly impressed with the similarity between the patriarchal form of government, and that prevailing among the Arabs at the present day, which is, in the strictest sense of the word, paternal; the father of each family being its supreme and absolute head: the wandering Arabs will submit to no other control, and they actually reverence their fathers and

the old men of their tribe next to the Deity himself, and pay, without the least apparent compulsion, the most cheerful and implicit obedience to their orders and wishes. When I became more acquainted with the Arabs, I observed that the manner of salutation between strangers was very much like that of the Jewish fathers, as recorded in Holy Writ, and which also prevailed among the inhabitants of the country where they sojourned. When a stranger approached an Arab's tent, he first finds out which way it is pitched; then, going round until he gets directly in front, he draws near slowly, until within about one hundred yards, and stops, but always with his weapon in his hand, ready for defence, and then turns his back towards the tent: when he is perceived by those in and about the tent, (who are always upon the look-out,) and they come forth, he bows himself nearly to the earth twice, and worships: upon which one from the tent takes some water in a bowl, and advances towards him; this is done by the head of the family, if he be at home, or by his eldest son: if none of the males are present, one of the women goes forward with her bowl of water, or something else, either to eat or drink, if they have any; if not, they take a skin, or roll of tent-cloth, to make a shelter for the stranger. As they come within a few yards of the stranger, they ask—"Is it peace?" and being answered in the affirmative, they mutually say—"Peace be with you, with your father's house, your family, and all you

possess;”—then touching the fingers of the right hands together, they snap them, and carrying them to their lips, kiss them, which is the same with them as to kiss each other's hand; and thence, I presume, is derived the compliment now in such general use among the polite Spaniards, which is to say, in saluting a gentleman, “Beso de usted las manos”—I kiss your hands; if a lady, “I kiss your feet.”

The Arab manner of worshipping the Deity, as I have already described, is by bowing themselves to the earth, and touching their faces to the ground: after bowing to the ground six times, they say, “God is great and good, and Mohammed is his holy prophet:” this is their confession of faith. After that, they offer up their petitions, that God will keep them under his special protection; that he will direct them in the right way; that he will lead them to fountains or wells of living water; that God will scatter their enemies, and deliver them from all those who lie in wait to do them mischief—that he will prosper their journeys, and enrich them with the spoil of their enemies, &c. and they afterwards recite some poetry, which they call sacred. Since my being redeemed, I have been told that the form of worship now in practice among those people, was taught them by Mohammed; but as these forms do not differ materially from the forms of worship practised by Abraham and the other old patriarchs, and those of the people among

whom they dwelt in the land of Canaan and elsewhere, I am inclined to believe that the artful prophet did not change their ancient mode of worshipping the Deity, but, on the contrary, sanctioned their long established custom, which had continued among that singular race of men ever since the time of Abraham; and that the only innovations or alterations he ventured to make in that respect, were in appointing set times for performing those religious duties; enjoining besides, frequent purifications, by washing themselves with water, and thus inculcating cleanliness, so indispensably necessary to preserve health in hot countries, as a religious duty.

When travelling along the Great Desert, near its northern border, we fell in with flocks of sheep and goats, which were kept by the women and children, who were also obliged to water them; and when, after our arrival in Suse, while we were travelling on its immense plain, and many small cities or towns were in sight at the same time on every side, with high stone walls, gates, and bars, and I learned that each one was independent, and under the command or government of its own chief, who generally styled himself a prince; and when I heard the story of the destruction of *Widnah*, and other devastations committed by the wandering Arabs in their vicinity, I could not avoid figuring to myself and observing to my companions at the time, that the country of Suse must now resemble in appearance the land

of Canaan in the time of Joshua, both in regard to its numerous little walled cities; its fertile soil; and in many other respects; and that the frequent irruptions of the hordes of wild Arabs from the Desert, destroying and laying waste the country, and the cities they are able to overpower, bore a strong resemblance to the conduct of the ancient Israelites, when led from the deserts of Arabia into the cultivated country near them; with this difference, however, that the Israelites were then particularly guided, supported, and protected by Divine Power, and consequently were enabled to act in unison, and with decisive effect against those small, feeble, and ill-constructed cities.

In travelling from Mogadore to Tangier, in the empire of Morocco, and coming to those parts of the provinces of Abdah and Duquella, which are entirely peopled by Arabs living in tents, and in a primitive or wandering state, (their tents being formed of the same materials, and pitched in the same manner as those of the Arabs on the Desert,) I observed that these people were of a much lighter complexion than those on the Desert; but that circumstance, in all probability, was owing to the climate's being more temperate; to their being less exposed to the rays of the sun, and better clothed; yet their features were nearly the same, and those of both bear a strong resemblance to those of the Barbary Jews, who also have black eyes and Arab noses, lips, hair, and stature, and whose complexion is but

a shade or two lighter than that of the Moorish Arabs, which is chiefly occasioned by their different modes of life, the Jews all living in cities, and the Arabs in the fields: the Jews, however, are stouter men than the Arabs, owing, most likely, to the unrestrained intercourse between the lusty Moors and the Jewesses, &c. That these Arabs and those who live on the Desert, are the same race of men, I have not the smallest doubt: their height, shape, eyes, noses, and other features, together with their customs, manners, and habits, being essentially the same. Between the Barbary Jews and the present Arabs, there is only a slight difference in their religious ceremonies and belief, and both very much resemble those forms which were followed by the old Jewish patriarchs, and their fathers and brethren, as recorded in the Book of Genesis. There is one more singular coincidence between the customs of the old Israelites and present Arabs, which, though seemingly unimportant, I shall, nevertheless, mention. The Arabs, both on the Desert and in Morocco, when they have occasion to go abroad from their tent, in order to obey one of the most pressing calls of nature, always carry a stick or paddle with them, in the manner and for the same purpose as is mentioned of the ancient Israelites in the twenty-third chapter of Deuteronomy, the twelfth and thirteenth verses. The men always sit close to the ground to urinate, and compelled us, while slaves, to do the same.

In journeying through the province of Duquella, I learned from ocular demonstration what was meant when certain personages are described in Holy Writ, as having an abundance of flocks and herds, &c. We stopped, and pitched our tent one night within a Douhar, which I found in the morning to consist of one hundred and fifty-four tents: they were pitched in form of a hollow square, and about fifty yards apart, occupying a large space of ground, and all of them facing inwards: before each of these tents, the owner had made his beasts lie down for the night. I felt a desire to know the number of animals each man possessed, and in order to make an estimate of the whole with correctness, I stopped, counted, and set down the whole number that lay in separate flocks before thirty of the tents nearest to where I was, and then made an average of their numbers for each tent, which were nineteen camels, eleven head of neat cattle, six asses, fifty-five sheep, and fifty-two goats: the whole of the horses within the douhar, I counted separately: they amounted to one hundred and eighty-six. I think the flocks I counted were a fair average of the whole, and I compute them accordingly; that is, two thousand nine hundred and twenty-six camels; one hundred and eighty-six horses; eight thousand seven hundred and seventy sheep; eight thousand and eight goats; and nine hundred and twenty asses:—they had besides a considerable number of dung-hill fowls, and a great plenty of dogs. I also counted

the number of inhabitants occupying fifty tents, which averaged, including slaves and children, nine to a tent, or one thousand three hundred and eighty-six in all. These Arabs lead a pastoral life, and though the amount of their flocks, at first sight, appears great, yet when it is taken into view that their only employment is to feed cattle, in which consists their whole riches or wealth, and their daily support, the number will not be considered as unreasonably great. This douhar was said to belong to the Sheick *Mohammed ben Abdela*, a very old man, (whom I saw,) and to consist of his family only—if so, this Arab must have been very rich and powerful, even like Abraham the patriarch, who had three hundred and eighteen servants born in his own house, able to go forth to war, (Genesis xiv. 14,) or like pious Job, who was pre-eminently blessed with flocks and herds, and was also, most probably, an Arab.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The author ships his companions on board a vessel for Gibraltar, and sets out himself to travel by land for Tangier—villany of his Jew companion—Account of a great Moorish saint—description of the country—of the towns of el Ksebbah and Saffy.

HAVING recovered my strength, so as to be able to undertake a journey by land, and being desirous of viewing that part of the empire of Morocco which lies between Mogadore and Tangier, and also to visit the American Consul General residing at that place, in order to make effectual arrangements for the redemption of the remainder of my unfortunate crew, should they be yet alive, I shipped my companions on board a Genoese schooner that navigated under the English flag, bound for Gibraltar, where I intended to meet them. I drew bills on my friend, Mr. Horatio Sprague, of Gibraltar, for the amount of cash actually expended by Mr. Willshire in obtaining our redemption, and in furnishing us with clothing, though he had given, both to me and my men, many articles of his own clothing,

for which he would not receive payment, nor would he accept of any compensation for his trouble, for our board, nor for the extraordinary expenses incurred in consequence of his exertions to render us every assistance, as well as every service and comfort in his power, during the whole of our stay with him for about two months.

Elio Zagury, the Jew whom I have before mentionèd, was also going to set out for Tangier by land, and as my friend did not wish me to be troubled with the arrangements for provisions, &c. on the road, he agreed with Zagury, for him to furnish me with every thing necessary during the journey, except a bed, and paid him the amount agreed on, beforehand, which was a handsome sum.

On the 4th day of January, 1816, all being previously prepared, the schooner sailed with Mr. Savage, Burns, Clark, and Horace on board. After seeing her safe out of the harbour, I went, accompanied by Mr. Willshire, into the Jews' town, to the house of old Zagury, where I took my leave of the Jew priest before mentioned, and we proceeded without the northern city gate, where the Jews are permitted to mount their mules or asses. I then found that the mule on which I was to travel, was already loaded with two large trunks, one mattress, and provisions in proportion, and was told by Zagury that I must get on the top of this cargo, and ride the best way I could, as he should procure no other mule on my account. I was not at all pleased at this

plan, but my friend told me it was only a Jew's trick, and such a one as every man may expect to be served who has any dealings with those villains: he then ordered his own mule to be brought for me, which was ready saddled in the gateway, and kept there, I believe, for the purpose, anticipating deceit on the part of the Jew; though in this, as in every other instance, he endeavoured to lighten, as much as possible, the weight of the obligations he had laid me under. His mule was one of the handsomest and finest I had ever seen—to have refused riding it at that time, would have been to doubt his friendship—so I mounted the mule, and proceeded northward in company with Mr. Willshire and his trusty friend, Rais bel Cossim, on horseback. We rode on, conversing together for about two hours, along the sand-beach, when we stopped a few moments, and took some refreshments. It was there I took my leave of my benefactor. This painful parting, I shall not attempt to describe: a last look was at length taken, and a final adieu uttered, when he rode back towards the city, and I proceeded on my journey. We went silently along, and mounted up the bank: our company consisted of young Zagury; an old Jew named David; a Jew servant; two Moors, who were the muleteers, and an imperial soldier for our guide, well mounted on a high-spirited horse, and fully armed: he was a fine-looking fellow, though half negro, and possessed all that suavity of manners, so conspicuous in a first-rate Moor or Arab. From

these soldiers, the emperor chooses his Alcayds and officers for the army: if they only possess talents and bravery, their colour is disregarded. The Jews called him Alcayd, by way of making themselves appear more respectable, and me they styled *el Tibib del Sultan*, or the Sultan's doctor.

We proceeded on till near dark through a dreary country, when we came to the *Omlays*, or three springs; there we found a number of travellers watering their camels, mules, and asses. Having let our beasts drink, we turned aside a little to the south, in a ploughed field, near a few stone-houses, and pitched for the night. We had a bell tent, which was a very good one, made of two thicknesses of canvass; it was large enough to contain two beds spread out, and very tight, and left plenty of room besides for our other things. We had with us a box containing tea, coffee, sugar, &c. coals to make a fire, and all the utensils necessary for cooking: so we had a cup of tea, and ate some cous-coo-soo for our supper, and went to sleep very comfortably. The soldier and the muleteers slept outside the tent on the ground, wrapped up only in their haicks: this is the constant practice of the Moors and Arabs when travelling, and they wonder that people of other nations do not prefer that method to any other: they carry this custom so far, that many of the male inhabitants of the cities sleep on the tops of their houses (which are flat) in preference to sleeping on their mattresses under cover.

At daylight on the morning of the 5th, all our company were in a bustle, being busily engaged in striking our tent, and loading the mules, while a cup of coffee was preparing, and some eggs boiling for our breakfast; and we set off on our journey long before sunrise. We travelled along this day on uneven ground, through groves of Arga trees, which grew thereabouts spontaneously, and were then loaded with the oil-nut of various sizes and colours, from a deep green through, to a lively yellow. The very shrubs and bushes among which our path lay, were in blossom, and diffused a most delightful fragrance. We still heard the roaring of the troubled ocean, dashing against this inhospitable coast, and which had been constantly dinning my ears for more than two months; for it being urged towards this coast by the continual trade-winds, it never ceases its loud roarings, which may generally be heard at the distance of from twenty to thirty miles from the sea. The Atlas mountains were still in view, whose pointed tops, now covered with snow, seemed to glitter in the sun, though at a very great distance. About sunset, we came near a village consisting of about twenty stone-houses, flat roofed, one story high, and as many more built with reeds or sticks, in form of a sugar-loaf, with a small mosque or place of worship in the midst. Near this village, which was not walled in, the first I had seen of the kind, we pitched our tent, and soon after this was done, a great number of unarmed Moors, probably

four or five hundred, came by turns to look at us, and inquire who I was. At the same time the owner of the village sent to tell us we were welcome, and that he was sorry it was not in his power to furnish barley for our mules, for his whole crops had been cut off by the locusts for the last three years: that he had bought twenty ducats worth that day, but it was all gone, as an unusual number of travellers had called on him; however, he sent us a loin of good mutton, which I was pressed to accept, and about two dozen of eggs: our Moors were also supplied with cous-coo-soo. I learned from Zagury, that this man was esteemed a great saint by all the Moors; that his name was *Mohammed Ilfactesba*; that he taught all pious Moors who wished it, to read in the Koran, and the Mohammedan laws; that he generally had from one to three hundred scholars or students, who came from every part of the empire; that he taught all who came, and supplied them with provisions gratis—that his wife and one daughter prepared the victuals and cooked for all those people without any assistance whatever, which was considered by the Moors a continual miracle, and this, Zagury assured me, he for his own part firmly believed: that he entertained all travellers who chose to call on him, free of expense; but, added he, where all his property comes from to enable him to pay these enormous expenses, nobody knows.

It was soon reported about that an English doctor was in

the tent, and the old saint sent and begged me to call and see him: so taking Zagury with me to act as interpreter, I was conducted by some Moors to his presence, where I was welcomed by a withered old man, who was seated on a mat on the outside, and leaning against the wall of his house—it was the saint: he requested me to sit down near him, and then inquired of Zagury who I was: Zagury satisfied him on that point, and gave him besides a short sketch of my late disasters—the saint said, he was a friend to Christians and men of every other religion; that we were all children of the same heavenly Father, and ought to treat each other like brothers; he also remarked, that God was great and good, and had been very merciful to me, for which I ought to be thankful the remainder of my life. He next informed me, that he was very lame in his legs, occasioned in the first place by a stone falling on one of his feet, that had lamed and laid him up for three or four months, and when he had so far recovered as to be able to ride out on his mule, the animal fell down with him, and injured his lame foot and leg so much that he had not since been able to use it: this, he said, happened about a year ago, and within the last few months, his other leg had become affected, and he had now lost the use of both of them, which were extremely painful: he said he did not murmur at his lameness, because he knew it came from God, and was a punishment for some of his sins; yet he hoped the Almighty would be merciful, and

pardon his offences, and permit him to walk again, so that he might take care of his guests, and do more good in the world : he also told me that the number who were then studying the Sacred Writings with him, amounted to about three hundred. I examined his legs ; they were very thin, and yet seemed to be consuming with a feverish heat ; no skin was broken, and I concluded that he laboured under an inveterate chronic disorder, particularly as the joints were much swelled. I asked him, if he had ever applied any thing as a remedy, or taken any medicine for this disorder ; he said, no, except that he had bound some Arabic writing round them, furnished by a man eminently skilled in the science of witchcraft ; that he had also kept them wet with oil, but had received no benefit whatever from either of those applications ; he further said, he knew some men were endowed with the gift of healing, and hoped that I could prescribe something that would ease his pains. I told him, that I felt disposed to render him all the service in my power ; that I would see what medicine I had, and would consider his case : then assuming the air of a quack doctor, I retired to my tent with a very thoughtful countenance. Our conversation was carried on by the help of Zagury as an interpreter. I really wished to administer some relief to this good man, who was afflicted with such a painful disorder, and accordingly prepared some soap pills, which was the only medicine I had with me, and sent them to him,

with directions how to take them. I also advised him to discontinue the use of oil; to rub his limbs frequently with flannel-cloths, in order to promote the due circulation of the fluids; to endeavour to walk every day with the assistance of two men, using his legs as much as possible, even if they did pain him, and to bind them up in fine salt every night, while the heat continued: this, I fancied, might allay the fever. I also directed a drink to be made for him, by boiling the roots of some particular herbs in water, and thus forming a kind of decoction. Having explained the nature of his disorder to him, in the best manner I was able, which gave him some encouragement, I retired to my tent. Many of the Moors came and wanted me to prescribe something for their various disorders, which I did according to the best of my judgment, and the medicines I had within my power. Among the rest, was a poor old gray-headed man; he came near, and thrusting his head under the tent, cried out—Tibib, Tibib: (Doctor, doctor:) my guard was going to drive him away, but I told him to let him alone, that I might find out what ailed him, for he seemed to be in great distress—so I told Zagury to ask him what his disorder was: this he made known without ceremony—he said, he had been a husband to three wives; that two of them, who had died, loved him exceedingly; that his present wife was very young, fat, and handsome, and yet she was so cold, that notwithstanding all his caresses, she could not

return his love: his case was, indeed, a very plain one, but to prescribe a remedy, needed some reflection—so the Jew told him to go away, and return in half an hour. When he returned, I pretended to sympathize with him in his afflictions, and recommended that he should set her about no kind of work; that he should entreat her kindly; feed her on the dish called *skanah*; i. e. peas baked in an oven, and swimming in beef's marrow, with a plenty of soft boiled eggs and rich spices in her *cous-coo-soo*, &c. &c.—that he should join with her in all her repasts, and chew opium himself, if he could procure any, and by no means to have intercourse with her oftener than once in two weeks. He promised very faithfully to obey my directions, though he did not seem to relish the last item of advice; but I assured him, with much affected gravity, that I had done my very best; so he left me with a shower of blessings for my kindness, after having bestowed two dozen of fresh eggs on my Jew interpreter for his trouble. The Moors who were the pupils of the saint, joined in prayer, and chanted over sacred poetry for about an hour on account of his disorder, begging of God to heal their benefactor, &c.

January the 6th, we started early in the morning, after I had taken leave of the good old man. We proceeded on our journey, descending the hills to the north about half an hour, when we saw one of the Moors who waited on the old man the night before, running after us, and hallooing very

loudly to make us stop, which we did, and he soon came up, bringing Zagury's gold watch, which he had put under his head the night before on the ground where our tent was pitched, and had left it through forgetfulness and haste: this watch, together with an elegant gold seal, chain, and trinkets, was worth, at least, three hundred dollars: the Moor generously refused any compensation for his trouble, and I told Zagury it was well for him that the people where he left it were not Jews: to this he assented, and said that he believed that the saint was the most honest man in the world.

After travelling about two hours in a northerly direction, we came near the ruins, or rather the walls of an old town or fortress—it was situated on the left bank of the river Tensift: the walls were built in a square form; were about one mile in circuit, and flanked with thirty small towers, with embrasures, where cannon might have been mounted. A part of the southern wall had fallen down; it was very thick, and within was nothing but a heap of stones and ruins. On inquiry, I was told by my guard, that this town was built by the former Sultan, Sidi Mohammed, in order to secure a passage across the river, when the people of the province of Abdah rebelled against him; that it was well garrisoned, and mounted with a great many cannon, and called *el Ksebbah*, or the strong lion-like fortress; that it was dismantled by the present Emperor, who took away the

cannon, and that the garrison and all the inhabitants were destroyed a few years ago by the plague, since which no soul has ventured to live in it. We rode on and crossed this stream, dignified by the name of river, but which, in fact, is no more in the dry season than an American brook. The country, in its valley, which is very wide, is rich and level; is said to be overflowed in a rainy season, and was at this time cultivated in many parts. We went along its right bank, and saw the site or ruins of what is called old Swearah, on its left bank, near its entrance into the sea: there are now only a few huts and four saint-houses to be seen; all the other parts of the town are buried in sand, blown from the sea-shore. The river, near its mouth, is both deep and wide, and the soldier said it was once a considerable port, where vessels could enter, but its mouth is now entirely dammed up with sand; only leaving a small passage for the water, which runs off in a shallow stream to the sea, over a beach of two hundred yards in breadth, and so high that the tide cannot enter the river's mouth. From the banks of this river we proceeded towards the sea-shore, and descending the high steep bank, we entered between it and the first bank from the ocean, and travelled along a delightful inclined plane, about four miles in breadth: the surface of this plane was covered with verdure, and flowers of all the variegated colours of the rainbow, resembling in appearance the richest Turkey carpet.

About the middle of the afternoon we met a courier fourteen days from Tangier; having an ink-horn and paper with me, I wrote by him a few lines to my friend Willshire, and we proceeded along towards Saffy, pronounced by the natives S'fee. This inclined plane was the most beautiful that can be imagined; speckled over with herds of cattle and numerous flocks of sheep, which were quietly grazing on its rich herbage. As it was the sixth day of the week, and the Jews with me were obliged by their religion to stop the seventh, during their Sabbath, I had a mind to pitch our tent on this delightful plain, and pass the Sabbath of rest by reposing on its downy bosom, and inhaling its delicious fragrance; but Zagury assured me it was not safe to lodge there, and that he must enter S'fee in order to recruit his stock of provision, for that a Jew could eat no kind of meat except it was killed by a priest of his nation. He was exceedingly superstitious, though educated in England, and we kept on towards Saffy. When in sight of the walls of that city, we came near a large saint-house, on a cliff near the sea's brink—here our soldier and muleteers made the Jews dismount, and pass this house barefoot, though at half a mile's distance from our path: he told me that the house was built over the remains of a great saint; that every man who was not a Moslemin must walk past it barefoot; that people came to visit it from all quarters to be cured of their diseases; but, added he, as you are a good man, and

very weak, you may ride past, but must pay the saint one dollar towards keeping his house in repair. I did not much relish this mode of giving away my money, and told the soldier so; but he replied, that no Christian must pass it without this tribute, and that it would be demanded from him on his entrance into S'fee. I was convinced it was only a trick of his to extort money; but there was no getting off, and so I paid him the dollar, telling him at the same time I should set it down as a debt to the saint's account, and presumed he would have no objection to repay me in another world: "No, (said he,) that saint was very liberal in this world, and will, no doubt, pay you both principal and interest in the other, and intercede for your admission into Paradise into the bargain:" he was a shrewd fellow, and understood my feelings on the subject perfectly.

After the Jews had walked about a mile, they were again permitted to ride. We approached the city on its south-east or fortress side; some ruins of its ancient walls were still visible, which proved it to have formerly been, at least, four times larger than at present. It was near night, and we went round the fortress, which appeared to be very strong, and was defended by a double wall; it is situated on an eminence, which not only commands the city that is attached to it below, but is also well situated for defending all the entrances into the town, and has a good number of cannon mounted on it: the whole appears extremely well calculated

for defence, and I imagine it must originally have been constructed by some eminent European engineer. A small brook of water runs from the east near the northern wall of the city. We entered it at the eastern gate, and proceeded through a crowd of spectators to the house of Zagury's Jew friend. The Jews were obliged to dismount, and walk into the city, but they allowed me to ride. Having entered the court, (for the building was very spacious, but had very much decayed, and was fast crumbling to the ground,) we ascended a broken staircase to the gallery of the first story, and were conducted to a small room that had been shut up, apparently, for a long time; the unhinged door and shattered window-shutter were, however, removed to accommodate our company, and I took a peep into the apartment; it was about ten feet square, and nearly filled with filth of almost every description; the whole fermenting in rancid Argan oil, which far exceeded in scent the most stinking fish or blubber oil. The effluvia arising from this newly opened bed of nastiness entering my olfactory nerves, was immediately transmitted to the stomach, and brought on an instantaneous vomiting, which continued for about two hours without intermission, until my stomach was completely empty, and it threw up besides a considerable quantity of fresh blood: this abominable stench caused nausea even in the Jews' stomachs; however, as there was no other place to lodge in, and the weather looked likely for rain, they cleared

out this chamber, washed it with hot-water, and fumigated it afterwards with burning charcoal and brimstone ; Zagury taking care to observe, by way of recommendation, that this house was built by a Christian, and that its occupants, who were his father's friends, were the most respectable Jews in S'fee. The house was, indeed, large, and had been very commodious, but its Jewish tenants, consisting of about twenty miserable dirty families, did not choose to lend nor let to us a better apartment, and after refreshing myself with a cup of strong tea, my stomach became composed, and I went through, in the course of the evening, their religious ceremonies, in company with the Jews, as I have before described.

In Saffy, the Jews live in company with, i. e. promiscuously among the Moors in adjoining houses. On their Sabbath, all the men belonging to the house went to the synagogues, and the women, in the mean time, decked themselves in their best attire; they had already stained the insides of their hands and fingers, between every joint, and their finger-nails, yellow; had borrowed and put on fine earrings and necklaces of pearl and amber, and golden chains, golden hearts, and other trinkets; these hung down upon their naked bosoms: they wore bracelets on their ancles and wrists, and had put on clean linen, or rather, cotton *chemises*, which was to them a real luxury. Their hair, which was long and black, was newly braided, and greased over

smoothly with Argan oil: they had painted their eyes and eyebrows black, and the most of them wore slippers: thus tricked up in all their finery, two of the most handsome and stylishly dressed damsels, with a number of the second-rate, came round to that side of the gallery where I sat quietly and alone, writing down notes for my journal: they first expressed their wonder at my manner of writing from left to right; then at the letters I formed, &c.—and having, by this method, succeeded in diverting my attention from what I was about, the two smartest looking girls, who were about sixteen and eighteen years of age, with quite pretty faces, and richly dressed, invited me to go with them, and see their father's room: my curiosity prompted me to comply, and I suffered them to lead me along into their chamber, where their mother, a very fleshy middle aged woman, was sitting on a mattress; and as they had no other seat, they invited me to sit down on the same bed beside her. After due salutations, the old lady left the room, shutting the door after her. The object of these sirens was to get money from me; but finding I was able to withstand all their temptations, they at last permitted me to retire, but not before they had tried every indelicate art and enticement, of which they were complete mistresses, to effect their purpose. After I had withdrawn from the room, I was shown into all the other apartments on that floor, in succession, and their artifices were still played off to win me, or rather my cash,

until, at length, finding that all their wiles proved abortive, they next had recourse to begging for money, but I had none to spare them.

The Jews in Saffy are very poor and miserable; they were generally about half clothed, and that with filthy rags. Saffy is a small place, and has no trade; so that the Jews are hard put to it, and are obliged to resort to every base expedient in order to gain a mere subsistence. I could not but pity their condition, and lament the depravity to which they all seemed to be prone, though, perhaps, oftentimes plunging into guilt from sheer necessity.

This day I went in company with my guard to view the town and port of S'fee: the town is small, and strongly walled in on all sides: the walls, for the most part, are made of rough stone and lime, like those of Mogadore or Swearali, except that part next the sea, which is laid up with large hewn stone, and appears very strong; the walls are flanked with four towers, besides the *el Ksebbah*, on which cannon are mounted, and a battery at the water-port. The town lies very low, and is surrounded on all sides by hills, and appears to be the receptacle of all the filth of the country near it. Its streets are very narrow, crooked, irregular, and not paved: the houses are built of rough stone and lime; have few windows next the streets; are from one to three stories high, and flat-roofed; but, like the houses in the cities in Spain, have a court, the interior of which serves for

a stable. The public buildings are three mosques, with high square towers, and a large hewn stone building, formerly occupied as a custom-house, but now uninhabited and falling to pieces. The Jews have also twelve small rooms for the purpose of worshipping, which they call synagogues. The number of inhabitants in Saffy is computed at twenty thousand, that is, sixteen thousand Moors and four thousand Jews. The walls of the present town, including the fortress, are about one mile in circumference. The inhabitants of the city are supplied with good water, brought in kegs on asses from the brook that washes its northern walls. All the cattle, sheep, &c. that are owned in and feed near S'fee, are driven within the walls every night, and from its appearance, no dirt is ever carried out of the city: the filth in the streets was in many parts two feet deep at the least, so that it was quite impossible for me to get along through the mire without being besmeared with it up to my knees. Passing along one street as well as I could pick my way, I lost both my shoes in the mud, but some Jew boys recovered them again; for which service I had to pay them half a dollar.

The bay of Saffy is formed by the projection of Cape Cantin; is very spacious, and well defended by that cape from the common trade-winds. Vessels visiting that place are obliged to anchor very broad in the offing, and where the ground is said to be very foul: the landing-place is

either on a sand beach, upon which the surf breaks with considerable violence, or else in among some rocks, where there was formerly a kind of basin, which is now nearly filled up with sand. There were about twenty fishing-boats on this beach, which were in a bad state of repair. The port of Saffy has been shut by order of the Sultan for several years. A circular fort stands on a hill to the north, and within half cannon shot of the town, and which completely commands it: it had been lately dismantled, and the cannon carried into the city for fear it would be taken possession of by field Moors and Arabs during the late rebellion. The land in the vicinity of this city is for the most part uncultivated.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Continuation of the journey—description of Asbedre—of a flight of locusts—of the destroying locust of Africa—Mazagan, Azamore, Darlbeda, Afidallah—arrival at Rabat. Of Rabat.

WE left Saffy early on the morning of the 7th of January, and found the country, as we proceeded northward, more open, but not much cultivated: the ground was covered with flowers of different kinds, and every shrub was also in full blossom, and seemed to vie in beauty with its neighbour, while their blended fragrance rising, with the exhaling dews, and wafted along by a gentle land-breeze, conveyed to the soul sensations of the most exquisite delight. We travelled along during this whole day on uneven ground, frequently meeting large droves of loaded camels and mules, and passing many groups of tents, some formed of woollen cloth, and pitched in the same manner as the Arab tents on the Desert, and others with reeds; regaling ourselves occasionally with milk, which we found to be excellent, and in great abundance, and at night pitched our tent near one of those flying camps, which are here called Douhars.

On the morning of the 8th, we started very early, and after riding about three hours, came to the walls of an old Portuguese town and fortress, now called *Asbedre*, but in ruins and deserted. It is situated on the second bank from the sea, one hundred feet above a beautiful harbour or small port and sound, formed by an opening through the first bank, which resembles the entrance of a dock : it appeared shallow, and one vessel only can enter at a time. This port seems to be capable of containing a vast number of small vessels, where they might ride in perfect safety in all seasons of the year : here is also, near the walls of the ruin, a small Moorish settlement of badly built houses and tents. Passing this, we entered into one of the richest valleys ever formed by nature ; the face of the earth here was smiling with cultivation, and speckled over with flocks and herds : here thousands of oxen, sheep, goats, and camels, horses and asses, were peaceably feeding in concert, while hundreds of the inhabitants were busied in tilling the rich soil, in sowing wheat and barley, and cutting down, with a common sword, the weeds that grew where they had reaped their last crops, higher than their heads, and some of them more than an inch in thickness, in order to admit the plough. This valley is bounded on the south by a long sound or narrow arm of the sea, in which the tide ebbs and flows many feet : the seawater enters it near *Asbedre*, and on its right : the valley is bounded by a hill of easy ascent : its mean breadth is about

four miles, and its length about twenty miles. The valley contains hundreds of wells of excellent water fitted with solid stone basins around their mouths, which were covered with large stones; these serve to give drink to their flocks, and to quench the thirst of the weary labourer and traveller. Some of these wells were immensely deep, and a windlass was rigged to them to draw the water.

Near the middle of this valley we stopped to take our dinner—my mind was absorbed in contemplating the riches and beauties of bountiful nature, when I observed something that appeared like a cloud of thick smoke rising over the hill at the north-east, and with the wind, approaching us rapidly. I remarked to my Jew, that there must be a monstrous fire in that quarter; no, said he, they are only locusts. In the mean time the flight was fast approaching, and soon came within a short distance, and directly towards us. Every labourer's attention was instantly turned from his plough and other employment; the oxen were stopped and every one stood aghast with apprehension and dismay painted in strong colours on his anxious countenance, fearing his field was to become the prey of this devouring plague. The locusts began to descend and alighted to the northward of us; very few passing where we sat; we soon mounted and rode on, and as we proceeded we found the whole surface of the ground covered with them as thick as they could stand, and all busy in the work of destruction.

As it was necessary for them to clear our road to avoid being crushed to death by the trampling of our mules, those in and near the path rose as we passed along, filling the air around us like one continued swarm of bees; whilst thousands came in contact with our faces and bodies. In this situation, fearing my eyes would be injured, I covered my face with a transparent silk handkerchief, and pushed on my mule as fast as I could; we were about two hours in passing this host of destroyers, which when on the wing made a sound, as finely described in Holy Writ, "like the rushing of horses into battle." The space covered by this flight extended in length for about eight miles along the road and three miles in breadth. After they had fairly alighted, the Moors, each resuming his labour, left the locusts in the full enjoyment of their repast, assuring us, that when they had filled themselves, which would be in the course of that day and the night, they would move off in a body with the wind, probably one day's march farther, where they would again repeat their ravages, leaving the remainder for other successive flights; but which they hoped, by the blessing of God, would not destroy the whole of their crops and all the herbage, as they had done some years within the last seven, during which space they had continued to lay waste the country. To see such fair prospects of crops thus blasted in a moment, would fill the inhabitants of more refined countries with feelings of despair, and their fields would be left untilld; while the

Mohammedan considers it either as a just chastisement from heaven for his own or his nation's sins, or as directed by that fatality in which they all believe;—thus when one crop is destroyed, if of wheat, they sow the same ground over again with barley, or plant it with Indian corn or peas, so as to have every possible chance for subsisting. These Arabs, while at their labour, are entirely naked, except a small piece of woollen cloth about their loins:—they make use of the same plough and harness as the people of Suse, already described, but in this part of the country they plough with a pair of oxen:—and here let me beg the reader's indulgence for a few moments, while I undertake to give him a description of that wonderful insect, the destroying locust, that so often lays waste the fertile plains of Asia and the northern regions of Africa. I call him the destroying locust of Africa, because, as far as my memory serves me, he is first described in Holy Writ as a destroyer in the land of Egypt.

DESCRIPTION.

The locust of Africa is a winged insect, which resembles both in size and appearance at the first view, the largest sized grasshopper of America; but on a close inspection, differs from him very materially: the shape of his head and face is similar to that of a common sheep, being crowned with two long and tapering protuberances, which turn back-

wards like the horns of a goat. He has, attached to his muzzle, a pair of smellers or feelers, by the help of which he feels and gathers up the herbage about him, which he nips off, making a champing noise like a sheep when eating; he has four wings, and the hinder pair are quite transparent; he has six legs, with two claws to each foot, which are divided something like the hoof of a sheep, but are much larger and pointed: he is stout about the neck, breast, and body: the hinder part of which is forked, and armed with a hard bony substance, by the help of which he can make a hole in the ground.

The largest African locust is about four inches in length, and one inch in diameter: he has the most voracious appetite of any insect in the world, and devours grass, grain, the leaves of trees, and every green thing, with indiscriminate and merciless avidity. They go forth by bands or flights, and each flight is said to have a king, which directs its movements with great regularity. Locusts can fly only when their wings are perfectly dry; and when they rise, they always fly off before the wind, and fill the air like an immense cloud of thick smoke:—when the leader alights upon the ground, all the flight follows his example as fast as possible. They are at times so numerous, that they may be said to cover the whole face of the country; then they devour every spear of grass and grain, even eating it into the ground, dislodging it root and branch, cutting off all the

leaves from the shrubs and trees, and sometimes all the *bark* from tender trees in a whole province, and that too in a very short space of time.

The present African locusts are of the same race of insects that are mentioned in the Bible, as one of the plagues sent upon the land of Egypt, by the Almighty: they have always been considered in the countries where they usually commit ravages as a scourge from Heaven, and as a punishment for the sins of the people. The locust has been described as being produced by some unknown physical cause, different from the ordinary mode of animal production: this is a mistake: when I was in Mogadore, Mr. Willshire told me that the locusts were produced by a very well known and natural cause; that the female, a little before the flights disappear for the season, thrusts her hinder parts into the surface of the ground up to her wings, first having found a suitable spot of earth for that purpose: here she forms a cell in shape like that made by the bee, but from one to three inches in depth, and one to two inches in diameter. Having made the sides of the cell strong by means of a glutinous matter, which she has the power of producing, she deposits her eggs, which are blackish, and so small, as scarcely to be distinguishable with the naked eye: each cell is filled full, and contains an immense number of eggs: she then seals it over carefully with the same kind of glutinous matter of which the inside of the cell is formed, and covering it over with

earth, she leaves it to be hatched out by the heat of the sun in due time, which generally happens in the month of January: the eggs in one cell alone produce a host of locusts, amounting to near a million. I opened and examined several cells in and near a garden, two miles from Mogadore, and was much surprized to see the eggs lie thick together in one mass, like the spawn of fishes. I took up some of it on the tip of a sharp-pointed penknife, and separating and counting the eggs, by means of a microscope, as accurately as possible, I enumerated seven hundred and forty-one—admitting that every egg would produce a locust, and that the number contained in the small portion on the point of the penknife was the one thousandth part of the whole mass, (which is a low estimate,) it proves that a single locust could produce in one season, even if she fills but one cell, upwards of half a million of her species. When the locust is hatched, he crawls out of the earth a little worm, of a light brown colour, and the whole cell of them are said to hatch about the same time. This host of worms creep forth from the ground, and commence their march, all going one course, generally towards the north or west, devouring every thing green that comes in their way, and leaving behind them a dismal scene of desolation. These reptiles grow so rapidly, that within the space of one week they are prepared for their transformation, when they climb up a stout spear of grass or a twig, attach their skin fast to it, and by a sudden effort, burst the skin asunder at its head, and come forth a four-winged in-

sect, with six legs: they remain a short time in the sun to dry themselves and their wings before they attempt flying, which they commence by trying separately to fly a short distance at a time, and continue fluttering and skipping like grasshoppers for two or three days; next they set off in a body on the wing, and fly from five miles to one hundred, without stopping, just as the country seems to please their taste, and they then go on as I have before described.

Dry warm seasons are favourable to the breeding of locusts, and a very wet cold one is sure to destroy them in the empire of Morocco until the flights come again from other parts. I do not know precisely the months in which the female locust makes her deposit of eggs, only that it is in the latter part of the summer, or first of the fall months. The old locusts, having done their share of mischief, are either driven off by the winds into the sea, or die a natural death; thus making room for a new and more hungry swarm. When all have disappeared in the Moorish empire, a few flights are seen to come from the borders of the Desert, or from the coasts of Egypt, which again lay waste the whole country, until they are in their turn destroyed by frequent rains and cold damps, or strong gales from the land, which sweep them into the ocean. It is said at Mogadore, and believed by the Moors, Christians, and Jews, that the Berberies inhabiting the Atlas mountains, have the power to destroy every flight of locusts that comes from the south and

from the east, and thus ward off this dreadful scourge from all the countries north and west of this stupendous ridge, merely by building large fires on those parts of the ridge over which the locusts are known always to pass, and in the season when they are likely to appear, which is at a definite period within a certain number of days, in almost every year. The Atlas being high, and the peaks covered with snow, these insects become chilled in passing over them, when seeing the fires, they are attracted by the glare, and plunge into the flames. I do not know what degree of credit ought to be attached to this opinion, but it is certain that the Moorish Sultan used to pay a considerable sum of money yearly to certain inhabitants of the sides of the Atlas in order to keep the locusts out of his dominions. The Moors and Jews further affirm, that during the time in which the Sultan paid the aforesaid yearly stipend punctually, not a locust was to be seen in his dominions north and west of the Atlas, but that about six years ago the Emperor refused to pay the stipulated sum, because no locusts troubled his country, and he thought he had been imposed upon; and it so happened that the very same year the locusts again made their appearance, and have continued to lay waste the country ever since.

Locusts are esteemed very good food by the Moors, Arabs, and Jews, in Barbary, who catch large numbers of them in their season, and throw them, while jumping alive,

into a pan of boiling Argan oil:—here they hiss and fry until their wings are burned off, and their bodies are sufficiently cooked, when they are poured out and eaten. I have seen many thousands cooked in this manner, and have had the curiosity to taste them: they resemble in consistence and flavour, the yolks of hard boiled hens' eggs. After my arrival at Tangier, on conversing with our Consul General, Mr. Simpson, respecting the locusts, he confirmed the substance of what I had before heard and observed myself in Barbary concerning them. This ravenous insect had actually caused a famine in that part of the country, so that Mr. Simpson and the other Christian Consuls at Tangier were obliged to send to Gibraltar, and buy American flour for the ordinary consumption of their families; inferior American flour was then selling at Tangier for fifteen dollars per barrel, although before the scarcity occasioned by the locusts, the finest Barbary wheat used to be sold for one dollar and a half per barrel.

Mr. Simpson further stated, that in the year 1814, (to the best of my recollection as to the time,) being with his family at his house on Mount Washington, near Cape Spartel, and where the locusts covered the whole face of the ground at night, when he arose the next morning, he could not perceive a single one, and observed to his lady, that all the locusts which had remained with them for a long time, and destroyed most of the herbage about the country, had

disappeared; he wondered at first what had become of them; but after the fog in the strait was dissipated, looking at a vessel through his glass, that was passing out, he observed that the whole surface of the water was covered with something that appeared like a reddish scum, and on reflection, it struck him, that the locusts had attempted at night to migrate across the straits into Spain, flying before the wind, which was fair, and blowing from the southward; but that they were either lost in the fog, or checked on their passage by contrary winds, (which generally prevail in the straits at night, particularly in the summer time,) in the middle of the strait; and were thus forced by fatigue and the humidity of the atmosphere, to settle upon the surface of the water, from whence they could not rise, and were, consequently, all drowned. That two days afterwards, a vessel arrived at Tangier from Gibraltar, the captain of which confirmed his conjecture, by assuring him that vast numbers of dead locusts had been driven ashore on the rock of Gibraltar, and along the coast of Spain, from *Algeciras* to *Tariffa*, a distance of nearly twenty miles, and that there were still great numbers of their carcasses floating in the straits, near the Spanish shore. I was also informed, that several years ago, nearly all the locusts in the empire, which were at that time very numerous, and had laid waste the country, were carried off in one night, and drowned in the Atlantic ocean; that their dead carcasses a few days after-

wards were driven by winds and currents on shore, all along the western coast, extending from near Cape Spartel to beyond Mogadore, forming, in many places, immense piles on the sand beach: that the stench arising from their remains was intolerable, and was supposed to have produced the plague which broke out about that time in various parts of the Moorish dominions. I have thus faithfully embodied what information I could obtain regarding the locust, from living authority, which I deem indubitable, and to which I have added such facts and circumstances as fell under my own observation, unassisted by books; and I trust the whole will be found essentially correct. As I do not profess to be a naturalist, it cannot be expected that I should undertake to give a description of his interior formation, &c.—To return to my Journal:

Leaving this beautiful valley, embellished and enriched by many thousands of fig and other fruit trees, as well as many clumps of grape vines that seem to thrive exceedingly well, we ascended the hill on our right, and about dark approached a douhar or encampment that was surrounded by a stone wall: the chief of the douhar was not willing to let us enter within the walls, but our soldier telling him that I was the Sultan's doctor, and must go in, he reluctantly consented, telling my guard, however, we must take care of our baggage ourselves, as the whole of the people in the douhar, both men and women, were ill of the venereal

disease. They offered us milk and eggs, and asked my advice in regard to their disorder; I told them I had no medicine with me—I, however, recommended a milk or light diet, and a drink to be made by steeping a certain root, having an affinity, in appearance, to sarsaparilla, that is common in this part of the country; and to let all drink plentifully of this decoction, for ten weeks, not doubting but it would prove beneficial. We slept here without molestation, started early on the morning of the 9th, and passed, in the course of the day, many douhars of tents in the open fields; many orchards regularly planted, consisting of several hundred fig-trees, fenced in with stone walls very thick, and from five to six feet in height: the land on both sides of the path was principally cultivated. Zagury had dispatched our guide to Azamore before us, to a Jew in that town, in order to engage him to prepare some provisions against our arrival; for they are so superstitious, that they would not even eat bread that had been baked in any other but a Jew's oven, and received the priest's blessing, for which, of course, he has his tythe. Proceeding forward at about ten A. M. we saw at some distance on our left, what David and Elio told me was the famous old town of Mazagan: stopping here to take refreshment, a large number of Arab women came from some neighbouring douhars, to stare at me and my dress: some of them were quite young, and Zagury began to rally them in a very coarse and rude

manner, asking them if they loved Christians, &c. upon which one very old woman said to him, "There is Mazagan; (pointing towards the distant town;) when that place was taken from the Christians, I helped to cut off one of their heads, and yet I love Christians better than the mean, cheating, infidel Jews." Zagury, not relishing this retort, dropped the conversation.

Riding on briskly, we arrived at Azamore about 3 o'clock, P. M. On our approach, our Jews were obliged to dismount, and walk for about two miles to pass a saint-house, which the Moors hold in high veneration: this was the fiftieth saint-house I had seen since I left Swearah. Azamore is a town strongly walled in; it lies on the left bank of the river *Ormorbear*, one league from its mouth; it is built in the form of an irregular quadrangle, and is about one mile in circumference: the river washes its eastern wall, while the other sides are defended by a deep ditch. We did not enter it, but from its appearance, it is an old-fashioned Portugueze town, badly built, and within and about the walls, very dirty. This stream was the only one I had yet passed on this continent, that deserved the name of river: it has a dangerous bar at its mouth, which is said to be navigable only for vessels drawing six feet water at high tides and in smooth weather—these may come alongside the walls of Azamore, where there is a very neat water-port for the reception of their cargoes, but it has now no external

commerce whatever: there are, however, some large manufactories of Morocco leather and coarse earthenware in the suburbs outside the walls. We passed this river, which is here about two hundred yards wide, in a good boat, built after the Spanish manner, large and well-managed by expert hands. We found here a good shad-fishery: there were ten large nets, and about one hundred and fifty stout Moors employed in this business at that time, and in the proper season, which is from the first of January to April, they catch large quantities of shad, which are much esteemed in this country, and are sold at the landing for about six cents a piece: they are carried from hence to Fez, Mequinez, Morocco, Mogadore, and all the adjoining country. We remained on the bank of this river until dark, waiting for our provisions, which came at last, and we pitched our tent under three date trees, about one mile from the bank. We had bought some shad, which, when roasted, afforded us an excellent supper, as they were very fat and delicious.

On the 10th, at two o'clock in the morning, we started from this place, and owing to the darkness, lost our path, and wandered about for two hours before it was found; we rode all the day through a fine even country, passing many douhars, and travelling as usual; and at night pitched our tent in the midst of one of the douhars, which I shall here describe, (having made mention of them frequently before,) and this description will answer for the whole of them, with

little variation. On our approach to within fifty yards, we halted, and were soon met by the chief, for they all have one head man, whom they honour by the title of Sheick: he welcomed us in very handsome terms; invited us to advance; pointed out a place which was the safest within the douhar for our tent; and furnished us with milk and eggs gratis, while the Moors that accompanied us were plentifully regaled with bread, water, and cous-coo-soo. This douhar was composed of one hundred and fifty-four tents, pitched in the form of a hollow square; the tents being placed about fifty yards apart; an equal number occupying each side, and at equal distances, all made of very coarse strong woollen cloth, of the same colour, and set up in the same manner as those on the Desert, and all facing inward.

Before each tent, and at a very short distance from it, all the camels, cattle, goats, and asses, are made to lie down, where they are taught to remain until they are roused up to be milked in the morning, when the shepherds or herdsmen drive them out into the open country to feed, and return with them again at night-fall. They milk the mares, camels, cows, asses, goats, and sheep; and in order to effect this with the two last mentioned animals, which are very tame, they divide the sheep and goats into two rows, facing each other: as soon as they approach so as to interlock their necks, they are caught by two ropes which are ready strung for the purpose, and by this means they are kept close

together, while the women and girls go behind and milk them between their hind legs; the lambs having been previously tied or secured in a similar way. A good ewe will yield a pint of milk in a morning, and a goat more: sheep's milk is reckoned the richest by the natives, but I preferred that of the goat or camel to either of the others, though asses' and mare's milk is very rich and good. They make butter by putting the new milk into a goat skin, the hair on the inside; the butter is of course a little hairy, but they can pick it clean with their fingers, and they generally have white haired goat skins for churns. The Arabs who inhabit exclusively these douhars are extremely hospitable, and not only furnish the traveller with the best they have to eat and drink, but also set a watch over his tent and baggage, which they strictly take care of: the Sheicks themselves are responsible for every article that may be missing in the morning, and which if not immediately found, they pay the stranger his own price for it in money without hesitation. Thus the Moorish and Arab travellers can pass from one end of the empire to the other without expense, and at their leisure, and transact their commercial business in a cheap way, only buying the barley for their beasts which carry their burdens when they travel on mules or horses, being obliged to feed them on barley and straw; but when they use camels, which is by far the most common method, these hardy beasts live on the herbage and shrubbery which they nip

passing along the road, taking a bite now and then as they continue walking, and as soon as they stop, their two fore legs are tied within a foot of each other and they are turned out to feed. Without this precaution, the camel is such a wandering creature, not unlike his Arab master in that respect, that be the herbage ever so good and plentiful where he is turned out, he is continually restless, and keeps moving on, so that in the course of an hour or two he will stray many miles from the place where he was first turned loose.

On the 11th, at daybreak, we left this douhar, and proceeded over a smooth beautiful plain every where covered with fields of grain or grass and flowering shrubs, with numerous herds of cattle, camels, asses, and flocks of sheep and goats; while the road or rather foot-path (for such they all are in this country) was covered with loaded camels travelling each way to and from Darlbeda, and at about eight o'clock A.M. we reached that city. Darlbeda is a walled town of about two miles in circumference, situated at the bottom of a broad bay; its port is tolerably good for landing cargoes, although the bay where vessels lie is very rocky, and can only be approached with safety in the summer months and in mild weather. Large quantities of wheat were formerly shipped at this port for Spain and Portugal. I peeped into it for a few minutes; it is much on the decay: the houses, which are built chiefly of

stone and clay, as well as the walls, are falling down in every direction, and even the gateway is in a tottering condition: it is a very dirty place; the houses are from one to three stories high, and the streets very narrow: there still remains an open aqueduct, that used to convey water for several miles into this town; it is in good repair, being built of stone and lime; the water runs in it to within two hundred yards of the walls, where it has been cut off for the convenience of roads: thus the destructive hands of the Moors are employed in marring and spoiling even their own town, which must soon become no better than a heap of ruins.

We passed Darlbeda, and came to Afidallah, a town built by Sidi Mohammed: this town is inclosed by a tolerable mud and stone wall, and is situated about one mile from the sea. The whole coast from Darlbeda, to far beyond Afidallah, is lined with huge heaps of beach sand, hove up by the almost constant trade-winds, blowing direct on shore.

Afidallah stands on a beautiful plain: it was built for the purpose of receiving and storing the large quantities of wheat and barley that usually grew near its site; and its harbour, only one mile distant from it, is sheltered by a long and narrow island, within which vessels of a small size can anchor, and be tolerably safe. This is said, by Mohammed, one of our muleteers, and an old sailor, to be by far the safest open harbour in the empire during the winter

months ; but the landing is bad, and can only be effected in light winds and good weather. Large quantities of wheat, barley, big acorns, fruit, &c. were shipped from Afidallah during the reign of Sidi Mohammed, and a part of the present reign, but Muley Soliman, the present Sultan, has of late become so bigoted, that he thinks, or pretends it is a sin for his subjects to trade with the Christians ; he has, therefore, forbid the exportation of almost all the articles of commerce, and rendered, by this means, his people poor ; ruined most of his towns, and involved himself in many broils with his subjects, while he is straining every nerve to take away the little remains of their property, in contributions and presents extorted from them by rapacious officers appointed for the purpose. The goods for shipping were carried from Afidallah on camels, across the sand hills that shelter the town from the violent sea-gales. This place is about six hundred yards square, flanked by four square forts joined to each corner, and so constructed as to be able to rake the whole length of the wall on the outside with cannon and musketry.

We passed on, and pitched our tent at night within the walls of an old town called *Sebilah* ; there is no house standing in it, except a part of a large mosque, and a tall well-built tower, though it was once a considerable place. Within these walls, in one corner, was a large garden, well stocked with vegetables, and about a hundred tents were pitched,

as if in the open field ; so we pitched our tent near the walls of the mosque. There were several women here that wanted medicines, and though I had none to give them, yet my mere advice, which was thought important, procured milk and eggs sufficient for our suppers. Soon after sunset, all the flocks and cattle belonging to the inhabitants were driven within the walls, and disposed of as in the common douhars, when the stout gate was shut and strongly barred. Many travellers arrived in the evening, and wished to enter, but found no admittance, and they took up their lodgings outside of the walls.

January the 12th, at daylight, our soldier had the gate opened, and we went forward: there were outside of the gate several large droves of camels with their owners, which had put up there in the night—they were principally loaded with sacks of salt or barley, and going towards Rabat. We rode on fast, and passed three considerable streams, which the Moors call rivers, and say they are not fordable in the rainy season ; but we got over without difficulty, being then only brooks: the country was level and well cultivated, and we passed innumerable droves of light and loaded camels, mules, and asses.

At about eight o'clock A. M. we saw a high tower east of us, which stands at the head of the aqueduct that conveys water to Rabat ; and at about three P. M. we came to the outer wall of that city, which stands half a mile from the

main wall, and incloses a great number of fine gardens of fruit and vegetables, besides some wheat fields: it extends from the palace (which is spacious, and situated on the left upon the bank of the sea between the outer and main walls) round to the river eastward of the city: here the Jews were obliged to dismount before they could enter the town; and there I left them, and proceeded with my guard, followed by my muleteer into the city. My friend, Mr. Willshire, had given me an introductory letter to Mr. Abouderham, the English Vice Consul at Rabat, and we proceeded directly to his house, which is situated in the principal town. On my arrival, I was received by that gentleman with every mark of politeness and respect I could wish: he furnished me with a room and every thing I needed for my comfort. The next day being the Jews' Sabbath, I had time to visit different parts of the city, and the Jews' town or Millah.

Rabat is situated at the mouth of the river *Beregreb*—on its left bank, within a mile of the sea, it is defended on the south by a double wall and some batteries of cannon; on the west, facing the sea, by a very strong fortress, and along the river on the north, by very high and steep cliffs, a wall, and a number of strong batteries. I should compute the circumference of the outer walls at six miles, but the inner one not more than three.

The city is situated on uneven ground; is very well built for a Moorish town, though the streets are narrow, crooked.

and dirty; yet the houses in general are in good repair, and two stories high, built of stone and lime mortar, and flat roofed, with an inner court; a few windows next the streets, which are only air-holes, and secured with wooden shutters and grates, without glass. There are in this city ten mosques of different heights and shapes: it is the largest sea-port town in the Moorish dominions, though at present the bar at the river's mouth is so heaped up with sand, as only to admit of vessels drawing six feet water, and yet the tide rises within it about ten feet, and runs very rapidly. The Millah or Jew's town is walled in separately, to prevent the Jews from mixing with and defiling the Moors, and that they may more easily be kept in subjection with the aid of the bastinado. This Millah has been built only about six years; has but one gate, which is guarded and kept by Moors; and there are some very good houses in it. It is said to contain eight thousand Jews, who are (for the most part) very poor, miserable, and depraved, and live in the most degraded condition: they worship in twelve rooms called synagogues, and I was told that nearly one half of the male inhabitants were priests.

Rabat is very well peopled: the whole number of its inhabitants is computed by Mr. Abouderham to exceed sixty thousand. Many of the Moors here are rich, and live in great luxury, keeping large seraglios of women, and having beautiful gardens. Vast quantities of haicks, and other

woollen and cotton cloths, are here fabricated, and great quantities of sole and Morocco leather, and coarse earthenware, such as pots, bowls, jars, &c. are also manufactured in this city. It carries on a brisk inland trade, and the Moorish inhabitants seem to be more civilized than in any other town I passed through. Here is the principal navy-yard of the Emperor, where his ships are built; for the Moors have none for commerce. Here was one new frigate lying by the walls, partly fitted; she appeared to be about five hundred tons burden; was pierced for 32 guns, and the Moors said she would be ready to go round to Laresch, where their ships of war are fitted out in two or three months: to get them over the bar at the mouth of the river, they are obliged to go out perfectly light; to buoy them up as much as possible, and lay them sideways on the bar, at high tide, and in mild weather, where they are steadied by means of cables and anchors, until the yielding sand is washed away, and they are forced over by the power of the ebb tide, which runs like a mill-race.

Rabat is supplied with water by a considerable stream led into the city by means of an old fashioned aqueduct from the south, that is four or five leagues in length: the aqueduct was either built or thoroughly repaired by the old and liberal Emperor, Sidi Mohammed. I wished to visit the town of Sallee, so famous in history for its piracies on the ocean, situated on the other side of the river, and

directly opposite Rabat, but I was dissuaded from making the attempt, by Mr. Abouderham and my guide, who said that the whole people of Sallee still retained their ancient pride, prejudices, and natural ferocity: that no Christian, or even a Barbary Jew in a Christian dress, could enter their walls if he was ever so well guarded by imperial soldiers, without being in imminent danger of losing his life. Mr. Abouderham said he had visited it twice; that it contained about forty thousand fierce and haughty Moors, and four thousand miserable Jews.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Description of a horrid show of two venomous serpents—sets out from Rabat—of Sallee, Mamora, Laresch—Spanish Missionaries—Moorish Navy—arrival at Tangier.

ON Sunday, the 14th January, 1816, being anxious to get forward on my journey, I went into the Jews' town to make the necessary preparations; for I intended to proceed without my Jew's company, whom I had found out to be deceitful and dishonest, having already manœuvred me out of most of my money. The soldier and muleteer went along with me: this muleteer, as I before observed, had been a sailor; had visited Spain and Portugal, and spoke the Spanish language so that I could understand him; his name was Mohammed. Soon after our entrance into the Millah, we saw a concourse of people, consisting of Moors and Jews, crowding about one of the single-storied houses, which stood alone. Going near it, I inquired the cause of this assemblage, and was informed that a couple of that kind of Moors, called Serpent Eaters, were about to amuse the Moors and Jews with a sight of two of the most venomous

serpents on earth; together with their manner of attacking the human species: and that each one who chose to see the exhibition through the windows (for it was to take place in that room) must pay half a dollar. Being desirous of having a look, I offered a dollar for a station at a window; but all the windows were already occupied, and the places paid for. My guard, observing my disappointment, asked me if I wished for a birth? which I answered by putting two dollars in his hand; whereupon he called out to the Jews at one of the windows to clear a place for *el Tibib del Sultan*, (the Sultan's doctor). Those, however, who had paid their money, not liking to lose their places, were unwilling to move: upon which my guard brushed them away with his big cane without ceremony; giving me a whole window to myself, saying he would keep guard. I looked into the room without interruption: it was about twenty feet long, and fifteen feet broad, paved with tiles, and plastered within. These had also been secured by an additional grating made of wire, in such a manner as to render it impossible for the serpents to escape from the room: it had but one door, and that had a hole cut through it, six or eight inches square: this hole was also secured by a grating. In the room stood two men who appeared to be Arabs, with long bushy hair and beards; and I was told they were a particular race of men that could charm serpents. A wooden box, about four feet long and two feet

wide, was placed near the door, with a string fastened to a slide at one end of it: this string went through a hole in the door. The two serpent-eaters were dressed in haicks only, and those very small ones. After they had gone through with their religious ceremonies most devoutly, they appeared to take an eternal farewell of each other: this done, one of them retired from the room, and shut the door tight after him. The Arab within seemed to be in dreadful distress—I could observe his heart throb and his bosom heave most violently; and he cried out very loudly, “Allah houakibar!” three times, which is, as I understand it, “God, have mercy on me!” The Arab was at the farthest end of the room: at that instant the cage was opened, and a serpent crept out slowly; he was about four feet long, and eight inches in circumference; his colours were the most beautiful in nature—being bright, and variegated with a deep yellow, a purple, a cream colour, black and brown spotted, &c. As soon as he saw the Arab in the room, his eyes, which were small, and green, kindled as with fire: he erected himself in a second, his head two feet high, and, darting on the defenceless Arab, seized him between the folds of his haick, just above his right hip bone, hissing most horribly: the Arab gave a horrid shriek, when another serpent came out of the cage. This last, was black, very shining, and appeared to be seven or eight feet long, but not more than two inches in diameter: as soon as he had cleared the cage, he cast his

red fiery eyes on his intended victim, thrust out his forked tongue, threw himself into a round coil, erected his head, which was in the centre of the coil, three feet from the floor, flattening out the skin above his head and eyes in the form and nearly of the size of a human heart; and, springing like lightning on the Arab, struck its fangs into his neck, near the jugular vein, while his tail and body flew round his neck and arms in two or three folds. The Arab set up the most hideous and piteous yelling, foamed and frothed at the mouth, grasping the folds of the serpent, which were round his arms, with his right hand, and seemed to be in the greatest agony—striving to tear the reptile from around his neck, while with his left he seized hold of it near its head, but could not break its hold: by this time, the other had twined itself around his legs, and kept biting all around the other parts of his body, making apparently deep incisions: the blood issuing from every wound, both in his neck and body, streamed all over his haick and skin. My blood was chilled in my veins with horror at this sight, and it was with difficulty my legs would support my frame. Notwithstanding the Arab's greatest exertions to tear away the serpents with his hands, they twined themselves still tighter; stopped his breath, and he fell to the floor, where he continued for a moment, as if in the most inconceivable agony, rolling over, and covering every part of his body with his own blood and froth, until he ceased to move, and appeared to have expired.

In his last struggle, he had wounded the black serpent with his teeth, as it was striving, as it were, to force its head into his mouth; which wound seemed to increase its rage. At this instant, I heard the shrill sound of a whistle; and looking towards the door, saw the other Arab applying a call to his mouth: the serpents listened to the music; their fury seemed to forsake them by degrees; they disengaged themselves leisurely from the apparently lifeless carcass; and creeping towards the cage, they soon entered it, and were immediately fastened in. The door of the apartment was now opened, and he without, ran to assist his companion: he had a phial of blackish liquor in one hand, and an iron chissel in the other: finding the teeth of his companion set, he thrust in the chissel, pried them open, and then poured a little of the liquor into his mouth; and holding the lips together, applied his mouth to the dead man's nose, and filled his lungs with air: he next anointed his numerous wounds with a little of the same liquid; and yet no sign of life appeared. I thought he was dead in earnest; his neck and veins were exceedingly swollen; when his comrade, taking up the lifeless trunk in his arms, brought it out into the open air, and continued the operation of blowing for several minutes, before a sign of life appeared: at length he gasped, and after a time recovered so far as to be able to speak. The swellings on his neck, body, and legs, gradually subsided, as they continued washing the wounds with clear

cold water, and a sponge, and applying the black liquor occasionally: a clean haick was wrapped about him, but his strength seemed so far exhausted, that he could not support himself standing; so his comrade laid him on the ground by a wall, where he sunk into a sleep. This exhibition lasted for about a quarter of an hour from the time the serpents were let loose, until they were called off, and it was more than an hour from that time before he could speak. I thought that I could discover that the poisonous fangs had been pulled out of these formidable serpents' jaws, and mentioned that circumstance to the showman, who said that they had indeed been extracted; and when I wished to know how swellings on his neck and other parts could be assumed, he assured me, that though their deadly fangs were out, yet that the poisonous quality of their breath and spittle would cause the death of those they attack: that after a bite from either of these serpents, no man could exist longer than fifteen minutes, and that there was no remedy for any but those who were endowed by the Almighty with power to charm and to manage them, and that he and his associate were of that favoured number. The Moors and Arabs call the thick and beautiful serpent *El Effah*, and the long black and heart-headed one *El Buschfah*. I afterwards saw engravings of these two serpents in *Jackson's Morocco*, which are very correct resemblances: they are said to be very numerous on and about the south foot of the Atlas

mountains, and border of the Desert, where these were caught when young, and where they often attack and destroy both men and beasts. The Effah's bite is said to be incurable, and its poison so subtile as to cause a man's death in fifteen minutes. When I saw the Effah, it brought to my mind the story of the fiery serpents that bit the children of Israel in the deserts of Arabia, near Mount Hor, as recorded in the 21st Chapter of the Book of Numbers; merely because the Effah resembled, in appearance, a brazen serpent: the two serpent-eaters said, they came from Egypt, about three years ago.

This exhibition of serpents, (the first I was told of the kind that had ever taken place at Rabat,) and our preparations, detained us the whole day; however I had made all the necessary arrangements, got the tent, provisions, &c. in order to be ready for a start the next morning, and on January the 15th, very early, I took my leave of Mr. Abouderham, who though a Jew, was nevertheless a man of feeling, and much of a gentleman: he is a native of Leghorn, had received a good education, and spoke the French language fluently.

We crossed the river, which is here about half a mile wide, and proceeded towards the walls of Sallee: the river has entirely left the Sallee side, which is now filled up with sand and mud, leaving the town nearly a mile from the water: there were still to be seen some remains of its

ancient docks, and wrecks of vessels. I looked attentively at Sallee, in passing its walls, which are high and strong, built of stone, and well cemented; they had been repaired lately, and are flanked by many circular and square towers, on which about two hundred pieces of cannon are still mounted, of all calibers; and it appeared that it must have formerly been mounted with several hundred pieces more. Near its walls, on the east, north, and west sides, are beautiful gardens that appear to be extremely fertile, well laid out, and cultivated: great numbers of orange, lemon, and sweet lemon trees, were bending under their loads of rich yellow fruit: hundreds of fig, pomegranate, almond, and other fruit-trees, were now leafless, but budding forth, and thus promising abundance in their season. Many of the gardens are of great extent, and planted with the cotton-tree, which is small, and produces cotton inferior to the American, called Georgia Upland, and only in small quantities.

As we proceeded on our road, we came to the aqueduct which supplies Sallee with fresh water: this aqueduct serves as an outer wall to the city on the north; is nearly a mile from it, and about thirty feet high where we passed through it: here are three large arches resembling gateways, and marks are still to be seen, where gates were once hung: the wall is eight or ten feet in thickness, and appears to be about four miles in length. The canal for conducting the water is near the top, but uncovered; this aqueduct is said

to have been built by the Romans; it is formed of large hewn stones, and is extremely solid.

We travelled on through a fine champaign country, every where cultivated, until two P. M. when we saw on our left, and passed a lake of fresh water, about two miles in length, and half a mile in breadth: this was the first lake, or indeed pond, I had ever seen in this country; and soon afterwards we arrived on the bank of the river *Mediah*. On the left bank of this river, near its mouth, stands, though mostly in ruins, the ancient Portugueze town and fortress of *Mamora*; the fortress is situated on a high hill that overlooks the surrounding country, commands the ruins of the town, and is now garrisoned by about three hundred black troops. The town was built close along the brink of the river, and its northern wall was washed by every tide; and though very old, has not yet sustained much injury. The river enters the sea over a bar in a N. W. direction: the lower wall has an excellent circular battery, built of large hewn-stone, and was calculated for mounting thirty heavy guns for the defence of the harbour; though now dismantled. This town wall is about half a mile in length along the river, and the ruins two hundred yards in breadth, and the place was once very strongly walled in on the land side, but this wall is now in ruins: not a soul inhabits this town at present. Here some of my former opinions were confirmed; for it is certain that the sea has receded from this coast: the evident marks of the

water high on this wall, and on the point of land near which the town stands, that must from appearances have been worn in by the dashing of the sea, together with the situation of the present bar, prove to an observer, without any possibility of doubt, that the ocean has receded since this place was built, for more than a mile distance, and that its perpendicular height has decreased at least fifteen feet since that period. I do not pretend to account for this fact, but leave it to be explained by philosophers.

We were to cross this river in a good boat that took over fifteen camels with their loads at a trip ; but there were on the bank, waiting for their turns to cross, at least five hundred loaded camels, besides mules and asses, chiefly with burdens of wheat and barley going on to Tangier and Tetuan, where all kinds of bread stuffs were said to be very scarce and dear. I told my soldier that it was necessary to inform the boatman that as I was the Emperor's surgeon, and himself an Alcayd, that we could not wait, but must pass over immediately, for the wind blew fresh from the S. W. and they had but one boat, which could not make above six trips in a day ; and it would not be our turn, from the then appearances, in less than a week : this, with an offer of two dollars to the boatman, had the desired effect, and we were ferried over with the second boat-load, though not without much opposition and dispute between my guard and those who were waiting before us, and which was only

settled by the interference of the black garrison; for my guide had the address to persuade them that he was indeed an Alcayd, and I the Sultan's doctor. After crossing the river, we mounted the sand hills, and at 10 P. M. pitched our tent in the midst of a douhar, where we got some milk and eggs for our money.

Tuesday, the 16th, we started very early: it had rained very hard with heavy squalls of wind most part of the preceding night, but my tent being sound, kept off the storm: it was now clear and serene; nearly the whole face of the ground was covered with violet and pink coloured flowers, not more than an inch or two in height, which seemed to have sprung up during the night, and as the sun exhaled the dews from around them, the fresh air of the morning was filled with the most delightful fragrance. The country on our right was a low morass, partly covered with water, which soon grew into a lake of considerable breadth. We travelled, during the whole day, along its left margin: its surface was spotted over with innumerable wild ducks and other aquatic birds, which some of the inhabitants were shooting at. In lieu of boats they use a kind of *catamaran*, which is made by lashing three small *palm tree logs* together by means of cords made of the bark of this useful tree; they have a crotched stick set up near one end of their float for a rest to their guns, and instead of oars, use long poles to force it along; when the gunner gets on his raft, he leaves his

haick behind him for fear of wetting it, and shoves out entirely naked : their guns are very long and clumsy, with Moorish locks ; so that that mode of fowling supplies them with but little game, though the lake is nearly covered with it. The sight of this catamaran brought to my mind those made use of in the Atlantic ocean along the coast of Brazil, and in some other parts of the world : the fishermen on those coasts form a raft by laying three rough logs alongside of one another, thirty feet in length, and pinning them together with wooden tree-nails, they then place two more logs partly on the upper side of the exterior logs, and pin them on fast ; sharpen the two ends of all the logs, and the float is finished. To make it manageable, they raise a four-legged bench in it, near the centre, which serves to steady a mast, on which they hoist a shoulder-of-mutton sail, and go out to sea. I have seen them twenty leagues from land. These boats are perfectly safe, for they can neither leak, upset, nor founder, and sail remarkably fast, and are steered with a stout oar.

There are several islands in this lake, on one of which there is a very spacious sanctuary, many fruit-trees, and several apparently good gardens. Since leaving Darlbeda, we had seen no high land, only moderate acclivities, no more than to make it agreeable to the cultivator. This afternoon we discovered the ridge of mountains which lie behind Fez and Mequinez, stretching from the Atlas to the Straits of Gibraltar, and forming one of the far-famed pillars of

Hercules. At first they were scarcely visible in the distant horizon, and appeared like the tops of high islands, when approaching them on the ocean: not a tree or bush of any magnitude had we seen for several days, except the fig, palm, or other fruit-trees, which were generally planted in clusters or in gardens near the towns: at night we pitched our tent at a douhar near the border of the lake.

Wednesday, January 17th, we started early, and went down the bank near the sea, to pass round the former outlet of this lake, which was now dammed with sea-sand very high; and on the sides of the bank which formed the outlet, stood four saint-houses, nearly covered up with sand-drifts. Continuing our journey until about noon, we began to come among trees of considerable size; they looked like a species of oak with a thick shaggy bark, but are an ever-green; this wood is very brittle, and the trees produce a kind of acorn of a very large size, which the Spaniards and Portugueze used to carry away in large quantities from this country:—they were as highly esteemed as the chesnut, and used for food by the people of those nations: they also fed their swine on them.

Passing through a large forest, we came to a small lake on our right, and, at sunset, approached the walls of *Laresch*. Having heard that some Spanish friars resided here, I inquired for them, and was soon conducted to their dwelling, a very good house, of European construction. The principal

friar came out to meet me; and, after I had given a short account of myself in Spanish, said he would lodge me for charity's sake; and then conducted me into a tolerably well furnished room: and, as he had lived in Mogadore, asked me many questions concerning that city, and his old acquaintances there, some of whom I happened to know. He treated me with some wine, which he said was of his own manufacture; it was none of the best, however: and, at 10 o'clock at night, an excellent supper of fowls and sallads, dressed in the Spanish style, was served up. This Padre, whose name is *Juan Tinaones*, told me that he had lived in Barbary for ten years, four of which he had spent at Mogadore, three at Rabat, and three here, secluded from the civilized world; that the court of Spain allowed a large premium to those *Padres*, or *Fathers*, of good character, to be approved of by the Archbishop, who are willing to spend ten years in Barbary as missionaries, and a stipend of three thousand dollars a year for the remainder of their lives. I asked him of what use he could be in Barbary to the cause of Christianity, since he dare not even attempt to convert a Moor or an Arab, or mention the name of the Saviour as one of the Godhead to either, or even to a Jew? "None at all," said he, "but still we bear the name of missionaries at home, to convert the heathen; our allowance of money is ample: we live well, as you see, (he was indeed fat and in fine order,) laugh at the folly of our countrymen, and enjoy

the present as well as we can." (The circumstance of there being two young and pretty Jewesses in the house, and plenty of good cheer, did not tend, in any great degree, to discredit his representation.) "When this ten years expire," continued this pious Padre, "we get leave to return to our country, where we are received as patterns of piety, that have rendered vast services to the Christian world: every respectable house is open to receive us—our company is much sought after—our yearly salary of three thousand dollars affords us many gratifications—and, for these ten years spent in such privations and severe Gospel labours, we are allowed absolution for the remainder of our lives, which, you will readily believe, we try to make as comfortable as possible." Padre (i. e. father) Tinaones wanted to know if I was a Catholic? To this I answered in the negative. He said it was a pity; and that, unless I came within the pale of the Church, he feared my precious soul would be for ever miserable. Our conversation next turned upon the Jews: he said—"There were about two hundred miserable families of them in Laresch, who, though they are, in a manner, slaves to the Mohammedans, will not believe in our holy religion: there were two Jews who applied to me, and said they were converted to the true Catholic faith, and believed Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, and the Saviour of mankind:—they were accordingly baptized as Christians; yet, as soon as they had obtained a loan of four hundred dollars from me, in small

sums, and found they could get no more, they turned back to Judaism again, and left me no means of redress: which fully convinced me that their pretended conversion to Christianity was nothing more than a premeditated scheme to rob me of my money; and that, whenever a Jew professes to become a Christian, it is but a false pretence, and he is actuated entirely by mercenary motives. "The Jews," added he, "hold Christ and his followers in the greatest possible contempt, and pretend to believe that all men, who are not Israelites, will be doomed, at the day of judgment, to eternal punishment." This night was principally spent in conversation with the Padre, on various subjects.

Thursday, January 18th, I made ready to go on early, but the tide ran so rapidly at that time, that it was impossible to pass the river without the risk of being driven into the sea; so I had time to make observations.

Laresch is handsomely situated on the left bank of the river *Saboo*, near its entrance into the sea: the town lies along the river's bank, and is half a mile in length, but very narrow; it is strongly walled in all around, and has two gates, one on the east, and the other on the south side:—the fortress is on a hill south of the town, from which it is only separated by a wall; it is strongly built, and flanked by eight towers; has about one hundred pieces of cannon, mounted on its battlements, and stands too high to be battered down by the shipping, even if they could get into

the river: this town is said to have been built by the Portuguese originally, and only occupies the same space it did formerly, that is to say, about one mile in circumference: it contains about eighteen thousand inhabitants, i. e. sixteen thousand Moors, and two thousand Jews, who are all very poor, as no trade is carried on here by sea or by land: they are obliged to work hard in the adjacent gardens, and till the impoverished fields in order to gain a scanty subsistence. This is the only safe port the Emperor of Morocco has for fitting out his large cruisers, from whence they can get to sea with their armament: the river here is very narrow, runs close along the walls of Laresch, and is very deep opposite the town; there is said to be on the bar at its mouth eighteen feet water at high spring tides. The river within the town is both broad and deep; the tides run very rapidly both at flood and ebb, so much so, that we were obliged to wait until it was nearly spent, before it was deemed safe to cross: directly in the fetrying place, an old brig lay sunk, which had been captured under the Russian flag, and the crew kept as slaves or prisoners about a year. The Emperor's navy was now lying alongside of the bank, consisting of one frigate-built ship, coppered to the bends, of about 700 tons burden, and mounting 32 guns, apparently 18 pounders, on the main deck; and a brig, called the Swearah, also coppered; a beautiful vessel, mounting 18 guns, said to sail,

and, from her appearance, would sail, very fast: she was built in England, and there fitted in the best possible manner, and presented to the Emperor by a Jew of Mogadore, named *Macnin*, who has a brother in London, with whom he corresponds, and from whom he receives goods annually to a very large amount; and lives upon such friendly terms with the Emperor, that he is supposed to deal more largely than any or perhaps than all the English merchants. But such is the uncertain friendship of this absolute Prince, that, some time ago, he attempted to give this Jewish merchant a gentle squeeze, and seized his goods, houses, cash, and every thing valuable that his officers could lay their hands on; upon which *Macnin*, to conciliate his majesty, and to get a part of his property back again, is said to have made him a present of this fine brig.* These two vessels and the new frigate at Rabat, now constitute the whole of the Emperor's naval force: his maxim is to be at war with every nation who has not made a treaty with him, or who has not a *Consul General* residing at Tangier to make him the

* Mr. Riley is totally mistaken; we are assured that this vessel was bought here through the medium of Mr. Macnin, and paid for by him to government by order of the Emperor and for his account. The Macnins are gentlemen of large property and irreproachable character.—*London Edit.*

customary presents on his annual holidays, or pay him tribute agreeably to the terms of his treaties. According to this system, he sends out his cruizers from time to time, who, if they find a vessel bearing a flag, whose nation has not made a treaty of peace with him, they capture her, bring her in as a good prize, and retain the crew as slaves or prisoners. About eighteen months ago, this brig *Mogadore*, then on a cruise, captured the Russian brig before mentioned, and carried her into *Laresch*: now the Emperor of Russia had not stipulated for a peace with his Moorish majesty, and had no Consul residing at *Tangier*, so the vessel's cargo was soon disposed of as a prize, and her officers and crew (ten in number) were thrown into prison, and frequently compelled to work on board the vessels of war. After about a year's captivity in this manner, finding no Christian power claimed the men, and having no use for them, the Emperor ordered them to be removed to the prison at *Tangier*. Padre *Tinaones* told me these facts, and said he had done all he could for the Christians while they were in *Laresch* prison, and that their brig had sunk in the ferrying-place for want of care.

Proceeding on our journey, we soon mounted the high hills on the right bank of this river, where we found many huts constructed of stones and mud with steep roofs thatched with straw after the manner of the Scotch and Irish hovels: these were the first buildings of the kind I had seen in

Africa, and contrary to the Moorish custom, they were quite defenceless. Continuing our journey through a long wood, and over a hilly, sandy soil, all this day as fast as possible, we pitched our tent at night in a deep valley, near a small douhar, where we obtained some milk for our supper. It commenced raining in the evening, and continued to pour without intermission, attended with strong gales and squalls, until daylight, but as our tent was tight and strong, I experienced from it no material inconvenience.

Friday, the 19th, soon after daylight, it ceased to rain, and we proceeded on our journey. After passing many douhars and some huts of the construction mentioned near Laresch, we entered a deep valley, the breadth of which was about six miles: the rain had soaked the soil so much as to render it almost impassable, so that the mules sunk into the mud nearly up to their bellies, and we were obliged to dismount and wade through it on foot. This valley contains two small rivers, which are not fordable at high tides: the little town of *Azila* stands at their mouth, at about ten miles to our left: the quantity of rain that had fallen the preceding night had rendered them quite deep even at low water, so that in attempting to ford one of them on my mule, he was carried away by the current, and I was forced to swim; however, I held the mule by the bridle, and landed safely. My soldier and muleteer seeing I had got safe across, at length ventured in different places, and also

succeeded in getting over. Our way now became very mountainous and woody, and the deep valleys, through which a number of brooks ran winding along in very serpentine courses, rendered our path muddy and slippery.

At 3 P. M. we gained the summit of a mountain, when I saw distinctly the bay of Tangier, part of the Straits of Gibraltar, and, to my great joy, the coast of Spain; it was the hospitable and civilized shore of Europe! The crowd of sensations that rushed upon my mind at this grateful sight, can be more easily conceived than described. It brought to my recollection the trials and distresses I had undergone since leaving it, as well as my great deliverances: all these sensations together so overcame my faculties, and agitated me in such a manner, that I had not power to keep myself steady, and I actually fell from my mule no less than three times in travelling from thence to Tangier; a distance of five or six miles. As I had not before fallen from my mule during my whole journey from Mogadore, the soldier who guarded me, thought it very extraordinary, nor could I persuade him that I was not too ill to ride: he, therefore, after helping me on again the third time, gave his horse to the muleteer, and walked by my side, holding me on for some time: my head however became so dizzy from the state of my feelings, that I was obliged to alight and walk with his assistance for about a mile until we came near the

walls of Tangier, when he again, at my request, placed me on my mule.

It was in the dusk of the evening when we arrived at the gate, and the soldier having announced me to the guards, I was conducted directly into the city, and before the Governor, who ordered me to be escorted to the American Consul's house, where I soon arrived, and was received most hospitably by *James Simpson, Esquire*, the American Consul General, who immediately introduced me to his amiable lady and family, and requested me to consider his house my home. I accordingly took up my day-quarters with him, and remained under his truly hospitable roof during my stay at Tangier. Having made a present to my guard and mule-teen for their attention and fidelity to me on the journey, and made up a packet for my friend Willshire, I dispatched them with his mule, &c. on the 22d of January, 1816, back for Mogadore.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Moorish captives—Of Tangier and Christian Consuls—passage to Gibraltar, reception there—embarks for America—observations on Gibraltar—passage in the ship Rapid—arrival at New York—visits his family—goes to Washington City, the seat of government, and concludes with brief remarks on slavery.

DURING my stay at Tangier, I was made acquainted with Mr. Green, the English Consul General, a gentleman of talents, high respectability, and worth ; and with Mr. Agrill, the Swedish Consul General, who had lately arrived there from Sweden. On his arrival, he found the crew of the before-mentioned Russian brig in Tangier prison, and finding there was no one to claim or redeem them, and that they were natives of what once was Swedish Pomerania, he purchased them from the Sultan for about two thousand dollars, which he paid out of his own private funds, and set them at liberty. I saw and conversed with the master and most of the crew of that vessel, who told me they had been imprisoned at Laresch about a year ; had been robbed of most of their clothing, and then brought to Tangier, where Mr.

Agrill had the charity to redeem them, though they were captured under the Russian flag, and did not owe allegiance to the Swedish government. Mr. Agrill kept them in his own house, waiting for a Swedish vessel of war, which was daily expected, and by which he meant to send them to their country. The captain mentioned to me that his vessel was in fact English property covered by the Russian flag, in order to avoid capture by the American cruisers. I had before known Mr. Agrill in St. Petersburg, Russia—then in a public character—he is a man of much real worth.

Tangier bay is said to be the best harbour in the Moorish dominions; its bottom is clear, and it might contain at one time one thousand sail of large vessels, which would ride in safety, being sheltered from all but the northerly winds, which have only the rake of the breadth of the strait, and the holding ground is excellent: the best anchorage is in seven and a half fathoms water; where the Portuguese flag-staff (which is the westernmost and near the water) is on a line with the American flag-staff, which latter is high, and can always be known by having its flag hoisted when an American vessel approaches the bay. The city of Tangier is built on the west side and near the mouth of the bay, on the declivity of a hill, two miles east of Cape Spartel, rising like an amphitheatre; the houses are built of stone, and whitewashed, and the town, when seen from the bay or strait, has a very handsome appearance; but it is badly

built; the houses being generally small, and but one story high, with flat terraced roofs: the streets are narrow, crooked, badly paved, and commonly very dirty. There are, however, some handsome buildings in Tangier; among which are the Spanish, Swedish, Dutch, French, Danish, and Portuguese consular houses: the old English consular house has been lately abandoned on account of its bad construction, but they are now building a very elegant one, that is said to have already cost the British government ten thousand pounds sterling, and will cost nearly as much more by the time it is finished, and furnished. The American government has no consular house at Tangier; the consul general resides in a house that was formerly attached to that of the Swedish consulate: it was purchased by Mr. Simpson, on his own private account for his own use, and for an office for the use of the United States, in order to save the expense of house-rent, and the dwelling part is so small and inconvenient, that when his own children visit him from abroad, he is forced to hire lodgings for them in Jews' or other houses. I believe every government having a consul residing at Tangier, except that of my own country, has either built or purchased a mansion for the accommodation of that officer. Mr. Simpson's eldest son with his lady were now on a visit to their parents; and the consul had to hire apartments in a Jew's house for a few days to accommodate them: he was also under the necessity of procuring lodgings

for me in a Jew's house during a few nights of my stay there.

Tangier is an irregularly built walled town of about one mile in circuit, including the fortress which overlooks and commands it: it is well supplied with water by a covered aqueduct, and generally well furnished with provisions: the several batteries are lined with many pieces of ordnance, among which are two pieces of long brass cannon of fourteen inches caliber; they are mounted on carriages, and stand in a battery near the landing without the city gate: these two enormous brass pieces were made by the Portuguese, and are (judging by the eye) about eighteen feet in length.

Tangier was taken from the Moors in the year 1441, by the Portuguese, who gave it to King Charles II. of England, in a dowry for Catharine of Portugal, his queen. The English kept possession of it for about twenty years; but, finding it subject to continual attacks of the ferocious Moors, from whom it was with great difficulty defended, they blew up its fine mole or basin, (which had before rendered it a safe harbour for small vessels,) to low-water-mark, together with some of the fortifications, and abandoned the place; the mole has not since been rebuilt. I walked over it at low water: a great quantity of the large blocks of hewn stone are now to be seen lying on the solid foundations, which still remain almost entire. On the east

side of, and near the bottom of the bay, are to be seen the ruins of an old town, which is said to have been built by the Romans. It must formerly have been very extensive, from the present appearance of its ruins, and was watered by a small river that runs into the bay near its site. There are several forts and batteries on the eastern shore of the bay, and on Cape Malibat, but they are so badly garrisoned as not to be formidable to their enemies, if any should chance to take shelter in the bay during bad weather: they have only to keep out of the reach of the shot from Tangier. All the Christian consuls near the Emperor of Morocco reside at Tangier, where their persons are protected by order of the Sultan. Those at Tangier are—for the United States of America, James Simpson, Esq.; Great Britain, Mr. Green; France, Mr. Sourdian; Sweden, Mr. Agrill; Spain, Don Orne, Vice-Consul; Denmark, Mr. Scomboe; Holland, Mr. Nijsoin; and Portugal, Mr. Coloso. The consuls at Tangier keep up a sort of etiquette, in celebrating the memorable epochs in the history of their respective countries, and their particular national holidays, which custom is peculiar to Tangier. They also keep up the long established custom of giving consular dinners all in turn round on the arrival of any new consul, or when an old one is recalled, &c. These customs are extremely expensive, but have now become absolutely necessary in order to impress the minds of the Moors with respect for the dignity of the respective nations

which those consuls represent. The Christian consuls general, near the Emperor of Morocco, are, generally speaking, men eminent on account of character, talents, and learning, and have a large salary; for, like foreign ministers plenipotentiary, they are not allowed to derive any emolument whatever from commerce. By accepting of this appointment, they exclude themselves from the society and comforts of the civilized world, and live besides in exile, and in continual jeopardy, being always in the power of real barbarians. They are under the necessity of sending to Europe for all their clothing, liquors, stores, furniture, &c. except a few articles of provisions, and those who have families are obliged to send their children to other countries for their education, though at a very heavy expense. Mr. Simpson left a lucrative commercial establishment at Gibraltar, in 1798, and went to Tangier, merely to serve our government, at a time when war was intended by the Moorish Sultan against our commerce. He succeeded in averting the threatened blow, and in establishing our present treaty with that sovereign. He is a gentleman of unblemished character, and pleasing manners, and has expended a handsome fortune in the service of the United States, over and above his consular salary. He has passed the best of his days in the service of his adopted country, and, in my opinion, deserves a handsome maintenance from government during the remainder of his life, free from the

cares, vexations, and anxieties that are always attached to a consulate in such barbarous countries. Mr. Simpson is a native of Scotland, but a firm American in principle, and an enthusiastic admirer of our excellent institutions.

The whole sea force of the Emperor of Morocco, as I before observed, consists of two frigates of 32 guns each, and the brig Mogadore of 18 guns: the only port he has which can shelter and secure them from the reach of an enemy, is Laresch, which they can neither enter nor sail from when equipped, except at high water spring-tides. There are no corsairs or small vessels belonging to individuals as formerly, nor is there even a merchant-vessel belonging to the Moors. In order to show how much value the present Sultan sets on his ships of war, I must relate in what manner he sometimes disposes of them. About two years since, the Dey of Tripoli sent as a present to the Emperor of Morocco, a beautiful Circassian girl: she was a virgin, and possessed charms with which the old Sultan was so enraptured, that he asked the ambassador who escorted her from Tripoli, what he could send to his friend, the Bashaw, in return for this jewel?—I have nothing but wheat, said he, of which the Dey, your master, can always have as much as he pleases. The Dey, my master, said, the ambassador, is always in want of wheat. But, returned the Emperor, I would return him something more valuable; he has made me a most superb present, and I wish to return the com-

pliment in a handsome manner. Your majesty has frigates, said the ambassador:—So I have, indeed, answered the Sultan, and that gives me much pleasure; go to Laresch, and make choice of one from among my navy: I will have her fitted out in the best manner, and sent round to the Dey directly. The ambassador did not wait a second bidding, but went in haste to Laresch, for fear the sovereign might change his mind; chose a fine new frigate of 32 guns that had but a short time previous been coppered to the bends, which was immediately fitted according to promise, and sent to Tripoh, with the ambassador on board, and where she arrived in safety, being escorted by an English vessel of war. Both Mr. Simpson and Mr. Green assured me, that this statement was correct. The emperor's squadron might be blockaded, at all times, by a very small force—his large ships are, therefore, not at all to be dreaded by any maritime power who has timely notice of his hostile intentions, as they are badly equipped and manned, having now no maritime commerce, and consequently no nursery for seamen. The only port from which he could do any mischief of importance to Christian commerce is Tangier. Should this, or any future Sultan, think proper to declare war against any maritime state, he has only to send money over to Cadiz, Algeciras, or Gibraltar, and purchase fast sailing latteen rigged boats; fit and man them in Tangier immediately, and send them to cruise in the mouth of the straits: thus

they might seize on the unsuspecting and unarmed merchant ships, as they pass along—conduct them into Tangier bay, or to any place along the coast, where they would soon unload and run the vessels on shore, keeping their crews as slaves. In this light alone can the Emperor of Morocco be reckoned formidable to commercial states, and this game could only be played for a short time, until the nation thus attacked could send a force sufficient to destroy the marauders. It would be good policy, however, to keep at peace with the Moorish sovereign, as his rovers, lying at the door of the Mediterranean, might do much mischief; and to be a slave to the Moors, is, indeed, dreadful to a Christian.

Tangier has but little commerce with Europe, and this is chiefly carried on by the Jews; but the English government get their supplies of cattle and other fresh provisions for the garrison of Gibraltar, from that place and Tetuan: this and the other trifling trade is carried on in Gibraltar boats and Spanish small craft. There is a considerable Coral Fishery along the Moorish coast, about Cape Spartel, and while I remained at Tangier, two Spanish boats came into the port with what coral they had been able to procure for the last six months: it was of a beautiful colour, and of an excellent quality; I was informed by one of the boatmen, that in order to get the coral, they anchor in deep water, amongst the rocks, and let down their nets, which soon become en-

tangled amongst the coral, and they then draw it on board: this man said, that they came over from Tariffa, and obtained leave from the Alcayd of Tangier to fish on the coast, by agreeing to give him *one-third* of the coral they should obtain; that he put two Moors on board their boats (one each) to assist them in procuring provisions, water, &c. and serve as safeguards: he said, the whole of the coral they then had was to be divided the next day, when they should sell their share by public sale to the highest bidder, and I afterwards understood from Mr. Simpson, that the French Consul purchased it for *twelve hundred dollars*, and there were twelve fishermen to share the money.

On the 29th of January, 1816, a small schooner being ready to sail for Gibraltar, I took my leave of Mr. Simpson and family, and proceeded on to the mole, in order to embark. This vessel had been hired by a certain Jew, named Torrel, to carry his family across to Gibraltar, which, with two or three other families of European Jews, who would not conform to the dress in which all Jews in Moorish Barbary had been ordered to appear, nor pay the tribute lately levied on them by the Sultan, were ordered to depart forthwith from his dominions. These families came out of the gates of the city, in order to embark together, and proceeded with their baggage to the ruins of the old mole, to go off in the boat, it being low water: they were accompanied by a considerable number of Jews and Jewesses. A few of the

latter, very decently dressed, wished to escort them to the boat, and there to take their leave, &c.—but the Moorish captains of the port, without ceremony, began to brush them back with big staffs they carried for the purpose: these staffs were about five feet in length, and one inch in diameter, and they applied them so unmercifully, and with such singular dexterity, peculiar to the Moors, as to lay many decent-looking Jewish females, as well as males, prostrate upon the beach; when they renewed their blows, in order to raise them on their feet again, and drive them into the city-gate, like so many of the brute creation.

At about 8 o'clock A. M. I got on board this vessel in company with Mr. John Simpson and his lady, who were on a return from a visit to their parents, and after waiting nearly three hours for a letter which the Governor wished to send to Gibraltar, we set sail and left the bay with a fair but light breeze. The scene of inhumanity and oppression I had just witnessed, prompted me to thank my God again that I was not a Jew, and that I was once more free from a country inhabited by the worst of barbarians.

Passing up the Strait, which in one place is only eight miles broad, we arrived safe in Gibraltar bay in the evening; but as we did not get up before the town until the gates of the garrison were closed, we were obliged to remain (forty in number) on board the vessel during the night. On the 30th we were visited very early by a boat from the health office,

and permitted to land. I went on shore immediately, and was received by my friend Sprague with demonstrations of unfeigned joy, and heartily welcomed to that portion of the civilized world, and treated with all the attention that flows from the warmest friendship, and the tenderest commiseration. The American Consul was also attentive to me, and he had also paid attention to the wants of my companions in distress, who had arrived there from Mogadore by sea a few days before me. An acquaintance told me that Mr. Sprague had received Mr. Willshire's letter, informing him of my captivity, on one Monday morning at the moment of his return from Algeciras, a famous Spanish town on the opposite side of the bay, about ten miles from Gibraltar, where he generally spent the Sabbath; that he opened the letter in the presence of, and read its contents to Mr. Henry, United States Consul, a Mr. Kennedy of Baltimore, and some other American gentlemen: that Mr. Henry suggested that a subscription should be opened and sent up to all the Consuls in the Mediterranean, in order to raise money as soon as possible, and transmit it to Mogadore to release us: that Mr. Sprague made no answer whatever to this proposition, but sent his trusty young man (Mr. Leach) out with orders to purchase two double-barrelled guns, while he hastily wrote a few lines to Mr. Willshire and myself, as before mentioned; that there was but one double-barrelled fowling-piece to be procured in the garrison: this was bought at the

price of *eighty dollars*, and taking it, together with his own, which was a very highly finished and favourite piece, he mounted his horse and proceeded as fast as possible to Algeciras, carrying the guns along with him ; from whence he immediately dispatched a courier to Tariffa with the guns and his letters, ordering them to be sent by an express-boat to Tangier, and to the care of Mr. Simpson, to be again forwarded by express to Mogadore. Such disinterested goodness, and such prompt and animated exertions to relieve a fellow-creature in distress, have seldom been recorded, and are above all praise : they are examples of pure benevolence, that do honour to human nature ; and ever honoured and beloved shall he be, who has the heart and the spirit to imitate them.

Mr. Sprague had already paid the bills I had drawn on him in Mogadore for my ransom, &c. and he now furnished me with provisions and stores, for my voyage home, I having determined to go by the first vessel for the United States.— The ship *Rapid* of New-York, Captain Robert Williams, being in readiness to sail for that port, I embarked in her, accompanied by Mr. Savage and Horace ; Clark and Burns having been previously accommodated on board the ship *Rolla*, Captain Brown, of Newbury-port, that was to proceed to the United States by way of Cadiz. We set sail for our native country on the 2d of February, 1816, with a fair breeze, and on the 3d were safe without the Straits.

As Gibraltar has been so frequently mentioned in my narrative, a few descriptive observations respecting it may not be uninteresting to some of my readers. *Gibraltar* is situated at the entrance of the Mediterranean Sea, and is attached to the continent of Europe by a low and narrow neck of sandy land, which, as it lies neither in Spain nor Gibraltar, is called the neutral ground. The rock appears to me to have been originally an island, and the beach, or neutral ground, to have been formed by the heaving up of sand and gravel from the Mediterranean Sea on the one side, and from the bay of Gibraltar on the other. The rock is about two miles in length from north to south, and one mile in breadth from east to west. It rises from the south point in abrupt cliffs, one above another, for about half a mile, when it comes to its extreme height, which is said by some to measure fourteen hundred feet, and by others, seventeen hundred feet from the surface of the water: the top extends, in uneven craggy points, for about one mile to the northward, when it breaks off in one sudden cliff, which is nearly perpendicular to the neutral ground, forming a face nearly as wide as the rock itself, and completely inaccessible. This rock forms probably the strongest fortress in Europe: it has been long in the hands of the English; and is surmounted with batteries of heavy cannon in every direction, and is strongly walled in at every accessible point, so as to be considered impregnable. The western side of the rock,

near its base, is more flatted and less inaccessible; here the town is built, which consists of about two thousand stone houses, and is said now to contain thirty thousand inhabitants, who may be said to compose a very heterogeneous mass: for, as it is a free port, where the vessels and subjects of all nations who are at peace with England, enter with their goods, traffic and depart at pleasure, and are wholly free from governmental duties and impositions, people of all nations, tongues, and kindred, are there to be found. The bay is very spacious, and is capable of containing a vast number of shipping, which may ride in safety, except in heavy gales from the east or south. This fortress is held by the English government as a key, or rather a lock and key to the Mediterranean Sea, the door of which the Moors and Spaniards consider as their property. Its garrison is composed of native English troops, which, in time of war, ought to be seven thousand strong: it is commanded by a military governor, and is always under martial law. The British, with indefatigable industry and immense labour, have formed roads up its steep western side, and constructed batteries, which are mounted with heavy artillery, on its very summit. Its eastern side is steep and inaccessible. In its northern side, next the neutral ground, but some hundred feet above it, excavations have been formed in the massy rock, in which heavy artillery is placed, and pointed through port-holes penetrating the solid front: these batteries com-

pletely command the land side, and are of course bomb proof—they are called the upper and lower galleries, and are of great extent. Among its natural curiosities, St. Michael's cave is the most remarkable:—this commences near the top of the rock, and no bottom to it has ever yet been found by the English, though it has been explored (such is the popular story) for many miles, and the Moors have a notion that it forms a passage under the strait to the coast of Morocco. Thousands of monkeys also inhabit the summit and recesses of this barren rock, but which in time of war is the emporium of the Mediterranean trade.

After beating about for several days, near Cape St. Vincent, with heavy gales of wind from the westward, we steered to the southward into the latitude of Madeira, and I found that the reckonings of the officers on board were up fifty miles before we saw that island, though they had good opportunities to get meridian and other altitudes, which further confirmed me in the opinions I had already formed respecting the Gulf-stream. After passing Madeira, we made the best of our way into the latitude of the constant trade-winds, say from 25 to 28°, and ran down as far as about the longitude of 70°: then steered northward, and arrived in New-York on the 20th of March, 1816, where I was received by my friends and fellow-citizens with demonstrations of joy and commiseration. I hastened to Middletown, Connecticut, to visit my family, whom I found in good

health. Our meeting was one of those that language is inadequate to describe. I spent only a week with them, our hearts beating in unison, and swelling with gratitude to God for his mercies; when what I owed to my friend Sprague, and the remainder of my fellow-sufferers, called me to the seat of government. On my arrival at Washington, I was introduced by the Hon. Samuel W. Dana, Senator in Congress, to the Hon. James Monroe, Secretary of State, who received me in the most kind and feeling manner. The Administration paid from the Treasury my own and my crew's ransom, thus far, amounting to *one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two dollars and forty-five cents*, and assured me that provision should be immediately made to meet the amount that might be demanded for the remainder of the crew, should they ever be found alive. The Secretary, together with many distinguished members of both houses of Congress, advised me to publish a Narrative of my late disasters, which I have faithfully performed, and shall now close my labours with a few brief remarks.

I have spent my days, thus far, amidst the bustle and anxieties incident to the life of a seaman and a merchant, and being now fully persuaded that the real wants of human nature are very few, and easily satisfied, I shall henceforth remain, if it is God's will, in my native country. I have been taught in the school of adversity to be contented with

my lot, whatever future adversities I may have to encounter, and shall endeavour to cultivate the virtues of charity and universal benevolence. I have drunk deep of the bitter cup of sufferings and woe; have been dragged down to the lowest depths of human degradation and wretchedness; my naked frame exposed without shelter to the scorching skies and chilling night winds of the Desert, enduring the most excruciating torments, and groaning, a *wretched slave*, under the stripes inflicted by the hands of barbarous monsters, bearing indeed the human form, but unfeeling, merciless, and malignant as demons: yet when near expiring with my various and inexpressible sufferings; when black despair had seized on my departing soul, amid the agonies of the most cruel of all deaths, I cried to the Omnipotent for mercy, and the outstretched hand of Providence snatched me from the jaws of destruction. Unerring Wisdom and Goodness has since restored me to the comforts of civilized life, to the bosom of my family, and to the blessings of my native land, whose political and moral institutions are in themselves the very best of any that prevail in the civilized portions of the globe, and ensure to her citizens the greatest share of personal liberty, protection, and happiness; and yet, strange as it must appear to the philanthropist, my proud-spirited and free countrymen still hold a million of the human species in the most cruel bonds of slavery, who are kept at hard labour and smarting under the savage lash

of inhuman, mercenary drivers, and in many instances enduring besides the miseries of hunger, thirst, imprisonment, cold, nakedness, and even tortures. This is no picture of the imagination: for the honour of human nature I wish its likeness were indeed no where to be found; but I myself have witnessed such scenes in different parts of my own country, and the bare recollection now chills my blood with horror. Adversity has taught me some noble lessons: I have now learned to look with compassion on my enslaved and oppressed fellow creatures, and my future life shall be devoted to their cause:—I will exert all my remaining faculties to redeem the enslaved, and to shiver in pieces the rod of oppression; and I trust I shall be aided in that holy work by every good and every pious, free, and high-minded citizen in the community, and by the friends of mankind throughout the civilized world.

The present situation of the slaves in our country ought to attract an uncommon degree of commiseration, and might be essentially ameliorated without endangering the public safety, or even causing the least injury to individual interest. I am far from being of opinion that they should all be emancipated immediately, and at once. I am aware that such a measure would not only prove ruinous to great numbers of my fellow citizens, who are at present slave holders, and to whom this species of property descended as an inheritance; but that it would also turn loose upon the

face of a free and happy country, a race of men incapable of exercising the necessary occupations of civilized life, in such a manner as to ensure to themselves an honest and comfortable subsistence; yet it is my earnest desire that such a plan should be devised, founded on the firm basis and the eternal principles of justice and humanity, and developed and enforced by the general government, as will gradually, but not less effectually, wither and extirpate the accursed tree of slavery, that has been suffered to take such deep root in our otherwise highly-favoured soil; while, at the same time, it shall put it out of the power of either the bond or the released slaves, or their posterity, ever to endanger our present or future domestic peace or political tranquillity.

END OF THE NARRATIVE.

APPENDIX.

Observations on the winds, currents, &c. in some parts of the Atlantic Ocean, developing the causes of so many shipwrecks on the Western Coast of Africa:—a mode pointed out for visiting the famous city of Tombuctoo, on the river Niger, together with some original and official letters, &c. &c.

BEING safely at sea on board a good ship, and on my way to join my family, my mind was more tranquillized than it had before been since my redemption, and I turned my thoughts to the natural causes which had produced my late disaster. Upon taking a full view of the subject according to the best of my capacity, I felt convinced that not only my own vessel was driven on shore by a common current, but that most of the others that are known to have been wrecked from time to time on the same coast, have been operated upon by the same natural causes. In order briefly to illustrate my position, I shall begin by stating, that to men who are conversant with maritime affairs, and particularly practical navigators, who have for a number of years traversed the Atlantic ocean to Madeira and the Canary Islands, the West Indies, or Cape de Verds; who have sailed along the African coast—from thence South-eastward towards the negro or guinea settlements, and to those who have been accustomed to navigate towards the continent of South America, sailing along the coast of Brazil, and between that coast and the West coast of Africa, and north of the Cape of Good Hope to the Equator, it is well known that when sailing Southwardly from Europe near the coast of Africa, and in fact nearly across the Northern Atlantic ocean, the trade-winds, as they

are called, set in and generally prevail, blowing from North to N. E. or East from about latitude 32. N. on the African coast:—that farther westward, they only begin in the latitudes from 30. to 26. —in the last mentioned latitude near the coast of America, they generally blow from the N. E. to the parallel of 23. of North latitude, when they turn more to the Eastward as you gain the offing from the African continent. The coast of Africa from Cape Spartel in latitude 34. 40, to Cape Blanco, in about latitude 33, trends about S. W. thence about S. S. W. to Santa Cruz de Berberia, or Agader—the Southern and Westernmost port in the Empire of Morocco, in about the latitude 30. N. and longitude 10. W. from London—it then turns abruptly off to the W. S. Westward to Cape Nun, and continues nearly the same course, about W. S. W. with little variation to Cape Bojador, about latitude 26. N. longitude 16 W.—The whole length of this coast the wind blows either diagonally, or directly on shore perpetually—the reason of this I take to be that the Empire of Morocco west of the Atlas ridge of mountains is very dry and very hot, having few rivers, and those very small, during the greatest part of the year. There are no lakes of consequence, except one near Laesch, to cool the atmosphere, nor any showers of rain, except in winter, to refresh this thirsty earth. From Santa Cruz west through what was formerly the kingdom of Suse, it blows right on shore, from the same causes operating in a stronger degree, together with a variation in the trending of the coast and thence to Bojador, and along the coast of the Great Desert to the latitude of 17. North, and the trade-wind continues to haul round, and actually near the land blows Eastward into the Gulph of Guinea. This Desert is scorched for about one half of the year by the rays of a vertical sun—here nature denies the refreshing rains that fall in other regions; the smooth even surface strongly reflecting the rapid sun's beams, while there are no trees or other objects to intercept the rays and prevent the most powerful accumulation of solar heat, which consequently becomes so excessive during the day-time that it scorches like fire, and the air you

breathe seems like the dry and suffocating vapour from glowing embers: here the wind ceases in the day-time, being literally consumed by the sun; the whole surface thus becomes heated and baked in the day-time, and when the sun disappears from above the horizon, the cooling wind rushes on to the Desert from the ocean to restore the equilibrium of the atmosphere.

The sea-breeze begins about six o'clock in the evening, and continues to increase gradually all along this coast until four o'clock in the morning, at which period it has risen to a strong gale, so that vessels navigating near the land are frequently forced to take in all their light sails by midnight, and to reef down snug before morning, when it begins to lull a little, and about mid-day becomes very moderate and sometimes quite calm. Every practical man knows that the winds drive a current before them on the bosom of the ocean as well as along its shores, that becomes more or less strong in proportion as the gale is light or heavy, and of long or short duration. On this coast the current sets before the wind against the shore—it there meets with unconquerable resistance, and is turned southward: it is always felt from about Cape Blanco, (lat. 33.) southward, and grows stronger and stronger until it passes Cape Bojador, because it is more and more compressed—thence it strikes off, one part to the S. W. towards the Cape de Verd Islands, and the remainder keeps along the coast to Cape de Verd, whence it spreads itself towards the Equator, and some part follows the windings of the coast round the Gulph of Guinea.

The S. E. trade-winds which blow almost continually from the latitude of 30. S. in the Atlantic Ocean to the Equator, and often to the 5th degree of northern latitude—these S. E. trades assist those from the N. E. in heaping up the water in the equatorial region, when both the N. E. and S. E. winds uniting, blow from the eastward, bearing the whole mass of water on this surface towards the American continent: it strikes that continent to the northward of Cape *la Roque*, between the parallels of 6 degrees

south latitude and the Equator, on the coast of Brazil, where the coast turns to the westward;—being much compressed, it runs strongly along this coast to the mouth of the mighty river Amazon, with whose current it is united and borne down along the coast of Cayenne, Surinam, and Guyana, receiving in its way all the waters brought against those coasts by the constant trade-winds from the East and N. E. and all the great rivers which flow in from the southward, among which is the Oronoko, one of the longest on the continent of South America, and that rolls, in the rainy season, an immense body of water to the ocean: I have ascended that river five hundred miles. The current runs so strong at times towards the west along this whole line of coast, (which is mostly low land, and has principally been made on the sea-bord by the alluvial qualities of the waters in the rivers brought down by freshes, which are then thick with mud, like those of the Mississippi,) as to render it impossible for any vessel to get to the windward or eastward by beating against the wind. Its velocity has been known to exceed three miles an hour. This great current is driven westward along the coast between it and the West India Islands, a great part of it entering the Gulph of Paria, south of the Island of Trinidad, where it receives and is strengthened by the waters of the western branch of the Oronoko River;—here the high land, that evidently joined this island to the continent formerly, has been burst asunder, perhaps indeed assisted by an earthquake or some other convulsion of nature: there are here several passages for the current, I think four, (for I write entirely from memory,) through the same mountain, which is of an equal height on the islands and on the continent, and the fragments of rocks which have been torn out and rolled away by this tremendous shock or current, leave no doubt in the mind of the beholder of the reality of such an event. The widest passage is not more than two miles over, the narrowest not more than one-fourth of a mile: these passages are called by the Spaniards, who first explored and settled that part of the country, (as well as the Island of Tri-

nidad, i. e. Trinity,) *Las Bocas del Dragon*, or The Dragon's Mouths. This body of water rushes through these passages with such force, that it is next to impossible at times for a fast-sailing vessel to enter against the current, with a strong trade-wind in her favour, and I have known many vessels bound to Trinidad, obliged to bear up and try for the Leeward Islands, and scarcely able to fetch Hispaniola or Jamaica. This, with what passes northward of Trinidad, is pent in and forced against the Spanish coast of *Terra Firma*, following its windings round the Bay of Honduras to Cape Catoche: by the constant trade-winds which blow from the N. E. to East, they are then driven through between that Cape and Cape St. Antonio, or the western part of the Island of Cuba into the Gulf of Mexico. From the similarity in the appearance of Cape Catoche and Cape St. Antonio, the lowness of the land on both sides, the strait that divides them being only about sixty miles wide, and the fact of soundings being found nearly or quite across the channel, it has been thought, and with every probability of truth in its favour, that the Island of Cuba was once attached to this point of the continent, and the waters heaped up by the foregoing causes in that great bay south of Cuba, at some remote period broke over the low sandy land, tore it down, and formed for themselves a free passage into the great Gulf of Mexico.

The circumstance of the Island of Cuba stretching nearly east and west about seven hundred miles in length, and in many places very high, with the well-known fact of the powerful currents already mentioned setting in upon the coast south and west of it, and the constant easterly winds that prevail on its southern side, leaves very little room to doubt that these strong trade-winds, opposing the passage of the current up the south side of that once vast peninsula, have raised them to such a pitch that they have formed a channel for themselves. This immense mass of water, thus forced into the Bay of Mexico, runs to the N. W. to its northern border, and strikes that shore a few leagues west of the Mississippi river's mouth—thence taking a circular direction round

south towards Vera Cruz and along the south coast of the gulf, seems to lose itself near where it entered at Cape Catoche. In sailing in the Gulf of Mexico, you meet with whirlpools and very strong currents in every part of it, sometimes setting one way, and sometimes another: the gulf being of a circular form, there is no certainty in the currents. During the summer months it is visited by the most dreadful squalls of thunder and lightning, and by water-spouts that have often destroyed vessels. Storms or hurricanes are also very frequent, and calms of a month or two often occur: here that astonishing body of water is joined by that of all the rivers that empty into the gulf, particularly those borne down by that father of rivers, the Mississippi;—thus accumulated and become much higher in the Bay of Mexico than in any other part of the Atlantic Ocean, it forces its way eastward between Cape Florida and the northern side of the Island of Cuba, until meeting the great bank of Bahama in its front, with its numerous keys and rocks, it is turned northwardly along the coast of Florida. Its velocity there in the narrowest part, where it is only about forty miles wide, has been ascertained (and, indeed, I have known it myself) to exceed five miles an hour at some particular seasons. After leaving this narrow passage, it keeps its course northwardly, spreading a little as it proceeds, until it strikes soundings off Savannah and Charleston—the coast then narrows in its western edge again until it approaches Cape Hatteras, where the stream is not more than fifty miles broad, and frequently runs with almost as great rapidity as between the Bahama Bank and Florida shore. From Cape Hatteras its course is N. E. to the shoals off Nantucket Island and George's Bank, where its velocity is about two miles an hour; these obstructions give it a more easterly direction, until it strikes the Great Bank of Newfoundland in the latitude of 42. N. or thereabouts: here it meets with the resistance of the bank, and is turned by it to the E. S. E. There is in this part of the ocean a current which perpetually sets from the northward, south-eastwardly along the east coast of Newfoundland; it is this current

which brings from the coast of Labrador and Hudson's Straits the islands of ice that are so often met with by ships on and about the Grand Newfoundland Bank in the first part of the summer, and which have proved fatal to so many ships and their crews: the appearance of these islands proves beyond a possibility of doubt the existence of that current, which pressing upon, is joined to that of the Gulf Stream, and the whole sets away together towards the Azores; or Western Islands, at the rate of from one to two and a half miles an hour:—this current is felt by all vessels bound from the United States to the Western Islands and Madeira, or the Canaries, that sail in the parallels of the Azores, which all those vessels bound to Madeira, the Canaries, or the coast of Spain and Portugal, and the Mediterranean Sea, generally do. Those vessels that make the Western Islands when bound to Europe generally feel it until they lose sight of those Islands; when in standing away for the northern or central ports of Europe they feel it no more, and it has therefore generally been thought to lose itself near the Azores in the ocean. This is a mistake—for it continues its course for the coast of Africa, making no account of the island of Madeira, though the most of it passes northward of that island in a south-easterly direction, and strikes the African continent from Cape Blanco to the latitude of 29° North. When it comes near this coast, it is again contracted as it feels the effects of the trade-winds near the coast, and rushes forward at times with great velocity against the coast between Cape Blanco and the island of Lanzarote, the northern and easternmost of the Canary Islands, being attracted, as it were, by the vacuum occasioned by the trade-winds and currents which have been before noticed, and which have in a measure drained the waters from the coast, and the continuation of the Gulf Stream increasing in velocity, restores the waters nearly to their former level, which still are kept rolling along before the wind, against and along the coast towards the Equator, and are again driven by the same causes to the coast of America into the Gulf of Mexico, and back again, in what is usually termed the Gulf Stream to the

coasts of West and South Barbary, making their continual round. Ships bound from Europe, say England, France, Holland, &c. to the West Indies, the Cape de Verd Islands, the coast of Guinea, Brazil, or India voyages, or to the west coast of America, generally steer southward along the coast of Portugal, until they cross the mouth of the straits of Gibraltar, where, if they meet with southerly winds, they are drawn towards the coast of Africa by a small indraught setting towards the strait, where a current always runs in; for the waters of the rivers which empty into the Mediterranean Sea are not sufficient to supply the loss from evaporations rendered necessary in order to moisten, in some measure, the parched earth and sand on its southern border, and to cool the heated atmosphere, and support by dews the scanty vegetation on the coast, during the greater part of the year, where no rain falls except a little in winter; so that the surface of the Mediterranean Sea is always lower than that of the adjoining Atlantic. The same causes, viz. great evaporations, tend also to reduce the quantity of water in the open ocean near the west coast of Africa, and particularly that part bordering on the Desert, where very little or no rain ever falls, and the smooth surface of which, baked almost as hard as stone by the heat of a vertical sun, is during the night in some degree refreshed by the strong winds and vapours which come from the sea, as before noticed. These reasons, together with the facts which I have before stated, demonstrate to my understanding, satisfactorily, that in the offing all along this coast, the water must incline towards it, contrary to any general principle of currents; and this is proved, if any doubt did exist, by the vast number of vessels that have from time to time been wrecked on these wild and inhospitable shores, generally near Cape Nun, and from thence to Cape Bojador, and as far south as Cape de Verd. Ships from Europe bound round the southern Capes of Africa and America, generally stop at Madeira or Teneriffe for refreshments, and are not unfrequently obliged to run for Madeira after they get in its latitude, and their reckoning by account is up one, and sometimes two degrees westward before

they find that island; when, had they kept on the courses which they would naturally have steered to reach Teneriffe, they would have been sucked or drawn in by the currents between Lanzarote and Cape Cantin, and driven ashore near Cape Nun before they could suspect they had reached the latitude of that island, and in the firm belief that they were near the longitude of Teneriffe, and consequently two hundred and fifty miles from the coast where they in fact are, and where no human effort can save them from either perishing in the sea, or becoming slaves to the Bereberies, Moors, or Arabs, who inhabit this country. Most merchant vessels steer courses that ought to carry them within sight of the Canary Islands when bound to the Southward, or from the Strait of Gibraltar; they generally experience a southerly current after passing the latitude of Cape Blanco, and have a fair wind when near the coast, with thick hazy weather, so that they cannot get an altitude of the sun: this is a sure sign they are in the S. E. current, over which hangs a vapour similar to that observed over the Gulf Stream near the American Continent, and when these portending signs occur they should stand directly off W. N. W. or N. W. until they reach the longitude of Madeira, and never pass the latitude of Teneriffe or Palma, without seeing one of them. Near these Islands the atmosphere is more clear, and they can be seen from sixty to one hundred miles distant in clear weather. I am particular in advising those ship-masters who are bound that way, by all means to make the Island of Madeira: it takes them but little out of their route, and from thence they will be sure of making Teneriffe or Palma, in steering the regular courses, when by due precaution against indraughts southward of those islands, they avoid the dangers of this terrible coast, and the dreadful sufferings or deaths which await all that are so unfortunate as to be wrecked on them: I have learned from a long experience in trading and navigating from Europe as well as America, to the Madeira and Canary Islands, to the coast of Brazil and South America in general, thence northward across the southern Atlantic, all along

the Coast of Guyana and Terra Firma, from the river Amazon to the Bay of Honduras, through the passages between Trinidad and the Main, Cape Catoche and the Island of Cuba—in the Gulf of Mexico, and in the Mississippi River, to Cuba;—through the Gulf Stream backwards and forwards—along the coasts of Florida to and from different ports in the United States, thence to and from all the West India Islands, and to and from almost every part of Europe, and I can assert, without fear of contradiction from any practical man, that the particular currents I have here mentioned do in reality exist in all those parts of the ocean. I have endeavoured to find out their causes, and now give the reader those I judge to be the correct ones—I presume no man ever took more pains to examine and ascertain the facts on which this theory is founded; having tried the currents whenever I had an opportunity, in different parts of the Atlantic, and very few men have had better opportunities: how far I have succeeded, must hereafter be determined.

When I took my departure from Cape Spartel bound to the Cape de Verd Islands on my last voyage, I steered W. N. W. by compass, until that Cape bore E. S. E. distant ten or twelve leagues, to give the coast a good birth; then I shaped my course W. S. W. and took care to have the vessel always steered a little westward of her course—she was a very fast sailer, and steered extremely easy, and what little she did vary from her course was to the westward: we had a constant fair wind, and generally a good breeze, and were only three days northward of the Canary Islands. I had frequently tried the compasses on the outward bound passage, and found them to be correct, their variation being no more than is generally calculated, i. e. nearly two points about the straits of Gibraltar; I therefore made all the allowance I could suppose necessary, and my courses steered ought to have carried my vessel to the westward of Teneriffe; but I was near the coast, and the in-draught so strong, setting at the rate of at least two miles an hour E. S. E. or two and a half S. E. that my vessel was carried by it out of her course in three days nearly two hundred miles directly

cast broad-side towards Africa, and she must have entered the passage between Lanzarote and Fuertaventura (the easternmost of the Canaries) and the coast of Africa, and so far from the Islands, that we could not discover them, though the Island of Fuertaventura is very high. The current here ran more to the south, sweeping my vessel along with great rapidity towards Cape Nun and the coast—but my course being so far westward, I was carried by the help of the current, which is turned by the coast to S. W. near to the pitch of Cape Bojador, before I could suppose it was possible that we were near it.

Of the great number of vessels wrecked on this part of the coast, very few get as far down; almost all go on shore near Cape Nun, and before they believe themselves in the latitude of Lanzarote, being drawn in by this fatal current and indraught, when they think they are far to the westward, and are many times on the look-out for Teneriffe. The weather is always extremely thick and foggy along this coast within the vortex of this current. If the crews of vessels, even in the day-time, discover land to leeward, westward of Santa Cruz de Berberia, as it trends in some places nearly east and west, having always a strong wind, swell, and current, right on shore, and a tremendous sea rolling on, it is next to impossible for the fastest sailer to escape total destruction by running on shore, where the crew must either miserably perish in the sea, starve to death after landing, be massacred by, or become slaves to the ferocious inhabitants, the most savage race of men, perhaps, to be found in the universe. These barbarians know and obey no law but their own will; their avarice alone sometimes prompts them to save the lives of their fellow mortals when in the deepest distress, in the hope of gaining by the sale, the labour, or the future ransom of their captives, whom they say God has placed in their hands as a reward for some of their virtues or good actions; and it is a sacred duty they owe to themselves, as well as to the Supreme Being, to make the most they can by them. Not less than six American vessels are known to have been lost on this part of

the coast since the year 1800, besides numbers of English, French, Spanish, Portugueze, &c. which are also known to have been wrecked there, and no doubt many other vessels that never have been heard from—but it is only Americans and Englishmen that are ever heard from after the first news of the shipwreck. The French, Spanish, Portugueze, and Italian governments, it is said, seldom ransom their unfortunate shipwrecked subjects, and they are thus doomed to perpetual slavery and misery—no friendly hand is ever stretched forth to relieve their distresses and to heal their bleeding wounds, nor any voice of humanity to soothe their bitter pangs, till worn out with sufferings not to be described by mortal man, they resign their souls to the God who gave them, and launch into the eternal world with pleasure, as death is the only relief from their sufferings.

I cannot omit to inform my readers, that on the 1st of January, 1816, when in Mogadore, I went in company with Mr. Willshire, to pay a complimentary visit to Don Estevan Leonardi, an old man, a Genoese by birth, who had lived a long time in Mogadore—he has, I was informed, exercised the functions of French Vice-Consul there for a number of years—he received us with the compliments of the season; congratulated me coldly on my redemption from slavery; inquired some particulars, &c. &c. after which, and when we had refreshed ourselves with a glass of wine, he told me, that “about the years 1810, 11, he received a long letter from Suse, brought to him by an Arab, written by a Frenchman: this stated that the writer and another Frenchman, whom he named, had escaped from a prison in Teneriffe a few weeks previously, where they had been long confined as prisoners of war; that they stole an open boat in the night, and set sail in the hope of escaping from the Spaniards, who had treated them with great harshness and cruelty; that they steered to the eastward, expecting to land on the coast of Morocco, where they trusted they might regain their liberty, and get home through the aid of the French Consuls; that they made the coast of Suse, and landed a few leagues below Santa

Cruz or Agader, after great sufferings and hardships, where they were seized on as slaves, and stripped naked; and the letter concluded by begging of him to ransom them, and thus save the lives of two unfortunate men, who must otherwise soon perish, &c. &c.—but, said Leonardi, I had no orders from the Consul-General to expend money on account of his government, and accordingly persuaded the Arab who brought the letter to stop with me a few days—his price was *two hundred dollars* for the two, and he was their sole proprietor. In the mean time I sent off a Courier express to Tangier, for orders from the Consul-General, who returned at the end of thirty-five days, with leave to pay one hundred dollars a man for them, but no other expenses. The Arab stayed fifteen days with me, and then returned home in disgust; he could not believe I would ransom them, as I did not do it immediately, but when my express returned from Tangier, giving me leave to buy them, I sent a Jew down with the money to pay their ransom, but when he came to their master, he would not sell them at his former price, for he said he had found them to be mechanics, and demanded three hundred dollars for the two, or one hundred and fifty dollars each. The Jew said, he saw the men; they were naked, hard at work, and appeared to be much exhausted, very miserable, and dejected:—he might have bought one for one hundred and fifty dollars, but would not, as he had no orders to do so. When the Jew was about to return, their master told him if he went away without the men, and the Consul wanted them, he must pay four hundred dollars for them:—now on the Jew's arrival at Mogadore with this news, (continued Leonardi,) I sent off another express to Tangier, who brought back leave to pay the four hundred dollars, at the same time cautioning me not to make any further expenses on their account. I sent down the four hundred dollars to Suse again, and ordered the messenger to buy one, if he could not get both; but their master said, he had been played with and deceived until that time; that if I wanted them, I must pay *five hundred dollars*, and that he would then escort them up to Swearah, and be answer-

able for their safety until they arrived there, but he would not take the four hundred dollars, nor would he separate them; and so the messenger returned without them. The negotiation had already taken up nearly a year. I have expended (said he) about two hundred dollars that I shall never get again, and I suppose the men are dead, as I have not heard from them since." This, if not in the precise words, was the substance of what he said, and I could scarcely suppress the indignation I felt at this recital, nor avoid contrasting the behaviour of this man with that of my noble friend Willshire. This old man is very rich; has no family but himself, and is one of the most zealous Christians, in profession at least, in Barbary; but a sordid wretch, who never knew the pleasure arising from the consciousness of having done a good deed.

While I remained at Mogadore, a schooner arrived there, as I have before observed, from Gibraltar: she was a Genoese vessel, but sailed under English colours, as the King of Sardinia was at war with all the Barbary powers, or at least they were at war with him:—the captain, officers, and crew, were Genoese and Spaniards. She had been more than twenty days on her passage from Gibraltar, having been carried by the current down the coast below Santa Cruz or Agader. The captain told me, he must inevitably have gone ashore near Cape Nun, had not God in his mercy favoured him with a south wind, out of the usual course of nature, on that coast, when he was close to the land: he had been beating for three days against the trade-wind, nearing the coast every day, and could not fetch off either way, though his vessel was a fast sailer, and only in ballast trim. He arrived at Mogadore about the 1st of December, after the wind had been blowing strong, with some rain from the south, for four days: it is only in December and January that these winds occur, and always bring a storm with them, either of wind or rain: this schooner was the vessel in which my second mate and three men went round from Mogadore to Gibraltar.

As the geography of that part of Africa lying in the equatorial regions eastward of that extensive ridge of mountains which borders

its western coast from the latitude 18. N. to the Congo River, and westward of the mountains of the Moon in which the Nile has its sources, has excited much speculation and interest in the learned world, (though it does not come strictly within my province,) I will, nevertheless, make a few brief observations on the practicability of exploring those hitherto unknown countries, in the hope that they may hereafter be useful. And first, it is my decided opinion that no European or civilized armed force, however large or well appointed, can ever penetrate far into the interior of these wild and dismal recesses by land, either from the shores of the Atlantic ocean, or the Mediterranean Sea; because an army on such an expedition would not only have to encounter powerful hosts of savage enemies at every turn, and undergo the severest privations, fatigues, and hardships, but would besides have to encounter the raging heat of this scorching climate, surpassing any thing they may ever have experienced, and the pestilential disorders incident thereto:—these circumstances taken together, could scarcely fail to produce its total annihilation in a short period, and thus frustrate the boldest and best planned military attempt.—Individual bravery, enterprise, skill and prudence, in the ordinary way, by travelling unprotected, are also, in my opinion, entirely unequal to the task, and such enterprises must, I think, always prove abortive. Something might, perhaps, be done by black travellers, natives of that country, tutored expressly for that purpose, and sent off singly from different stations and on different routes; but owing to their confined education and particular train of ideas, nothing very valuable could be expected from their researches. Steam-boats strongly built, and of a suitable construction, well armed and appointed, might ascend the river Congo, (which I am induced from many considerations to believe is the outlet of the river Niger,) and traffic up that river, making important discoveries; but the whole of their officers, as well as all the men employed on board them, should first be enured to such climates, and be persons accustomed to fatigues, privations, hardships, and sufferings; and,

above all, should be guided by the greatest degree of human prudence. A plain and very simple method for visiting Tombuctoo in safety and returning again, might be pointed out by either the American or English Consuls residing at Tangier, Algiers, Tunis, or Tripoli:—to accomplish this journey, the traveller, after being duly qualified, has only to become a slave by his own consent, and a secret understanding with his hired master; being bargained away by the Consul to one of the principal merchants trading to that city in the yearly caravans, and who might be induced to enter into the project for an ample remuneration.

I have been induced to publish the following letters, because they relate to, and throw some light on the subject of my late disaster, &c. and contain some information respecting that part of my crew who were left in slavery on the Great Desert. William Porter was redeemed by my invaluable friend, Mr. Willshire, and arrived in Mogadore, October 18th, 1816:—he landed in Boston on the 11th of December following, from the brig *Adriano* of Duxbury, Captain R. Motley, direct from Mogadore, and is now with me in New York.

These are private and friendly letters, and were never intended for publication by their respective writers. I must rely, therefore, on their good-will and friendship to excuse me for the liberty I take in giving them to the public.

Mogadore, March 10, 1816.

MY DEAR SIR AND BROTHER,

The perusal of your several favours of the 21st and 23d of January, from Tangier, and 1st and 2d February, from Gibraltar, afforded, and will continue to produce as long as the sun enlightens my days, a serenity of mind, an inexpressible something that I have never before felt; a kind of thrilling pleasure unmixed with the usual bitter draught generally attendant on the occurrences of mortals in this world. In rescuing you from the hands of the

Arabs, I have raised up a friend, and I am more than doubly repaid for my exertions (a common act due from one fellow Christian to another) by the kind and overwhelming expressions of gratitude contained in your letters, and the prayers of a good man for my future welfare; a reward above all price. Your letters will always be dear to me, as written by the friend of my heart, and preserved among my family letters.

Our friend, Mr. Simpson, informs me you sailed on the 2d ult. in the ship *Rapid*, for New York—may the Ruler of the waves befriend her, and give her a safe and quick voyage, and grant to you a happy meeting with your family and friends.

On the 30th January I received news of an English vessel being wrecked on Cape Nun; the crew and passengers consist of twenty-one. In consequence of the orders of Mr. Green, and the merchants being called up to *Morocco* with their annual presents, I went on the part of the Christians, and for the purpose of making an application to his Imperial Majesty. I succeeded in obtaining his Majesty's letter to the governor of Tarudant, with orders to purchase them; it unfortunately happens, that between him and Sidi Ishem, (the Moor who has eighteen of them in his possession,) there exists a mortal hatred, and I am now fearful that Sidi Ishem, sooner than sell the Christians at any price, will destroy them, or immediately march them into the Desert; or at least three or four months will elapse before they are redeemed; when had I orders to pay the ransom money, (say three thousand five hundred dollars,) I could bring them all up in eight or ten days.

I am obliged to close this without adding several subjects I wished to dilate upon, in consequence of Mr. O'Sullivan's being ready to go on board, and intends to sail this afternoon.

I remain with sentiments of the greatest esteem, &c.

WILLIAM WILLSHIRE.

P. S. On re-perusing what I have written, I discover I have omitted to mention any thing respecting the remainder of your

crew—I have not heard from Sidi Hamet since you left this place, nor have I received the least information respecting them: I trust in God soon to hear of them, when I will give you the earliest information of the same.—Rais bel Cossim, Nahory, Bel Mooden, &c. all beg their remembrances. Yours, &c.

W. W.

Mogadore, April 14, 1816.

MY DEAR SIR,

I had the satisfaction on the 10th ult. by a vessel bound to New York, to write you a few lines, covering a Vocabulary of the Arabic language, and under the charge of Mr. O'Sullivan. I forwarded the feathers given to you by Sidi Hamet, to which I took the liberty of adding six others, and which I hope will arrive safe, and meet you in the midst of your family, enjoying health, liberty, and content.

Knowing the very great interest you have to hear of the release, or a probability of the redemption of your remaining friends and companions in distress, it is to me a source of the truest pleasure to be able now to inform you, that four of your crew are now supposed to be near Widnoon. Two days ago I received a *scrap* of paper, signed *William Porter*, dated from the same place; but as he can scarcely write his name, I obtained no information from him; nor does he inform me of any but himself being there:—it is through the medium of travellers from those parts, that I learn three persons calling themselves Americans are in the neighbourhood of Widnoon. I have forwarded orders down to purchase them if possible at one hundred dollars per man, or a few dollars more; the only step I could pursue, as no sum is mentioned. I shall obtain an answer in twelve or fifteen days, when I shall be able to form an opinion of the probable cost, and when it is likely they will obtain their liberty. I wrote a consolatory letter to Porter, assuring him of my best exertions being used in his behalf.

The affair of the British brig Surprise, which I informed you of in my last, that is, as it respects the redemption of the crew, is now *involved in a mass of difficulties*; the amount demanded for eighteen persons being upwards of seven thousand dollars. This sum the Governor of Tarudant is not inclined to pay for them, until he receives the instructions from his Imperial Majesty, who I am certain will not agree to pay so exorbitant a price; and the effect will be, his Majesty will countermand the orders given, and they must eventually be redeemed by British funds. His Excellency the Governor acknowledges it is not in his power *to obtain them by force, as they are not within the jurisdiction of the Emperor*. The first cost to their present owner was four thousand seven hundred dollars; on which amount he demands fifty per cent. profit. They might now have been on their way to England, if the business had not been taken out of my hands by his Majesty and the orders of the Consul-General, as the owner of them offered them to me at the first cost, say four thousand five hundred dollars, and would have been contented to receive for his trouble a *double-barrelled gun*, and a little tea and sugar. The business being in the hands of the *Mugizene*, (merchants,) natives of Suse, is *fontey bezef*, (bad enough.) It is now impossible to determine what length of time the captivity of those unfortunate men may be extended to. These circumstances will, I hope, be sufficient to demonstrate the truth of my opinion, so often expressed on this subject.

I shall feel greatly obliged by your communications on the success of your application to your government on the subject of your own captivity, and of the future footing on which the redemption of American citizens in slavery in this country is to be established. I am eagerly and anxiously expecting to hear, I trust, of your safe arrival amongst your friends and countrymen, as the interest I feel for your future welfare and prosperity will always be near my heart. I cannot enjoy the smiles of fortune (if they are ever so kind as to attend me in my passage through this life) without I know my friend is blessed with them also.

I beg to inform you, in the hope you may feel an inducement to visit this country, not only as a probable source of profit, but from a wish of again inhaling the breezes where you first found yourself at liberty, both in body and mind, that our market is again improving, &c.

With best respects to your friends and acquaintances, and in particular to Mr. Savage, I subscribe myself, with sincerest regard and friendship,

Your very obedient servant,
WILLIAM WILLSHIRE.

Captain James Riley.

Tangier, 27th April, 1816.

SIR,

I have not earlier acknowledged the receipt of your favour, dated Gibraltar, 1st February, desirous of being able to give you some satisfactory intelligence regarding the men whom circumstances compelled you to separate from on the Desert. Until yesterday, not any tidings of them had reached me.—Mr. Willshire, in his letter of the 13th this month, advises me he had received from Widnoon a note written by William Porter, but such as did not afford any information respecting his fellow sufferers, as the poor man seems to be but an indifferent scribe. Mr. Willshire adds,—“ It however affords me the sincerest pleasure to acquaint you, that by intelligence from Moorish acquaintances, I have received news that there are three others in that neighbourhood.”

Mr. Willshire had already taken the necessary measures for the redemption of the four—had he known the names of the three he would have mentioned them. In a few days I may expect to receive further intelligence, at the return of an express I sent to that gentleman on the 3d instant. I must, in the mean time, tell you, that I very much dread we shall have difficulties to encounter, in regard to the rate of redemption, because of the unguarded

(though, it must be admitted, very natural) conduct of the passengers who were on board the Glasgow brig, in making great promises, in the view of accelerating their emancipation. These, and five seamen, had already unfortunately fallen into the hands of Sidi Ischem; he was endeavouring to obtain possession of the remainder, and had demanded of the Governor of Tarudant better than seven thousand dollars for the seventeen persons. Should he not be authorized by the Emperor to pay this sum, I am persuaded the owners of the brig will do it, rather than allow their relations to continue in the deplorable situation you so well know. It matters not from what source this villanous demand may be satisfied; the event will operate for a time against the liberation of Christians in similar situations at the usual rates. It grieves me to think that we run the risk of being made early partakers of that more than probable consequence, so much to be deplored.

My family are thankful for your remembrances, and encharge me to assure you of their good wishes.

I am, with regard, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

JAMES SIMPSON.

Captain James Riley.

Mogadore, May 6, 1816.

MY DEAR SIR,

I had the pleasure on the 14th ult. of informing you of four men of the crew of the late brig Commerce being near Widnoon. I have since received a letter from William Porter, who acquainted me of Archibald Robbins being one of them; the names of the others he does not allude to, nor that they are in the vicinity—it is very unfortunate that he scarcely knows how to write, and I can hardly make out his letters.

I am sincerely sorry to observe, that Porter mentions two men to have unfortunately died, and who have gone to “that bourne

from whence no traveller returns;" but *whom, when, and where*, he does not state. I am still inclined to believe, that the four I first mentioned, are in the neighbourhood of Widnoon, as I have received several letters from those parts, in all of which four Americans are stated to be in that vicinity. As the above circumstances, if made public, will only be the cause of regret to the *friends in general* of those unfortunate men, I consider it advisable not to make the same known at present, until I can transmit the names of those two unfortunate men, who have been released from the troubles and miseries of this world, I trust for a better state of existence. I expect shortly to hear from my friend in Suse, respecting the sum demanded for the ransom of Porter and Robbins, and the other two, if they are still living. I assure you that in all my communications respecting the English crew in captivity, I always call the attention of my friends to their liberation, and I trust shortly to hear something favourable in regard to their release.

This letter I have the pleasure to forward you, per the ship *Wanderer*, of *Middletown*, Captain Daniel Hubbard, from whom, being your townsman, I have received the sincerest satisfaction, by hearing mention made of my friend, in terms the most flattering, and grateful to my heart; and this has been a further cause of congratulation to myself; and I am thankful that under the care of an all-ruling Providence, I was the means of rescuing from the hands of barbarians, a fellow-Christian and a friend. The English crew have been upwards of four months in captivity. I have used every exertion for their redemption in my power, but they have proved unavailing, from the want of that prompt and decisive assistance which I should have afforded, had not the funds in my possession been under the restriction of first making on their behalf an application to his Imperial Majesty of Morocco. The Governor of Tarudant refuses to pay their ransom, say 6 to 7000 dollars, and he appears to throw obstacles in my way, not being willing to pay the money, or allow me to do it.

I beg, my dear friend, to reiterate my good wishes for your future welfare, under the blessing of Divine Providence, and remain unalterably, my dear Sir,

Your very obedient servant,
WILLIAM WILLSHIRE.

Captain James Riley.

Tangier, May 27, 1816.

DEAR SIR,

This day month I had the satisfaction of writing to you in duplicate, by way of Gibraltar and Cadiz.

Yesterday I received a letter from Mr. Willshire, dated 12th of this month, informing me he had received a second note from Porter, but without any further intelligence of his former companions, save the unhappy circumstance of two of them having paid the debt of nature—unfortunately he does not mention when, where, or even their names.

Mr. Willshire has received a confirmation of there being four, including Porter, of the crew of the Commerce, in the district of Widnoon; which, as he states, are in fact all that remain.

It does not appear whether it be your former master that has brought the men to Widnoon, or not, but I should suppose it is, and that he does not fulfil his promise to you, as Mr. Willshire acquainted me, one hundred and fifty dollars ransom was demanded for each. This I have instantly determined to pay, and set the unfortunate men at liberty, persuaded government will approve of my not writing for instructions, at the imminent risk of the people's lives.

The crew of the Glasgow brig were still with Sidi Ishem. After many delays started on the part of the Governor of Tarudant, Mr. Willshire, on the pressing invitation of the Messrs. Blacks, has taken upon himself to pay the ransom, and had sent down five thousand dollars in part, in full confidence the people would be

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sent him. I am persuaded their ransom and expenses will exceed your's in proportion to numbers.

Consul Green's application to the Emperor has occasioned them full three months prolongation of their misery. I have for many years experienced the uncertainty of that mode. However pure his Majesty's intentions, his servants' dread of expending monies of the Treasury, but for ostensible purposes, will thwart them.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

JAMES SIMPSON.

Captain James Riley.

P. S. Mr. Willshire mentions that Archibald Robbins is one of the three he has heard of, besides Porter.

Mogadore, 11th June, 1816.

MY DEAR AND ESTEEMED FRIEND,

These few lines I forward by the schooner Rebecca, David Eaton master, bound for Boston, on which I have loaded 220 bales goat skins.

I am expecting the four men, formerly part of your crew, up from Widnoon, in about twenty days. I am not acquainted with their names, except those of William Porter and Archibald Robbins. On the 8th inst. I had the pleasure to effect the release of the captain, passengers, and crew, seventeen in number, of the British brig Surprise, wrecked on the coast of Suse, the 28th December last, when bound from Glasgow to Jamaica. The ransom money paid was *five thousand dollars*, and with expenses of presents, &c. &c. I calculate will amount ultimately to more than seven thousand dollars.

I am anxiously expecting to hear of your safe arrival, as that will afford me the greatest satisfaction.

I remain, in great haste, but with the greatest esteem, my dear friend,

Your very obedient servant,
WILLIAM WILLSHIRE.

Captain James Riley.

Department of State, 24th June, 1816.

DEAR SIR,

We have just received a letter from Mr. Simpson, Consul at Tangier, dated 10th of May, in which he says Mr. Willshire had written to him on the 13th of April, that he had received a note from "William Porter," one of your crew, written at Widnoon, and information from a Moor that three others of your crew had got to the same place. Mr. Willshire knew not how they had been enabled to get there, or whether they had or had not changed masters. He had taken measures to convey information to Widnoon that he would ransom these men. It is therefore to be hoped that they will be ultimately restored to their country and their families; more particularly, as instructions have been sent to Mr. Simpson, authorizing him to pay what may be necessary to accomplish that object. As I have supposed that this information would be satisfactory to you and the friends of the persons to whom it relates, I have hastened to communicate it to you.

With great respect,

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

JOHN GRAHAM.

Captain James Riley.

Note—Mr. John Graham, the writer of the above, is Chief Clerk in the Department of State, Washington City.

Tangier, 24th July, 1816.

DEAR SIR,

Yesterday I received by way of Gibraltar and Tariffa your favour of the 28th of April.—Since my last to you of the 27th of May, forwarded in duplicate under care of Messrs. Hall and Co. of Cadiz, I have not received any further certain intelligence of your people, save that Mr. Willshire says in his last, of the 27th of June, Porter's master had not answered a letter, in which he invited him to bring the man to Mogadore.

I availed myself of the earliest opportunity of sending Mr. Willshire eight hundred dollars, and authorized him to pay in the country, the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars each, for the ransom of Porter, and the three others he had heard of. He has acknowledged the receipt of this money, and I am persuaded you will believe he will have lost no time in employing it for the good purpose it was intended.

On the 11th inst. I received the authority which the Honourable the Secretary of State informed you would be handed to me, respecting the redemption of citizens of the United States, from the cruel bondage that Christians experience whilst in the power of the Arabs. It is extremely satisfactory to me, that I had in a great degree anticipated those orders in the directions given Mr. Willshire: however, I have sent an express with further instructions, in order to expedite the good work the most in my power.

I am infinitely obliged by your kind offers of service, and will certainly avail myself thereof, but being pressed for time to-day, and anxious to send this by return of the boat, must beg your indulgence for further particulars until my next.

His Imperial Majesty, Muley Soliman, arrived here on Monday; hitherto we do not know what stay he may make.

I remain, with great regard,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

JAMES SIMPSON.

Captain James Riley.

Mogadore, October 29th, 1816.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

I have had the extreme pleasure to receive your esteemed letter of the 27th of April, (the others you allude to have never come to hand,) and the interesting account of your meeting with your family and friends, produced in my breast sensations of the most pleasing nature, such as words cannot fully describe. The interest I take in your welfare makes every circumstance of importance; let me request of you not to allow an opportunity to pass without writing to me. I cannot find words to express the sensations I feel when I come to that passage of your letter where you inform me your youngest son, by the general request of Mrs. Riley, your family and friends, has been named William Willshire—the compliment thus paid to my family I shall always consider as one of the most honourable circumstances I can ever experience in my life. I know not what to say. May your son grow up into manhood, adorned with every virtue, and may the choicest blessings of an all ruling Providence be particularly extended to him in this life, and continued through a never ending eternity.

I have now to acquaint you that I redeemed William Porter on the 27th ultimo,) redemption money, one hundred and sixty-three dollars,) and yesterday I agreed for the ransom of *Archibald Robbins*. If nothing extraordinary intervenes, I expect he will arrive here in about sixteen days from this time. I have also news of two men who I think must be a part of your crew, being in the vicinity of Widnoon—their names I do not know, but I have sent a courier to them to bring up information, and if possible, to obtain their hand-writing. I have also heard of another man being a considerable *way down on the Desert*, and I have ordered my agent in Suse to send a Moor to purchase him if possible. I have the greatest pleasure to acquaint you, that at last I am not tied down to a few dollars, more or less, as Mr. Simpson has limited me only to the average price which was paid for yourself and companions.

I beg you will excuse my not writing more fully by this occasion, which is that of the brig Adriano, Captain Richard Motley, bound to Boston. William Porter takes his passage in the vessel. This letter will be forwarded on to New-York, and also a Moorish bridle, as you requested. I do trust you will not hesitate to command me at all times without reserve, in these parts, as it will afford me the greatest pleasure to execute your wishes, and I expect it from the friendship existing between us. I intend shortly to write you a long letter on the manners and customs of this country, with a more particular account of the stations for the caravans in crossing the Desert of Sahara to Tombuctoo, than is at present extant.

I remain, with every good wish and prayers for your prosperity, most unfeignedly and truly,

My dearest Friend,

Your well wisher,

WILLIAM WILLSHIRE.

Captain James Riley.

I have no time to re-peruse what I have written.—Adieu.

FINIS.

THE
NARRATIVE OF ROBERT ADAMS,
A SAILOR,
WHO WAS WRECKED ON THE WESTERN COAST OF
AFRICA,
IN THE YEAR 1810,
WAS DETAINED THREE YEARS IN SLAVERY BY
THE ARABS OF THE GREAT DESERT,
AND RESIDED SEVERAL MONTHS IN THE CITY OF
TOMBUCTOO.

WITH
A MAP, NOTES, AND AN APPENDIX.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET,
BY WILLIAM BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW.

1816.

- ✓ 1. O.K. to 1900
- ✓ 2. Timbuktu, French West Africa
- ✓ 3. Captivities - Barbary states

A.D.

TO THE
COMMITTEE OF THE COMPANY OF MERCHANTS
TRADING TO AFRICA.

GENTLEMEN,

I beg leave to present to you the NARRATIVE of the Sailor, ROBERT ADAMS, in the form which I conceive will be most interesting to you and to the public, and most useful to the poor man himself, for whose benefit it has been committed to the press.

I have the honour to be,

GENTLEMEN,

your faithful and obedient Servant,

S. COCK.

African Office, April 30th, 1816.

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ERRATA.

- page xxxvii, in the Note, for *Yadoos*, read *Ayos*
— 49, line 4 from the bottom, dele *not*.
— 103, line 4, for *The former is*, read *Both are*
— 104, line 6 from the bottom, for *milia*, read *millia*.
— 143, line 12, for *the day after*, read *the day but one after*.
— *ibid.* for *Renagades* read *Renegades*.
-

N. B. In quoting Major Rennell's authority for the distance between *Haoussa* and *Kashna*, (see p. 142, lines 5 and 6), the writer referred to the Map accompanying the first edition of the Geographical Illustrations of Park's First Mission. In a later edition of the Map the estimated distance between the two countries has been shortened. This, however, only furnishes an additional instance of the varying statements of *African* authorities, without affecting the general scope of the observations in *Note 51*; since, whatever be the precise distance between the frontiers of *Haoussa* and those of *Kashna*, the general result of all the statements on the subject leave no reason to doubt that the latter lie considerably further to the eastward than the former, and consequently, in the same degree, more remote from *Sansanding*.

INTRODUCTORY DETAILS

RESPECTING

ROBERT ADAMS.

b

INTRODUCTORY DETAILS.

IN the month of October, 1815, the Editor of the following pages was informed by a friend, that a Gentleman of his acquaintance, recently arrived from Cadiz, had accidentally recognised an American seaman, in the streets of London, whom he had seen, only a few months before, in the service of an English merchant in Cadiz, where his extraordinary history had excited considerable interest; *the man having been a long time in slavery in the interior of Africa, and having resided several months at Tombuctoo.*

Such a report was too curious not to have attracted the peculiar attention of the Editor at all times; but the interest of the story was much heightened at that particular moment, by the circumstance of the recent embarkation of Major Peddie and his companions, to explore those very parts of Africa which this person was said to have visited: and the Editor entreated his friend to assist him by all the means in his power, to find the seaman in question, in

order to ascertain whether he really had been where it was reported, and in the hope that, either by his information or his personal services, the man might be rendered useful to the views of Government in the exploratory expedition then on its way to Africa.

Through the intervention of the Gentleman who had originally recognized the seaman, he was again found, and immediately brought to the office of the African Committee. The poor man, whose name was *Robert Adams*, was in very ill plight both from hunger and nakedness. Scarcely recovered from a fit of sickness, he had, in that condition, begged his way from Holyhead to London, for the purpose of obtaining through the American Consul, a passage to his native country; and he had already passed several nights in the open streets amongst many other distressed seamen, with whom the metropolis was at that period unfortunately crowded.

No time was lost in questioning him respecting the length of his residence in Africa, the circumstances which led him thither, the places he had visited, and the means by which he had escaped. His answers disclosed so extraordinary a series of adventures and sufferings, as at first to excite a suspicion that his story was an invention; and the gentlemen by whom he was accompanied to the office, and

who were present at his first examination, were decidedly of that opinion, when they considered how widely his account of Tombuctoo differed from the notions generally entertained of the magnificence of that city, and of the civilization of its inhabitants. The Editor, however, received from this short examination, and from the plain and unpretending answers which the man returned to every question, a strong impression in favour of his veracity. He accordingly took notes of the leading facts of his statement, particularly of the places he had visited, the distances according to his computations, and the direction in which his several journeys lay; and having relieved his immediate necessities, and furnished him with a trifle for his future subsistence, he desired the man to attend him again in the course of a few days.

It was nearly a week before Adams again made his appearance: but upon his return, being immediately interrogated upon all the leading points of his story, the Editor had the gratification to find, upon comparing his answers with the account which he had given on his first examination, that they were in substance the same, and repeated almost in the same terms. Thus strengthened in his previous opinion that the man's veracity was to be depended upon, the Editor resolved to take down in

order to ascertain whether he really had reported, and in the hope that, either by his personal services, the man might be able to change the views of Government in the expedition on its way to Africa.

Through the intervention of the authorities who originally recognized the seaman, he was immediately brought to the office of the Admiralty. The poor man, whose name was Billings, was in a very ill plight both from hunger and from being covered from a fit of sickness, and he begged his way from Holyhead to London, in the hope of obtaining through the American Consul a passage to his native country; and he had a long and weary journey in the open streets amongst the poor, and in the midst of whom the metropolis was then crowded.

No time was lost in questioning him as to the length of his residence in Africa, and the places he had led him thither, the places he had visited, and the manner in which he had escaped. He related in an extraordinary manner a series of adventures which would excite a suspicion that he was a liar, if it were not for the gentlemen by whom he was surrounded.

purchase or substitute, should be immediate. Upon this understanding, he consented as his presence should be required. He has been induced to enter into this detail on of those who might be disposed to believe he had obtruded his story upon his hearers, either of exciting their compassion, or of exciting their credulity. To obviate such a suspicion, he shew with what difficulty he was induced to leave his country to tell his story; and to state, that he was known to solicit relief from any of the numerous men by whom he was seen and examined. He was, however, to Adams's agreement to stay, a meeting of the African Company having met, the Editor presented them the notes he had taken of the heads of his story, expressing at the same time his firm belief that the man had really been at Tombuctoo; and he had the satisfaction to find that the Members of the Committee concurred in his opinion of the credibility of the man's statements; in which belief they were afterwards confirmed by their personal examination of him. They strongly encouraged the Editor to proceed in the course which he had begun; and recommended him to omit no practicable means of securing the residence of Adams in this country,

writing (the man himself being unable either to write or read) a full account of his travels and adventures, from the period of his departure from America in the ship "Charles" in which he was wrecked on the coast of Africa, until that of his return to Cadiz, from whence he had just arrived.

With this intention, the Editor took measures to render Adams's situation more comfortable, by equipping him with decent clothes, of which he stood peculiarly in need. He was also supplied with a trifle in money, as an earnest of the future recompense which was promised to him, provided he would attend regularly every day until the whole of his story should be taken down. It was not, however, without considerable difficulty that the man could be persuaded to remain during the period thus required. He was anxious to return to his friends after so long and perilous an absence, and had been recommended by the Consul of the United States to join a transport of American seamen which was then on the point of sailing. His desire to be gone was increased by some rumours then in circulation, of a probable renewal of hostilities between Great Britain and the United States. But his objections were at length overcome on receiving an engagement, that even if war should break out, and he, by any accident, be impressed, his

discharge, either by purchase or substitute, should be immediately effected. Upon this understanding, he consented to remain as long as his presence should be required.

The Editor has been induced to enter into this detail for the satisfaction of those who might be disposed to believe that Adams had obtruded his story upon his hearers, for the purpose either of exciting their compassion, or of profiting by their credulity. To obviate such a suspicion, it is sufficient to shew with what difficulty he was induced to remain in the country to tell his story ; and to state, that he was never known to solicit relief from any of the numerous gentlemen by whom he was seen and examined.

Previous, however, to Adams's agreement to stay, a Committee of the African Company having met, the Editor laid before them the notes he had taken of the heads of his story, expressing at the same time his firm belief that the man had really been at Tombuctoo ; and he had the satisfaction to find that the Members of the Committee concurred in his opinion of the credibility of the man's statements ; in which belief they were afterwards confirmed by their personal examination of him. They strongly encouraged the Editor to proceed in the course which he had begun ; and recommended him to omit no practicable means of securing the residence of Adams in this country,

until all the information he could possibly give, had been obtained from him,—whether for the purpose of increasing our general knowledge of the interior of Africa, or of obtaining information on particular points which might be useful to the expedition actually on foot.

After this arrangement was completed, Adams attended the Editor for a few hours daily during the following fortnight or three weeks, for the purpose of answering his inquiries. During these examinations upwards of fifty gentlemen saw and interrogated him at different times; among whom there was not one who was not struck with the artlessness and good sense of Adams's replies, or who did not feel persuaded that he was relating simply the facts which he had seen, to the best of his recollection and belief.

The Narrative now presented to the public is the fruit of these interrogatories.

It is proper to mention in this place, that all the information contained in the Narrative was drawn from Adams, not as a continuous and strait-forward story, but in answer to the detached, and often unconnected, questions of the Editor, or of any gentlemen who happened to be present at his examinations; for he related scarcely any thing without his attention being directed to the subject by a special

inquiry. This explanation will be necessary, to account for the very large portion of his Narrative devoted to the description of Tombuctoo; for it might otherwise appear extraordinary to some of Adams's readers, that his details respecting a place which occurs so early in his adventures, and of which his recollection might be presumed to be less vivid, should be so much more minute than those respecting any other place which he has visited: but the fact is, that Tombuctoo being the point to which the curiosity and inquiries of all his examiners were mainly directed, his answers on that subject were thus swelled to the prominence which they possess in the Narrative.

It has already been stated, that the first inquiries of the Editor related to the places which Adams had visited, and the courses and distances of the journeys between them. Having obtained these particulars, he communicated them to a friend, who was desirous of examining their pretensions to accuracy by tracing them upon a map of Africa, from the point where Adams appears to have been wrecked. The result of this test, as may be seen in the Map prefixed to the Narrative, at the same time that it afforded a most convincing corroboration of the truth of his story, proved that the man possessed an accuracy of observation and memory that was quite astonishing.

Being questioned how he came to have so minute a recollection of the exact number of *days* occupied in his long journeys from place to place, he answered, that being obliged to travel almost naked under a burning sun, he always inquired, before setting out on a journey, how long it was expected to last. In the progress of it he kept an exact account; and when it was finished, he never failed to notice whether it had occupied a greater or lesser number of days than he had been taught to expect, or whether it had been completed exactly in the stated time.

On asking him how he could venture to speak with confidence of the precise number of *miles* which he travelled on each day; he replied, that he could easily recollect whether the camels on any particular journey, travelled well or ill; and knowing that when they are heavily laden and badly supplied with provisions, they will not go more than from ten to fifteen miles a day; but that, on the other hand, when they are fresh and lightly laden, they will travel from eighteen to twenty-five miles a day, he had reckoned the length of his journeys accordingly.

When asked how he came to observe so minutely the *directions* in which he travelled; he replied, that he always noticed in a morning whether the sun rose in his face, or not: and that his thoughts being for ever turned to the

consideration of how he should escape, he never omitted to remark, and as much as possible to impress on his recollection, the course he was travelling, and had travelled, and to make inquiries on the subject. Being a sailor, he observed, he had the habit of noticing the course he was steering at sea ; and therefore found no difficulty in doing so, when traversing the Deserts of Africa, which looked like the sea in a calm.

Enough, it is hoped, has been said to satisfy the Reader that the Narrative is genuine. But the Editor, aware that it might be difficult to obtain credit for so extraordinary a story, was anxious that Adams, before he left the country, should be seen and examined by every gentleman who might wish it, or whose opinions would be most conclusive with the public. Fortunately this wish was fully accomplished: for the story having come to the knowledge of Earl Bathurst, the Right Honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Major General Sir Willoughby Gordon, the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, John Barrow, Esq.* George

* In mentioning the names of *Sir Joseph Banks* and *Mr. Barrow*, the Editor ought not to conceal that Adams had the misfortune, at his first interviews with these gentlemen, and previous to the conclusive corroborations which his story has since received, to excite some doubts in their minds by his account of Tombuctoo, and by his mistakes on some subjects of natural history, (see Notes 15, 18, and 20), but of the *general* truth of his Narrative they did not, even at that early period, entertain any doubts.

Harrison, Esq. Henry Goulburn, Esq. M. P. and other members of the Government who interest themselves in African affairs, and they having expressed a desire to see Adams, he waited upon them in person, and the Narrative was at the same time transmitted to them for their perusal. It is unnecessary to give stronger evidence of the general impression derived from this investigation than is afforded by the fact, that the Lords of the Treasury were pleased to order to the poor man a handsome gratuity for his equipment and passage home: and Sir Willoughby Gordon, in a Letter which the Editor had subsequently the honour to receive from him, expressed his opinion in the following words:—"the perusal of his Statement, and the personal examination of Adams, have entirely satisfied me of the truth of his deposition. If he should be proved an impostor, he will be second only to Psalmanazar."

Although the information thus obtained from Adams did not, in strictness, answer the specific object for which it was sought, that of assisting Major Peddie; yet as his extraordinary adventures, and his details of Tombuctoo, were too curious to be suppressed, it was resolved, with a view to the gratification of the public, and in some respects in

justice to Adams, that the Narrative should be printed for his sole benefit. It was accordingly about to be sent to the press in December last, unsupported by any external evidence beyond the considerations and opinions, contained in the preceding part of this Preface, which was written at that time. And as no sufficient reason then existed for any longer opposing Adams's wish to revisit his home, he embarked on board a vessel bound to New York ; leaving until his return, (which he promised should take place in the Spring), a large balance of the bounty of the Lords of the Treasury, and the expected profits of his Book ; but before his departure he communicated to the Editor such particulars of his family as might lead to the verification of his, and their, identity, if his return to this country should be prevented by his death.

At this conjuncture an opportunity unexpectedly presented itself, of putting Adams's veracity to a decisive test on many important details of his Narrative ; and the intended publication was consequently suspended until the result of this investigation should be ascertained.

The circumstance which produced this fortunate delay, was notice of the arrival in England of Mr. Dupuis, the British Vice-Consul at Mogadore ; to whose interference Adams had ascribed his ransom ; and to whom, con-

sequently, the truth or falsehood, of many of his statements must of necessity be known. No time was lost in obtaining an interview with this Gentleman: and the satisfactory answers returned by him to the Editor's first inquiries, led to further trespasses on his kindness and his leisure, which terminated in his consenting, at the earnest solicitation of the Editor, to undertake the perusal of the entire Narrative, and to communicate in writing whatever observations, whether confirmatory or otherwise, might occur to him in the course of its examination.

The general result of this scrutiny, so satisfactory to the previous believers of Adams, is contained in the following Letter from Mr. Dupuis, which is too interesting and important to admit of any abridgement.

London, 31st January, 1816.

“ In compliance with your request, I have great pleasure in communicating to you all the particulars with which I am acquainted respecting the American seaman who is supposed to have been at *Timbuctoo*; of whom I have a distinct recollection.

“ In the latter end of the year 1810, I was informed at Mogadore, that the ship Charles, of New York, to which that seaman belonged, was wrecked on the Western Coast

of Africa, near the latitude of Cape Blanco: and about three months after her loss, I was fortunate enough to ransom three of her crew; who informed me that their Captain was dead, that the rest of the crew were in slavery, and that two of them, in particular, had been carried away by the Arabs in an easterly direction across the Desert, and would probably never be heard of again. Some time after this, I heard that the mate and one seaman were at *Wed-Noon*; and I accordingly tried to effect their liberation; but after a considerable time spent in this endeavour, I could neither succeed in that object, nor in obtaining any information respecting the rest of the crew. At length, nearly two years after the wreck of the *Charles*, I accidentally heard that a Christian was at *El Kabla*, a remote Douar in the Desert, in a south-east direction from Mogadore; and subsequently I heard of the arrival of the same individual at *Wed-Noon*; from whence, after a tedious negociation, I ultimately obtained his release about a year afterwards.

“The appearance, features and dress of this man upon his arrival at Mogadore, so perfectly resembled those of an Arab, or rather of a Shilluh, his head being shaved, and his beard scanty and black, that I had difficulty at first in believing him to be a Christian. When I spoke to him in.

English, he answered me in a mixture of Arabic and broken English, and sometimes in Arabic only. At this early period I could not help remarking that his pronunciation of Arabic resembled that of a Negro, but concluded that it was occasioned by his intercourse with Negro slaves.

“ Like most other Christians after a long captivity and severe treatment among the Arabs, he appeared upon his first arrival exceedingly stupid and insensible; and he scarcely spoke to any one: but he soon began to show great thankfulness for his ransom, and willingly assisted in arranging and cultivating a small garden, and in other employment, which I gave him with a view of diverting his thoughts. About ten or twelve days afterwards his faculties seemed pretty well restored, and his reserve had in a great measure worn off; and about this period, having been informed by a person with whom he conversed, that he had visited the Negro country, I began to inquire of him the extent of his travels in the Desert; suppressing every appearance of peculiar curiosity, or of expecting any thing extraordinary from his answers. He then related to me, with the greatest simplicity, the manner in which he had been wrecked, and afterwards carried away to the eastward, and to *Timbuctoo*; the misfortunes and sufferings of the party which he accompanied, his return across the Desert,

and his ultimate arrival at Wed-Noon. What he dwelt upon with most force and earnestness during this recital, were the particulars of the brutal treatment which he experienced from the Arabs at El Kabla and Wed-Noon. He did not appear to attach any importance to the fact of his having been at Timbuctoo: and the only strong feeling which he expressed respecting it, was that of dread, with which some of the Negroes had inspired him, who, he said, were sorcerers, and possessed the power of destroying their enemies by witchcraft.

“The probability of the events, the manner of his relating them, and the correspondence of his description of places with what information I possessed respecting them, led me to attach a considerable degree of credit to his Narrative. After repeated examinations, in which I found him uniformly clear and consistent in his accounts, I sent for several respectable traders who had been at Timbuctoo; and these persons, after examining him respecting the situation of that city and of other places, and respecting the objects which he had seen there, assured me that they had no doubt of his having been where he described. So strongly was my belief in the truth and accuracy of his recital now confirmed, that I wrote a detail of the circumstances to Mr. Simpson, Consul-General of

the United States at Tangier : I made a chart, on which I traced his course ; and observed that it extended eastward nearly to the supposed situation of Timbuctoo : I also took down in writing an account of his travels, which I regret that I left amongst my papers at Mogadore ; and although in doing this I had occasion to make him repeat his story several times, I never found that he differed in any important particular from the tale he told at first.

“ The Narrative which you have transmitted to me appears, after a minute examination, and to the best of my recollection, to be the same, in substance, as that which I received from him at Mogadore. The chain of events is uniformly the same ; but I think he entered more into detail on many points, in the relation which he gave to me. I do not enlarge upon this subject here, having pointed out in the Notes which I have made on the Narrative, the few passages in which I found it differ materially from what I recollect of his statements at Mogadore. I have also mentioned such circumstances as corroborated any part of his statements ; and I have added, according to your desire, such illustrations or incidental information, as occurred to me in perusing the Narrative.

“ Being quite satisfied from your description of the person of the American seaman, and from the internal

evidence of the Narrative, that "*Robert Adams*" is the identical individual who was with me at Mogadore, I must not, however, omit to inform you, that the name by which he went in Africa was *Benjamin Rose*; by which name also he was known to those of the crew of the Charles who were ransomed.

"I cannot say that I am much surprised at this circumstance, because I recollect that he once hinted during his residence at Mogadore that "*Benjamin Rose*" was not his real name: and from the great apprehensions which he always discovered, lest he should fall in with, or be impressed by a British Man of War, as well as from the anxiety which he shewed on being sent to Tangier, so near to Gibraltar, I could not help suspecting that he might have some reasons of his own, connected with the British Naval service, for going under a feigned name. This conjecture was in some degree confirmed by an acknowledgement which he made, that he had once been on board a British Man of War, either on service, or detained as a prisoner.

"There is another circumstance which he mentioned to me at Mogadore, which may possibly have led to this change of name. He told me that he had quitted America to avoid a prosecution with which he was threatened for

the consequences of an amour, which he was unwilling to make good by marriage. But on the whole, I am disposed to think that the former was the real cause ; since he never expressed any reluctance to go to America, but always seemed to dread the idea of visiting Europe. I never doubted at Mogadore that he was an American, as he stated ; and on one occasion, he discovered an involuntary exultation at the sight of the American flag, which seemed quite convincing. He told me that he was born up the river of New York, where his father lived when he quitted America ; and I learnt, either from himself or from some other of the Charles's crew, that his mother was a Mulatto, which circumstance his features and complexion seemed to confirm.

“ On the whole, as I consider it not improbable that *Adams* may be his real name, and being at all events quite satisfied, that he is the person whom I knew at Mogadore, I have, (to avoid confusion) adopted the name which he bears in the Narrative, when I speak of him in my Notes.

“ I shall be very happy if this explanation, and the details into which I have entered in the Notes, prove of any interest : if you think them of sufficient importance, I can have no possible ground for objecting to their being made public.”

“ JOSEPH DUPUIS.”

Fortified by this important testimony, the Narrative is now presented to the public, with a *garantée* for its substantial veracity, which happily supercedes, though it does not render the less interesting, the presumptive and internal evidence to which the Reader's attention has already been directed.

The Editor reserves for another place, a brief review of the extent to which Mr. Dupuis' communications thus confirm the Narrative; together with an examination of those parts of it which still rest on the unsupported authority of the Narrator. But he cannot omit this, the earliest, opportunity, of publicly acknowledging his great personal obligations to that Gentleman, not merely for his examination of the Narrative, and for the confirmation which his Letter and Notes have lent to it, but peculiarly for the ready kindness with which he has yielded to the Editor's request, in extending his interesting Remarks on some particular occasions, further than the mere confirmation of Adams's Narrative in strictness seemed to require.

To this additional encroachment on the leisure of Mr. Dupuis, the Editor was impelled by information, that few persons were better qualified to give original and accurate details respecting the natives of Barbary and the Desert; — a residence of eight years in the dominions of the

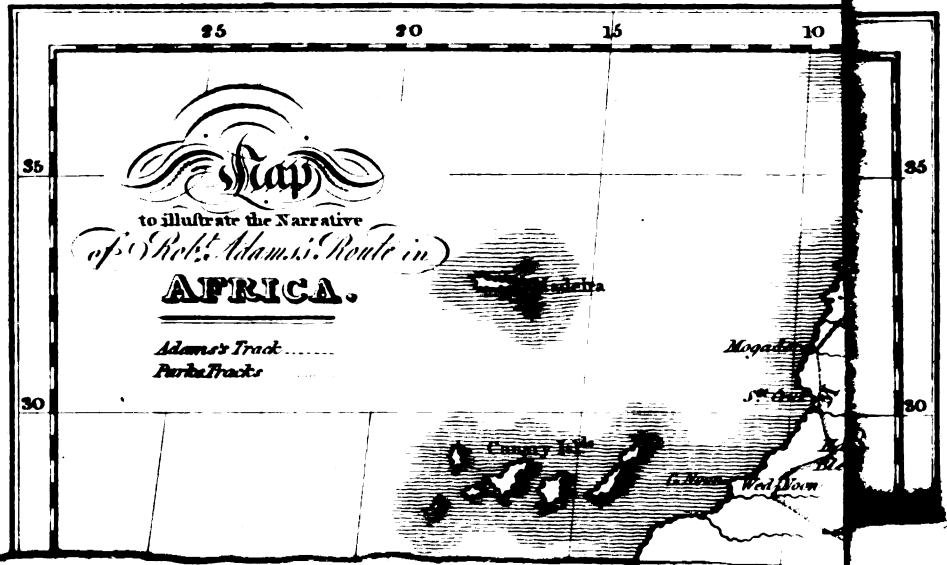
Emperor of Morocco,—(more than half of which period in an official character),—and an eminent proficiency in the Arabic language, and in its very difficult pronunciation, having afforded to him facilities of accurate communication with the natives, to which very few of our countrymen have ever attained.

The Editor's particular acknowledgements are also due to two Gentlemen, Members of the African Committee (whom he should have been glad to have had permission to name), whose contributions will be found in this publication: to the one, for a Dissertation of great practical importance on the Upper Regions of the Niger, inserted in the Appendix, No. I.;—and to the other, for the Map already alluded to, and for various Notes and Remarks with which, during the Editor's temporary absence, from ill health, he has had the kindness to illustrate the Narrative.

In conclusion, the Editor has only to add the assurance (which however he trusts is hardly necessary), that the Narrative itself is precisely in the same state now, as when it was read at the offices of the Colonial Secretary of State, and of the Quarter-Master-General;—not a single liberty either of addition or suppression having been taken with the plain statements of Adams: even the imperfect

orthography of the names of places, as they were first written to imitate Adams's pronunciation, remains uncorrected ; in order that the Reader may judge for himself of Adams's approach to accuracy, in this respect, by comparing his recollections of the names of places and persons, with those accurately furnished by Mr. Dupuis.

April 30th, 1816.



ADVERTISEMENT TO THE MAP.

IN conformity with the reported computation of the master of the "Charles," the scene of the shipwreck has been placed in the Map four hundred miles north of the Senegal, or about the 22d. degree of north latitude.

The *ruled line* drawn from this point represents Adams's recollected courses to Tombuctoo and Wed-Noon, extracted from the Narrative at his highest estimates of distance.* The *dotted line* from the same point is given as the assumed real track of these journeys: being an adaptation of the former line to the positions assigned by the best authorities to the cities of Tombuctoo and Wed-Noon; and the difference between these two lines will shew the extent of allowance for errors in reckoning which Adams's statements appear to require.

It is evident, however, that the accuracy of the first part of these journeys (from the coast to Tombuctoo) must

* See the Table at p. 156.

depend altogether upon the correctness of the assumed point of departure from which it is traced; and it will probably be remarked, that as the fact of the shipwreck proves the master to have been mistaken in his estimate of longitude, we may fairly presume that he was at least equally mistaken in his latitude; since the known direction of the currents which prevail on this part of the African coast (by which he was probably misled) would doubtless carry the ship at least as far to the *southward* of her reckoning, as the fact of the wreck proves that she was carried to the *eastward*.

Admitting the force of this consideration, we may observe, that in the degree in which it tends to invalidate the accuracy of the master's estimate, it corroborates the precision of Adams's recollections—his line of journey (as now traced from the master's position of the shipwreck), lying actually a little further to the *north* than is requisite to bring him to the supposed situation of Tombuctoo.

There is not, however, any sufficient ground for believing that Captain Harrison's estimates, after the loss of his ship, did not include all the allowances for the effect of the currents, which we are now contemplating, and which that misfortune was calculated to suggest; and we are, consequently, not at liberty to deviate from his opinion merely

to fit the circumstances to Adams's story. Nevertheless, this opinion (which *may* be erroneous) must be taken, in conjunction with Adams's description of the place where they were cast away ; and the only certain conclusion thus deducible from the Narrative appears to be,—that the “ Charles ” was wrecked on a ledge of low rocks, projecting from a level sandy coast, not far from the latitude of Cape Blanco.

With respect to other positions in the Map, we have only to explain,—that the latitude of Park's lines of journey from the Gambia to Silla is adjusted from the data afforded by his last Mission ; but that Major Rennell's situation of Tombuctoo has been retained.

A conjectural junction has been suggested between Adams's river La Mar Zarah and the Niger ; and a suppositious course has also been assigned to the latter river, above the point to which Park's personal observation extended, in order to illustrate the question discussed in the Appendix, No. I.

In a publication professedly intended to promote, in however trifling a degree, our acquaintance with the interior of Africa, it has not appeared improper to advert to the question of the termination of the *Niger* ; and the outline of the Map has accordingly been extended to the *Zaire*

and the *Nile*, in order to afford a glance at the great points of this much agitated question. It is not, however, our intention to mix further in this discussion. The problem which has excited so strong an interest, is now, we trust, in a fair way of being satisfactorily solved, by the joint labours of the double expedition which is actually on foot; and it has been, in the mean time, so ably illustrated in all its parts, by Major Rennell in his Geographical Illustrations of Park's first Travels,—by the Editor of Park's Second Mission,—and by the most respectable of our periodical publications, that it would appear a little presumptuous in us to expect that we could throw any new interest into the discussion. But desirous of contributing our mite of information to the *facts* upon which the discussion itself is founded, we shall offer no apology for inserting, in this place, the substance of a communication with which we have been favoured by a gentleman upon whose statements we can rely, and who has resided, at different intervals, a considerable time at the settlement of *Lagos*, and at other stations on the coast of the *Bight of Benin*.

We learn from our informant that the *Haoussa** traders who, previous to the abolition of the slave trade, were continually to be met with at *Lagos*, 'still come down to that

* Pronounced by the Negroes as if it were written *A-Houssa*.

mart, though in smaller bodies. The result of his frequent communications with them respecting the journey to their own country and the Negro nations through which it lay, has strongly persuaded him of the practicability of a body of Europeans penetrating in that direction to the Niger, with proper precautions, under the protection of the Haoussa merchants; and of insuring their safe return by certain arrangements to be made between the adventurers, themselves (countenanced by the authority of the Governors of the neighbouring forts),—their Haoussa conductors, and the settled native traders on the coast. The principal Negro nation on the journey are the *Joos*,* a powerful and not ill-disposed people; and, nearer the coast, (avoiding the Dahomey territories), the *Anagoos* and the *Mahees*; the latter of whom are stated to be an industrious people and good planters. Cowries alone would be necessary, for sustenance or presents, during the whole of the journey.

But it is principally with reference to the nature of the country which lies between the coast and Haoussa that we notice this communication. The traders describe their journey to the coast as occupying between three and four months, which is as much time as they require for the journey from Haoussa to the Gambia; the difficulties and

* *Yos*, or *Yadoos* in D'Anville's maps.

delays incidental to the former journey counterbalancing its shorter distance. These difficulties are invariably described as resulting from the numerous *rivers, morasses,* and *large lakes* which intersect the countries between Haoussa and the coast. Some of these lakes are crossed by the traders on rafts of a large size capable of transporting many passengers and much merchandize at one passage; and here the travellers are often detained a considerable time until a sufficiently large freight of passengers and goods happens to be collected. On no occasion does our informant recollect that the Haoussa traders have spoken of a range of *mountains* which they had to cross in coming down from their own country, and he has no idea that any such range exists in that direction, as the traders spoke only of morasses and other impediments from *water*.

We hardly need to observe that these statements appear to remove some of the difficulties which have been objected to the prolongation of the course of the Niger to the southward, either to the kingdom of Congo or to the Gulf of Guinea, in consequence of the supposed barrier of the *Jibbel Kumri*, or mountains of the moon; but the details are of course too vague to supply any argument in favour of either of the particular systems here alluded to respecting

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE MAP.

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the termination of the Niger,—either of the conjectural theory of Reichard, or of the more reasoned system which Park adopted, and which is so ably illustrated and enforced in one of the publications* to which we have already alluded.

* See the Quarterly Review for April 1815, Art. VI.

NARRATIVE, &c.

B

CHAPTER I.

Departure from New York on board the "Charles."—Names of the Crew.—Arrival at Gibraltar.—Voyage to the Isle of Mayo—ignorance of the Captain—the ship is wrecked on the Western coast of Africa—the Crew saved, but are enslaved by the Moors.—El Gazie.—Description of the Moors, and their proceedings.—French Renegade.—Sufferings of the Crew.—Death of Captain Horton.—Separation of the Crew, and departure of the Moors from El Gazie.—Adams is conveyed eastward into the Desert—mode of travelling—arrival at the encampment of the Moors.—Employment there.—Expedition to steal Negro slaves at Soudenny.—Sufferings in traversing the Desert.—Arrival near Soudenny.—The Moors seize a Woman and two Children—are themselves surprised by the Negroes; taken prisoners; and confined in the town.—Soudenny, and its inhabitants.—The prisoners are conveyed by a party of armed Negroes to Tombuctoo.—Journey thither; during which fourteen of the Moors are put to death.—Arrival at Tombuctoo.—

NARRATIVE, &c.

CHAPTER I.

ROBERT ADAMS, aged 25, born at *Hudson*, about one hundred miles up the North River, from New York, where his father was a sail maker, was brought up to the seafaring line, and made several voyages to Lisbon, Cadiz, Seville, and Liverpool.

On the 17th of June 1810, he sailed from New York in the ship *Charles*, John Horton master, of 280 tons, Charles Stillwell owner ; laden with flour, rice, and salted provisions, bound to Gibraltar.

The crew consisted of the following persons :

Stephen Dolbie, mate,

Thomas Williams,

Martin Clarke,

Unis Newsham,

Nicholas (a Swede),

John Stephens,

John Matthews,

James Davison,

Robert Adams,

shipped at New York.

The vessel arrived in twenty-six days at Gibraltar, where the cargo was discharged. Here she was joined by Unis Nelson, another sailor : she lay at Gibraltar about a month, and after taking in sand ballast, 68 pipes of wine, some blue nankeens, and old iron, proceeded on her voyage, the Captain stating that he was bound to the Isle of May, for salt, but afterwards it appeared that he was going on a trading voyage down the coast. (1) When they had been at sea about three weeks, Adams heard two of the crew, Newsham and Matthews, who were old sailors, and had been on the coast before, speaking to the mate, stating their opinion that the Captain did not know where he was steering : the ship's course was then south south-west : they said

he ought to have steered to the northward of west.* They had to beat against contrary winds for eight or nine days afterwards ; and on the 11th of October, about 3 o'clock in the morning, they heard breakers ; when Matthews, the man at the helm, told the mate who was keeping watch, that he was sure they were near the shore ; to which the mate replied, that " he had better mind the helm, or his wages would be stopped." An hour afterwards the vessel struck, but there was so much fog that the shore could not be seen. The boat was immediately hoisted out, and the mate and three seamen got into it, but it instantly swamped. The four persons who were in it, swam, or were cast ashore by the surf : soon after a sea washed off four or five more of the crew, including Adams ; but as all of the ship's company could swim, except Nicholas, and the mate, they reached the shore without much difficulty ; the latter two were nearly exhausted, but no lives were lost. When morning came, it appeared that the ship had struck on a reef of rocks that extended about three quarters of a mile into the sea, and were more than twelve feet above the surface at low water. The place, according to the Captain's reckoning, was about four hundred miles to the northward of Senegal.

* These courses, whether from the fault of Adams's memory, or of the judgment of the " old sailors," hardly seem to warrant the consequences here ascribed to them.

Soon after break of day they were surrounded by thirty or forty Moors, who were engaged in fishing on that coast, by whom Captain Horton and the ship's company were made prisoners. The vessel bilged: the cargo was almost entirely lost; and what remained of the wreck was burnt by the Moors, for the copper bolts and sheathing; but as they had no tools wherewith to take off the copper, they saved little more than the bolts. The place, which was called *El Gazie*, (2) was a low sandy beach, having no trees in sight, nor any verdure. There was no appearance of mountain or hill; nor (excepting only the rock on which the ship was wrecked) any thing but sand as far as the eye could reach.

The Moors were straight haired, but quite black; their dress consisted of little more than a rug or a skin round their waist, their upper parts and from their knees downwards, being wholly naked. The men had neither shoes nor hats, but wore their hair very long: the women had a little dirty rag round their heads by way of turban. They were living in tents made of stuff like a coarse blanket, of goat's hair, and sheep's wool interwoven; but some of them were without tents, until they were enabled to make them of the sails of the ship; out of which they also made themselves clothes. The men were circumcised. They

appeared to be provided with no cooking utensil whatever. Their mode of dressing fish was by drying it in the sun, cutting it into thin pieces, and letting it broil on the hot sand ; but they were better off after the wreck, as they secured several pots, saucepans, &c. So extremely indigent were these people, that when unable to catch fish, they were in danger of starving ; and in the course of fourteen days, or thereabouts, that they remained at El Gazie, they were three or four days without fish, owing to the want of proper tackle. Among the articles in a chest that floated ashore, was fishing tackle, which the crew of the Charles offered to shew the Moors how to use, and to assist them in fishing ; but they refused to be instructed, or to receive any assistance. At length, having accumulated enough to load a camel, they raised their tents and departed, taking with them their prisoners.

Besides the Moors there was a young man in appearance a Frenchman, but dressed like a Moor. As captain Horton spoke French, he conversed with this man, who told him that about a year before he had made his escape from Santa Cruz, in the Canary Islands, in a small vessel, with some other Frenchmen ; and that having approached the shore to procure goats, they had found it impossible to get the vessel off again, on account of the surf, and were taken

prisoners; his companions had been sent up the country. As he associated, and ate and slept with the Moors, Adams was of opinion that he had turned Mohammedan, although he assured Captain Horton that he had not done so. (3)

On the landing of the Captain and crew, the Moors stripped all of them naked, and hid the clothes under ground, as well as the articles which they had collected from the ship, or which had floated ashore. Being thus exposed to a scorching sun, their skins became dreadfully blistered, and at night they were obliged to dig holes in the sand to sleep in, for the sake of coolness.

This was not the only evil they had to encounter, for as the Moors swarmed with lice, Adams and his companions soon became covered with them.

About a week after landing, the Captain became extremely ill, and having expressed himself violently on the occasion of his being stripped, and frequently afterwards using loud and coarse language, and menacing gestures, he was at length seized by the Moors and put to death. The instrument they used on the occasion was a sword, which they found in the cabin: the Captain used no resistance; he was in fact so reduced by sickness, and was in such a state of despondency, that he frequently declared he wished for

death. It was the manner of the Captain that gave offence, as the Moors could not understand what he said, any more than he could understand them. One thing in particular, about which Adams understood the Moors to quarrel with him was, that as he was extremely dirty, and (like all the party) covered with vermin, they wished him to go down to the sea to wash, and made signs for him to do so. But partly from an obstinacy of disposition, and partly from the lassitude brought on by sickness and despair, he refused to do as desired ; and whenever pressed to do so, used the most threatening looks, actions, and words. (4)

When the vessel struck, the Captain gave orders that the heads of the wine casks should be knocked in, in the hope of thereby making her float ; and when he found that did not succeed, he ordered that the guns, flour, anchors, &c. should be thrown overboard, and the water started. In the confusion and alarm, the muskets and powder were also thrown overboard ; otherwise the party might have had the means of defending themselves against the Moors who appeared on their first landing, the number of whom did not exceed forty or fifty people ; but though the Captain was a man of courage, he appeared to be utterly deprived of reflection after the vessel had struck. He was also an excellent navigator, but relied too much upon the mate.

After they had remained about ten or twelve days, until the ship and materials had quite disappeared, the Moors made preparation to depart, and divided the prisoners among them, carefully hiding in the sand every thing they had saved from the wreck. Adams, the mate, and Newsham were left in the possession of about twenty Moors, (men, women, and children,) who quitted the sea coast, having four camels, three of which they loaded with water, and the other with fish and baggage. They travelled very irregularly, sometimes going only ten or twelve miles a day, but often considerably more, making upon an average about fifteen miles a day ; occasionally going two or three days without stopping, except at night, at others resting a day or two ; on which occasions they pitched the tents to recruit the camels.

Except one woman, who had an infant, which she carried on her back, the whole of the party went on foot. The route was to the eastward, but inclining rather to the south than to the north of east, across a desert sandy plain, with occasional low hills and stones. At the end of about thirty days, during which they did not see any human being, they arrived at a place, the name of which Adams did not hear, where they found about thirty or forty tents, and a pool of water, surrounded by a few shrubs, which,

was the only water they had met with since quitting the coast.

In the first week after their arrival, Adams and his companions being greatly fatigued, were not required to do any work, but at the end of that time they were put to tend some goats and sheep, which were the first they had seen. About this time John Stevens arrived, under charge of a Moor, and was sent to work in company with Adams. Stevens was a Portuguese, about eighteen years of age. At this place they remained about a month.

The mate offered the Moors one hundred dollars to take the party to Senegal, which was called by the Moors Agadeer Bomba,* which they refused; but, as Adams understood, they were willing to take them to a place called Suerra.⁽⁵⁾ Not being acquainted with this place, they objected to go thither; but when they began to learn the language, they found that what was called *Suerra*, meant *Mogadore*. The mate and Newsham remained only a few days at the place at which they were stopping, when they went away with some of the Moors in a northerly direction. It was very much the desire of Adams and Stevens to continue in company with the mate and the others, but they were not permitted.⁽⁶⁾

* "Agadeer Doma." D.

Some days after, it was proposed by the Moors to Adams and Stevens to accompany them in an expedition to Soudenny to procure slaves. It was with great difficulty they could understand this proposal, but the Moors made themselves intelligible by pointing to some Negro boys who were employed in taking care of sheep and goats; and as they frequently mentioned the word "Suerra," Adams at last made out, that if he and Stevens would join in the expedition, they should be taken to that place. Being in the power of the Moors, they had no option, and having therefore signified their consent, the party, consisting of about eighteen Moors and the two whites, set off for Soudenny, taking with them nine camels, laden with water and barley flour, procured at the place at which they had stopped. After proceeding two days, they were joined by twelve other Moors, and three more camels, and then the whole party set off to cross the Desert,* proceeding south south-east; travelling at first at the rate of from fifteen to twenty miles a day. It was the expectation of the Moors, that by travelling at that rate for ten days, they should come to a place where water was to be procured; but the weather having been exceedingly hot, and the season dry, when

* Adams calls "the Desert" only those parts of the great Sahara, which consist of loose sand, without any traces of vegetation.

they arrived at the spot (which they did in ten days) where the water was expected, which seemed to be a well about eight or nine feet deep, it was found quite dry. By this time their water running very short, they resorted to the expedient of mixing the remainder of their stock with the camel's urine, and then set out again on their journey to Soudenny, pursuing a course rather more southerly, in the neighbourhood of which they arrived in about four days more. About two days journey from this place they appeared to have left the Desert, the country began to be hilly, and they met with some small trees.

Soudenny is a small negro village, having grass and shrubs growing about it, and a small brook of water. The houses are built of clay, the roofs being composed of sticks laid flat, with clay on the top. For a week or thereabouts, after arriving in the neighbourhood of this place, the party concealed themselves amongst the hills and bushes, lying in wait for the inhabitants; when they seized upon a woman with a child in her arms, and two children (boys), whom they found walking in the evening near the town. (7)

During the next four or five days the party remained concealed, when one evening, as they were all lying on the ground, a large party of Negroes, (consisting of forty or fifty men,) made their appearance, armed with daggers and

bows and arrows, who surrounded and took them all prisoners, without the least resistance being attempted, and carried them into the town ; tying the hands of some, and driving the whole party before them. During the night, above one hundred Negroes kept watch over them. The next day they were taken before the Governor, or chief person, named Mahamoud, a remarkably ugly Negro, who ordered that they should all be imprisoned. The place of confinement was a mere mud wall, about six feet high, from whence they might readily have escaped (though strongly guarded), if the Moors had been enterprising ; but they were a cowardly set. Here they were kept three or four days, for the purpose, as it afterwards appeared, of being sent forward to Tombuctoo, which Adams concluded to be the residence of the king of the country.

The better order of natives at Soudenny wear blue nankeen, in the manner of a frock ; but are entirely without shoes, hats, or turbans, except the Chief, who at times wears a blue turban. The distinguishing ornament of the Chief is some gold worked on the shoulder of his frock, in the manner of an epaulette ; some of the officers about him were ornamented in a similar manner, but with smaller epaulettes. Their arms were bows and arrows ; the former about four feet long, with strings made of the skin of some

animal ; the arrows were about a foot and a half long, not feathered. The Negroes frequently practised shooting at small marks of clay, which they scarcely ever missed at fifteen or twenty yards distance.

The houses have only a ground floor ; and are without furniture or utensils, except wooden bowls, and mats made of grass. They never make fires in their houses. The lower order of people wear blankets, which they buy from the Moors. After remaining about four days at Soudenny, the prisoners were sent to Tombuctoo, under an escort of about sixty armed men, having about eighteen camels and dromedaries.

During the first ten days, they proceeded eastward at the rate of about fifteen to twenty miles a day, the prisoners and most of the Negroes walking, the officers riding, two upon each camel or dromedary. As the prisoners were all impressed with the belief that they were going to execution, several of the Moors attempted to escape ; and in consequence, after a short consultation, fourteen were put to death, by being beheaded at a small village at which they then arrived ; and as a terror to the rest, the head of one of them was hung round the neck of a camel for three days, until it became so putrid that they were obliged to remove it. At this village the natives wore gold rings in their ears,

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sometimes two rings in each ear. They had a hole through the cartilage of the nose, wide enough to admit a thick quill, in which Adams saw some of the natives wear a large ring of an oval shape, that hung down to the mouth.

They waited only one day at this place, and then proceeded towards Tombuctoo, shaping their course to the northward of East: and quickening their pace to the rate of twenty miles a day, they completed their journey in fifteen days.

CHAPTER II.

Imprisonment of the Moors at Tombuctoo—Adams an object of curiosity, and kindly treated.—King and Queen; Woollo and Fatima.—Their Dress, Ceremonies, Residence, and Attendants.—Muskets.—Curiosity of the natives to see Adams.—Tombuctoo—La Mar Zarah—Canoes—Fish—Fruits—Vegetables—Grain.—Food prepared from the Guinea-corn—Animals.—Heirie—Elephant-hunt.—Birds: Ostriches.—Sulphur—Poisonous preparation of the Negroes for their Arrows.—Persons and Habits of the Negroes—Incisions in their Faces—Dress—Ornaments—and Customs—Musical Instruments—Dancing—Military Excursions against Bambarra—Slaves—Criminal Punishments—Articles of Trade—Jealous precautions of the Negroes against the Moors; their kindness to Adams.—Rain.—Names of Countries.—Words in the Language of Tombuctoo.

CHAPTER II.

UPON their arrival at Tombuctoo, the whole party was immediately taken before the King, who ordered the Moors into prison, but treated Adams and the Portuguese boy as curiosities ; taking them to his house, where they remained during their residence at Tombuctoo.

For some time after their arrival, the Queen and her female attendants used to sit and look at Adams and his companion for hours together. She treated them with great kindness, and at the first interview offered them some bread baked under ashes.

The King and Queen, the former of whom was named *Woollo*, the latter *Fatima*,⁽⁸⁾ were very old grey-headed people. The Queen was extremely fat. Her dress was of blue nankeen, edged with gold lace round the bosom and on the shoulder, and having a belt or stripe of the same material half way down the dress, which came only a few inches below the knees. The dress of the other females of Tombuctoo, though less ornamented than that of the Queen, was in the same short fashion ; so that as they wore no

close under garments, they might, when sitting on the ground, as far as decency was concerned, as well have had no covering at all. The Queen's head-dress consisted of a blue nankeen turban ; but this was worn only upon occasions of ceremony, or when she walked out. Besides the turban, she had her hair stuck full of bone ornaments of a square shape about the size of dice, extremely white ; she had large gold hoop ear-rings, and many necklaces, some of them of gold, the others made of beads of various colours. She wore no shoes ; and, in consequence, her feet appeared to be as hard and dry " as the hoofs of an ass." *

Besides the blue nankeen dress just described, the Queen sometimes wore an under dress of white muslin ; at other times a red one. This colour was produced by the juice of a red root which grows in the neighbourhood, about a foot and a half long. Adams never saw any silks worn by the Queen or any other inhabitant of Tombuctoo ; for, although they have some silks brought by the Moors, they appeared to be used entirely for purposes of external trade.

The dress of the King was a blue nankeen frock decorated with gold, having gold epaulettes, and a broad wristband of the same metal. He sometimes wore a turban ; but often went bare-headed. (9) When he walked through the town

* Adams's expression.

he was generally a little in advance of his party. His subjects saluted him by inclinations of the head and body ; or by touching his head with their hands, and then kissing their hands. When he received his subjects in his palace, it was his custom to sit on the ground, and their mode of saluting him on such occasions was by kissing his head.

The King's house, or palace, which is built of clay and grass, (not white-washed) consists of eight or ten small rooms on the ground floor ; and is surrounded by a wall of the same materials, against part of which the house is built. The space within the wall is about half an acre. Whenever a trader arrives, he is required to bring his merchandize into this space for the inspection of the King, for the purpose, Adams thinks, (but is not certain,) of duties being charged upon it. (10) The King's attendants, who are with him all the day, generally consist of about thirty persons, several of whom are armed with daggers and bows and arrows. Adams does not know if he had any family.

In a store-room of the King's house Adams observed about twenty muskets, apparently of French manufacture, one of them double-barrelled ; but he never saw them made use of. (11)

For a considerable time after the arrival of Adams and his companion, the people used to come in crowds to stare

at them ; and he afterwards understood that many persons came several day's journey on purpose. The Moors remained closely confined in prison ; but Adams and the Portuguese boy had permission to visit them. At the end of about six months, there arrived a company of trading Moors with tobacco, who after some weeks ransomed the whole party. Adams does not know the precise quantity of tobacco which was paid for them, but it consisted of the lading of five camels, with the exception of about fifty pounds weight reserved by the Moors. These Moors seemed to be well known at Tombuctoo, which place, he understood, they were accustomed to visit every year during the rainy season.

Tombuctoo is situated on a level plain, having a river about two hundred yards from the town, on the south-east side, named *La Mar Zarah*.* The town appeared to Adams to cover as much ground as Lisbon. He is unable to give any idea of the number of its inhabitants ; but as the houses are not built in streets, or with any regularity, its population, compared with that of European towns, is by no means in

* Or *La Mar Zahr*. It was not easy to fix the probable orthography of African names, from Adams's indistinct pronunciation.

proportion to its size. It has no walls, nor any thing resembling fortification. The houses are square, built of sticks, clay, and grass, with flat roofs of the same materials. The rooms are all on the ground floor, and are without any article of furniture, except earthen jars, wooden bowls, and mats made of grass, upon which the people sleep. He did not observe any houses, or any other buildings, constructed of stone. (12)

The river *La Mar Zarah* is about three quarters of a mile wide at Tombuctoo, and appears to have, in this place, but little current, flowing to the south-west. About two miles from the town to the southward it runs between two high mountains, apparently as high as the mountains which Adams saw in Barbary: here it is about half a mile wide. The water of *La Mar Zarah* is rather brackish, but is commonly drunk by the natives; there not being, as Adams believes, any wells at Tombuctoo. (13) The vessels used by the natives are small canoes for fishing, the largest of which is about ten feet long, capable of carrying three men: they are built of fig-trees hollowed out, and caulked with grass, and are worked with paddles about six feet long. (14) The river is well stored with fish, chiefly of a sort which Adams took for the red mullet: there is also a large red fish, in shape somewhat like a salmon, and having teeth; he thinks

E

it is the same fish which is known in New York by the name of "sheep's-head." The common mode of cooking the fish is by boiling; but they never take out the entrails.

The principal fruits at Tombuctoo are cocoa-nuts, dates, figs, pine-apples, and a sweet fruit about as large as an apple, with a stone about the size of a plum stone. This latter was greatly esteemed; and being scarce, was preserved with care for the Royal Family. The leaves of this fruit resembled those of a peach. ⁽¹⁵⁾

The vegetables are carrots, turnips, sweet potatoes, negro beans, and cabbages; but the latter are eaten very small, and never grow to a solid head.

The grain is principally rice and guinea-corn. The cultivation of the soil at Tombuctoo requires very little labour, and is chiefly performed with a kind of hoe which the natives procure from the Moors, and which appears to be their only implement of husbandry. Adams never observed any cattle used in agriculture.

The guinea-corn grows five or six feet high, with a bushy head as large as a pint bottle, the grain being about the size of a mustard seed, of which each head contains about a double handful. This they beat upon a stone until they extract all the seed, and then they put it between two flat stones and grind it. These operations are performed by

one person. The meal, when ground, is sifted through a small sieve made of grass. The coarse stuff is boiled for some time, after which the flour is mixed with it, and when well boiled together it makes a thick mess like burgoo. This is put into a wooden dish, and a hole being made in the middle of the mess, some goats' milk is poured into it. The natives then sit on the ground, men, women and children, indiscriminately round the mess thus prepared, and eat it with their fingers. Even the King and Queen do the same, having neither spoons, knives, nor forks. In the preparation of this food for the King and Queen, they sometimes use butter, which is produced from goats' milk; and though soft and mixed with hair, it appeared to be considered a great dainty. Some of the bowls out of which the natives eat are made of cocoa-nut shells; but most of them are of the trunk of the fig-tree hollowed out with chisels.

The animals are elephants, cows, goats, (no horses), (16) asses, camels, dromedaries, dogs, rabbits, antelopes, and an animal called *heirie*, of the shape of a camel, but much smaller. These latter are only used by the Negroes for riding, as they are stubborn, and unfit to carry other burdens: they are excessively fleet, and will travel for days together at the rate of fifty miles a day. The Moors were very

desirous of purchasing these animals, but the Negroes refused to sell them. (17)

The elephants are taken by shooting with arrows pointed with a metal like steel, about a foot long, and exceedingly sharp. These arrows are steeped in a liquid of a black colour; and when the animal is wounded they let him go, but keep him in sight for three or four days, at the end of which he expires from the effects of the wound. Adams never saw more than one killed, which was at the distance of about two miles from the town. He was one evening speaking to a Negro, when they heard a whistling noise at a distance: as soon as it was heard, the Negro said it was an elephant, and next morning at day-light he set off with his bow and arrows in pursuit of him. Adams, the Portuguese boy, and many of the town's people accompanied him, until they came within about three quarters of a mile of the elephant, but were afraid to go any nearer on account of his prodigious size. The Negro being mounted on a heirie, went close to him, riding at speed past his head: as he passed him he discharged an arrow, which struck the elephant near the shoulder, which instantly started, and went in pursuit of the man, striking his trunk against the ground with violence, and making a most tremendous roaring, which "might have been heard three miles off."

Owing to the fleetness of the heirie, which ran the faster from fear, the elephant was soon left at a distance ; and three days afterwards was found lying on the ground in a dying state, about a mile from the spot where it was shot. According to the best of Adams's recollection, it was at least twenty feet high ; and though of such an immense size, the natives said it was a young one. The legs were as thick as Adams's body. ⁽¹⁸⁾ The first operation of the Negroes was to take out the *four* tusks, the two largest of which were about five feet long. They then cut off the legs, and pieces of lean from the hinder parts of the body, and carried them home ; where they skinned the flesh, and then exposed it to dry in the sun for two days. It was afterwards boiled, but proved to Adams's taste very coarse food, the grain of the meat being as thick as a straw, and of a very strong flavour. The only thing eaten with it was salt, which is procured from a place called Tudenny wells, which will be spoken of hereafter. Upon the occasion of the elephant being killed, the Negroes were greatly delighted : and Adams frequently laughed with them, at the recollection of their appearance as they stood round the dead carcass, all laughing and shewing their white teeth at once, which formed a ridiculous contrast with their black faces.

The other wild animals which Adams saw were foxes,

porcupines, baboons, wolves, and a large species of rat which frequents the river. He does not appear to have seen either hippopotami or alligators. (19)

Besides these, there is in the vicinity of Tombuctoo a most extraordinary animal named *courcoo*, somewhat resembling a very large dog, but having an opening or hollow on its back like a pocket, in which it carries its prey. (20) It has short pointed ears and a short tail. Its skin is of an uniform reddish-brown on its back, like a fox, but its belly is of a light-grey colour. It will ascend trees with great agility and gather cocoa-nuts, which Adams supposes to be a part of its food. But it also devours goats and even young children, and the Negroes were greatly afraid of it. Its cry is like that of an owl.

The wolves are destructive to asses as well as goats. The foxes frequently carry off young goats and guinea-fowls, particularly the former. Although he never saw either lions, tigers, or wild cats; yet the roaring of animals of these descriptions was heard every night in the neighbouring mountains. (21)

The domestic birds are guinea-fowls. The wild birds are ostriches, eagles, crows, owls, green parrots, a large brown bird that lives upon fish, and several smaller birds. He does not recollect to have seen any swallows. (22)

The ostriches are about double the size of a turkey, quite wild, and go in flocks. When any are observed in the day time, the place where they resort is marked, and they are caught at night by men mounted on heiries, who strike them with sticks. When they are first caught their feathers are very beautiful. The flesh of the ostrich is cooked without being previously dried in the sun, and is good eating, as well as the eggs, which are boiled : in fact, almost every thing which the Negroes of Tombuctoo eat is boiled.

The principal animal food eaten by the Negroes is goats' flesh. Adams did not see more than one cow killed during his stay ; and then, he thinks, it was on account of the animal's being in a declining state. The cows are very small, and but few in number : some of them are milk-white ; but the colour of the greater part is red.

There are two sorts of ants at Tombuctoo ; the largest black, the smallest red ; which appear at times in prodigious numbers. He has also seen bees there ; but he has no recollection of having seen any honey.

Having occasionally at night, seen a light like fire on the mountains to the southward of the town, Adams had the curiosity to visit them, and found a considerable quantity of sulphur, which the natives collected. The only use to which he has seen them apply this mineral, was to mix it with

a substance in black lumps which looked like opium, ⁽²³⁾ for the purpose of making a liquid into which they dipped the heads of their arrows. It was with an arrow so prepared that the elephant, before spoken of, was killed.

The natives of Tombuctoo are a stout, healthy race, and are seldom sick, although they expose themselves by lying out in the sun at mid-day, when the heat is almost insupportable to a white man. It is the universal practice of both sexes to grease themselves all over with butter produced from goat's milk, which makes the skin smooth, and gives it a shining appearance. ⁽²⁴⁾ This is usually renewed every day; when neglected, the skin becomes rough, greyish, and extremely ugly. They usually sleep under cover at night; but sometimes, in the hottest weather, they will lie exposed to the night air with little or no covering, notwithstanding that the fog which rises from the river descends like dew, and in fact, at that season, supplies the want of rain.

All the males of Tombuctoo have an incision on their faces from the top of the forehead down to the nose, from which proceed other lateral incisions over the eyebrows, into all of which is inserted a blue dye, produced from a kind of ore which is found in the neighbouring mountains. The women have also incisions on their faces, but in a different fashion; the lines being from two to five in number,

cut on each cheek bone, from the temple straight downwards: they are also stained with blue. These incisions being made on the faces of both sexes when they are about twelve months old, the dyeing material which is inserted in them becomes scarcely visible as they grow up. ⁽²⁵⁾

Except the King and Queen and their companions, who had a change of dress about once a week, the people were in general very dirty, sometimes not washing themselves for twelve or fourteen days together. Besides the Queen, who, as has been already stated, wore a profusion of ivory and bone ornaments in her hair, some of a square shape and others about as thick as a shilling, but rather smaller, (strings of which she also wore about her wrists and ankles) many of the women were decorated in a similar manner; and they seemed to consider hardly any favour too great to be conferred on the person who would make them a present of these precious ornaments. Gold ear-rings were much worn. Some of the women had also rings on their fingers; but these appeared to Adams to be of brass; and as many of the latter had letters upon them (but whether in the Roman or Arabic characters Adams cannot tell) he concluded both from this circumstance, and from their workmanship, that they were not made by the Negroes, but obtained from the Moorish traders.

F

The ceremony of marriage amongst the upper ranks at Tombuctoo, is for the bride to go in the day time to the King's house, and to remain there until after sunset, when the man who is to be her husband goes to fetch her away. This is usually followed by a feast the same night, and a dance. Adams did not observe what ceremonies were used in the marriages of the lower classes.

As it is common to have several concubines besides a wife, the women are continually quarrelling and fighting. But there is a marked difference in the degree of respect with which they are each treated by the husband ; the wife always having a decided pre-eminence. ⁽²⁶⁾ The Negroes, however, appeared to Adams to be jealous and severe with all their women, frequently beating them for apparently very little cause.

The women appear to suffer very little from child-birth, and they will be seen walking about as usual the day after such an event. It is their practice to grease a child all over soon after its birth, and to expose it for about an hour to the sun : the infants are at first of a reddish colour, but become black in three or four days.

Illicit intercourse appeared to be but little regarded amongst the lower orders ; and chastity amongst the women in general seemed to be preserved only so far as their

situations or circumstances rendered it necessary for their personal safety or convenience. In the higher ranks, if a woman prove with child the man is punished with slavery, unless he will take the woman for his wife and maintain her. Adams knew an instance of a young man, who, having refused to marry a woman by whom he had a child, was on that account condemned to slavery. He afterwards repented ; but was not then permitted to retract his refusal, and was sent away to be sold.

The practice of procuring abortion is very common. Adams was informed that in cases of pregnancy from illicit intercourse, where the woman would not submit to this alternative, it was no unusual thing for the father secretly to poison her.

The Negroes of Tombuctoo are very vehement in their quarrels. When they strike with their fists they use the under part of the hand, as if knocking with a hammer ; but their principal mode of offence is by biting. On the whole, however, they are a good natured people ; and always treated Adams with the greatest kindness.

It does not appear that they have any public religion, as they have no house of worship, no priest, and as far as Adams could discover, never meet together to pray. He has seen some of the Negroes who were circumcised ; but

he concluded, that they had been in the possession of the Moors, or had been resident at Tudenny. ⁽²⁷⁾

The only ceremony that appeared like the act of prayer was on the occasion of the death of any of the inhabitants, when their relatives assembled and sat round the corpse. The burial is unattended with any ceremony. The deceased are buried in the clothes in which they die, at a small distance to the south-west of the town.

Adams does not believe that any of the Negroes could write, as he never saw any of them attempt it; their accounts appeared to be kept by notching sticks. Almost all the Moors, on the contrary, are able to write.

Their only physicians are old women, who cure diseases and wounds by the application of simples. Adams had a wen on the back of his right hand, the size of a large egg; which one of the women cured in about a month by rubbing it and applying a plaister of herbs. ⁽²⁸⁾ They cure the tooth-ache by the application of a liquid prepared from roots; which frequently causes not only the defective tooth to fall out, but one or two others.

He never saw any of the Negroes blind but such as were very old; of these, judging from their appearance, he thinks he has seen some upwards of one hundred years of age. Children are obliged to support their parents in their

old age ; but when old people are childless, there is a house for their reception, in which they live, four or five in a room, at the cost of the King.

The only tools which the Negroes appeared to possess (besides the hoes and chisels previously mentioned) were knives and small hatchets with which they cut their timber, and a few other rough instruments of iron which they procured from the Moors. Adams does not remember ever to have seen a saw.

Their musical instruments are, 1st, a sort of fife made of reeds ; 2d, a kind of tambourine covered with goat skin, within which are ostrich quills laid across in such a manner that when the skin is struck with the hand the quills jar against it ; 3d, an instrument which they call *bandera*, made of several cocoa-nut shells tied together with thongs of goat-skin, and covered with the same material ; a hole at the top of the instrument is covered with strings of leather or tendons, drawn tightly across it, on which the performer plays with the fingers in the manner of a guitar.

Their principal and favourite amusement is dancing, which takes place about once a week in the town, when a hundred dancers or more assemble, men, women and children, but the greater number men. Whilst they are engaged in the dance they sing extremely loud to the music

of the tambourine, fife, and bandera ; so that the noise they make may be heard all over the town. They dance in a circle, and (when this amusement continues till the night) generally round a fire. Their usual time of beginning is about two hours before sun-set, and the dance not unfrequently lasts all night. The men have the most of the exercise in these sports whilst daylight lasts, the women continuing nearly in one spot and the men dancing to and from them.⁽²⁹⁾ During this time the dance is conducted with some decency ; but when night approaches, and the women take a more active part in the amusement, their thin and short dresses, and the agility of their actions, are little calculated to admit of the preservation of any decorum.

It has been already stated, that Adams can form no idea of the population of Tombuctoo ; but he thinks that once he saw as many as two thousand persons assembled at one place. This was on the occasion of a party of five hundred men going out to make war in Bambarra.⁽³⁰⁾ The day after their departure they were followed by a great number of camels, dromedaries, and heuries, laden with provisions. Such of these people as afterwards returned, came back in parties of forty or fifty ; many of them did not return at all whilst Adams remained at Tombuctoo ; but he never heard that any of them had been killed.

About once a month a party of a hundred or more armed men marched out in a similar manner to procure slaves. These armed parties were all on foot except the officers; they were usually absent from one week to a month, and at times brought in considerable numbers. The slaves were generally a different race of people from those of Tombuctoo, and differently clothed, their dress being for the most part of coarse white linen or cotton. He once saw amongst them a woman who had her teeth filed round, he supposes by way of ornament; and as they were very long they resembled crow-quills. The greatest number of slaves that he recollects to have seen brought in at one time, were about twenty, and these he was informed were from the place called Bambarra, lying to the southward and westward of Tombuctoo; which he understood to be the country whither the aforesaid parties generally went out in quest of them.

The slaves thus brought in were chiefly women and children, who, after being detained a day or two at the King's house, were sent away to other parts for sale.⁽³¹⁾ The returns for them consisted of blue nankeens, blankets, barley, tobacco, and sometimes gunpowder. This latter article appeared to be more valuable than gold, of which double the weight was given in barter for gunpowder. Their

manner of preserving it was in skins. It was however never used at Tombuctoo, except as an article of trade.

Although the King was despotic, and could compel his subjects to take up arms when he required it, yet it did not appear that they were slaves whom he might sell, or employ as such generally ; the only actual slaves being such as were brought from other countries, or condemned criminals. Of the latter class only twelve persons were condemned to slavery during the six months of Adams's residence at Tombuctoo. The offences of which they had been guilty were poisoning, theft, and refusing to join a party sent out to procure slaves from foreign countries.

Adams never saw any individual put to death at Tombuctoo, ⁽³²⁾ the punishment for heavy offences being, as has just been stated, slavery ; for slighter misdemeanours the offenders are punished with beating with a stick ; but in no case is this punishment very severe, seldom exceeding two dozen blows, with a stick of the thickness of a small walking cane.

Adams did not observe any shops at Tombuctoo.⁽³³⁾ The goods brought for sale, which consisted chiefly of tobacco, tar, gunpowder, blue nankeens, blankets, earthen jars, and some silks, are obtained from the Moors, and remain in the

King's house, until they are disposed of. The only other objects of trade appeared to be slaves.

The principal articles given in exchange in trade by the people of Tombuctoo, are gold-dust, ivory, gum, cowries, ostrich feathers, and goat skins ; which latter they stain red and yellow. Adams has seen a full-grown slave bought for forty or fifty cowries.⁽³⁴⁾ He never saw the Negroes find any gold, but he understood that it was procured out of the mountains, and on the banks of the rivers, to the southward of Tombuctoo.

The Negroes consume the tobacco both in snuff and for smoking ; for the latter purpose they use pipes, the tubes of which are made of the leg bones of ostriches.

The chief use to which they apply the tar brought by the Moors, is to protect the camels and other animals from the attacks of large green flies, which are very numerous, and greatly distress them. Adams has sometimes seen tar-water mixed with the food of the natives as medicine, which made it so nauseous to his taste that he could not eat it. The Negroes, however, did not appear to have the same dislike to it ; from which he infers, that the use of tar-water in their food, was frequent, though he only saw it four or five times. None of the persons whom he saw using it were in bad health at the time.

G

During the whole of Adams's residence at Tombuctoo, he never saw any other Moors than those whom he accompanied thither, and the ten by whom they were ransomed ; and he understood from the Moors themselves, that they were not allowed to go in large bodies to Tombuctoo.⁽³⁵⁾ He did not see any mosque or large place of worship there ; and he does not think that they had any.

Neither Adams nor the Portuguese boy were ever subjected to any restraint whilst they remained at Tombuctoo. They were allowed as much food, and as often as they pleased ; and were never required to work. In short, they never experienced any act of incivility or unkindness from any of the Negroes, except when they were taken prisoners in company with the Moors engaged in stealing them.⁽³⁶⁾ Adams could not hear that any white man but themselves had ever been seen in the place ; and he believes, as well from what he was told by the Moors, as from the uncommon curiosity which he excited (though himself a very dark man, with short curly black hair), that they never had seen one before.⁽³⁷⁾

There was no fall of rain during his residence at Tombuctoo, except a few drops just before his departure ; and he understood from the Negroes that they had usually little or none, except during the three months of winter, which

is the only season when the desert can be crossed, on account of the heat.⁽³⁸⁾ In some years, Adams was informed, when the season had been unusually dry, there was great distress at Tombuctoo for want of provisions : but no such want was felt whilst he was there.

He never proceeded to the southward of Tombuctoo, further than about two miles from the town, to the mountains before spoken of ; and he never saw the river Joliba : but he had heard it mentioned ; and was told at Tudenny, that it lay between that place and Bambarra.⁽³⁹⁾

Being asked the names of any other places which he had heard mentioned, he recollected that the people of Tombuctoo spoke of *Mutnougo*, and of a very considerable place to the eastward called *Tuarick*, to which they traded. He had also often heard them mention *Mandingo*, and *Bondou* ; but he cannot recollect what was said respecting these places.*

The following is a list of some of the words which Adams recollects in the language of Tombuctoo.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Man,	-	-	<i>Jungo.</i>
Woman,	-	-	<i>Jumpsa.</i>
Camel,	-	-	<i>So.</i>

* Adams mentioned *Jinnie* to me, amongst the towns which he had heard named by the Negroes of Tombuctoo. *D.*

ROBERT ADAMS'S NARRATIVE.

Dog,	-	-	-	<i>Killab.</i>
Cow,	-	-	-	<i>Fallee.</i>
Goat,	-	-	-	<i>Luganam</i>
Sheep,	-	-	-	<i>Naidsh.</i>
Elephant,	-	-	-	<i>Elfeel.</i>
House,	-	-	-	<i>Dah.</i>
Water,	-	-	-	<i>Boca.</i>
Mountain,	-	-	-	<i>Kaddear.</i>
Tree,	-	-	-	<i>Carna.</i>
Date Tree,	-	-	-	<i>Carna Tomar.</i>
Fig Tree,	-	-	-	<i>Carna Carmoos.</i>
Gold,	-	-	-	<i>Or.</i>
A Moor,	-	-	-	<i>Seckar.</i>

CHAPTER III.

Ransom of the imprisoned Moors and of Adams.—Departure from Tombuctoo.—Journey eastward along the River ; then northward to Taudeny—Traders in salt.—Taudeny—mixed Population of Moors and Negroes—Beds of Rock Salt—Preparations and Departure to cross the Sandy Desert.—Sufferings in the Desert.—Arrival at Woled Dleim—employment, and long detention there.—Refusal of Adams to attend to his tasks—He is punished for it ; but perseveres—seizes an opportunity of escaping—is pursued ; but reaches El Kabla—He is purchased by the Chief—Employed to tend the flocks of his Master's Wives—Negotiates with Aisha, the younger wife, on the subject of Wages—their bargain, and its consequences—Adams flies and conceals himself—is purchased by a Trader ; and conveyed to Woled Aboussebah—Woled Adrialla—Ajata Mouessa Ali.—He attempts to escape—is retaken ; and conveyed to Wed-noon.

CHAPTER III.

THE ten Moors who had arrived with the five camels laden with tobacco, had been three weeks at Tombuctoo before Adams learnt that the ransom of himself, the boy, and the Moors his former companions, had been agreed upon. At the end of the first week he was given to understand, that himself and the boy would be released, but that the Moors would be condemned to die; it appeared, however, afterwards, that in consideration of all the tobacco being given for the Moors, except about fifty pounds weight, which was expended for a man slave, the King had agreed to release all the prisoners.

Two days after their release, the whole party, consisting of the

10 Moorish traders

14 Moorish prisoners

2 white men, and

1 slave

quitted Tombuctoo, having only the five camels which

belonged to the traders ; those which were seized when Adams and his party were made prisoners not having been restored. As they had no means left of purchasing any other article, the only food they took with them was a little Guinea-corn flour.

On quitting the town they proceeded in an easterly course, inclining to the north, going along the border of the river, of which they sometimes lost sight for two days together. They did not meet with any high trees ; but on the banks of the river, which were covered with high grass, were a few low trees, and some shrubs of no great variety. Occasionally they came to a Negro hut. Except the two mountains before spoken of, to the southward, between which the river runs, there are none in the immediate neighbourhood of Tombuctoo ; but at a little distance there are some small ones.

They had travelled eastward about ten days, at the rate of about fifteen to eighteen miles a day, when they saw the river for the last time : it then appeared rather narrower than at Tombuctoo. They then loaded the camels with water, and striking off in a northerly direction, travelled twelve or thirteen days, at about the same pace. In the course of this journey they saw a great number of antelopes, rabbits, foxes, and wolves, and a bird somewhat larger than a

fowl, which the Moors called *Jize* ;* it appeared to Adams to be the same kind of bird known in America by the name of cuckoo.

The soil was generally covered with shrubs, and a low kind of grass like moss. Trees were seldom seen, and those not large. From the time of quitting the river, the only persons whom they saw were Negro travellers carrying salt to Tombuctoo ; of whom they met parties of about ten or twelve almost every day with dromedaries, camels, and asses.

At the end of the thirteen days they arrived at a place called *Tudenny*,† a large village inhabited by Moors and Negroes, in which there are four wells of very excellent water. At this place there are large ponds or beds of salt, which both the Moors and Negroes come in great numbers to purchase, and date and fig-trees of a large size: in the neighbourhood the ground is cultivated in the same manner as at Tombuctoo. From the number of Moors, many if not not all of whom were residents, it appeared that the restriction respecting them, existing at Tombuctoo, did not extend to *Tudenny*. (41)

The salt beds which Adams saw were about five or six

* *Djez*, is the Arabic name for the common domestic fowl. D.

† *Taudeny*. D.

feet deep, and from twenty to thirty yards in circumference. The salt comes up in hard lumps mixed with earth, and part of it is red.

The Moors here are perfectly black ; the only personal distinction between them and the Negroes being, that the Moors had long black hair, and had no scars on their faces. The Negroes are in general marked in the same manner as those of Tombuctoo. Here the party staid fourteen days, to give the ransomed Moors, whose long confinement had made them weak, time to recruit their strength ; and having sold one of the camels for two sacks of dates and a small ass, and loaded the four remaining camels with water, the dates, and the flour, (in the proportion of eight goat skins of water, or six skins of water and two bags of dates or flour, to each camel) they set out to cross the Desert,* taking a north-west direction.

They commenced their journey from Tudenny about four o'clock in the morning, and having travelled the first day about twenty miles, they unloaded the camels, and lay down by the side of them to sleep.

The next day they entered the Desert ; over which they continued to travel in the same direction, nine and twenty days, without meeting a single human being. The whole

* See Note, p. 14.

way was a sandy plain, like a sea, without either tree, shrub or grass. After travelling in this manner about fourteen days at the rate of sixteen or eighteen miles a day, the people began to grow very weak ; their stock of water began to run short ; and their provisions were nearly exhausted. The ass died of fatigue ; and its carcase was immediately cut up and laden on the camel, where it dried in the sun, and served for food ; and had it not been for this supply, some of the party must have died of hunger. Being asked if asses' flesh was good eating, Adams replied ; " It was as good to my taste then, as a goose would be " now."

In six days afterwards, during which their pace was slackened to not more than twelve miles a day, they arrived at a place where it was expected water would be found ; but to their great disappointment, owing to the dryness of the season, the hollow place, of about thirty yards in circumference, was found quite dry.

All their stock of water at this time consisted of four goat skins, and those not full, holding from one to two gallons each ; and it was known to the Moors that they had then ten days further to travel before they could obtain a supply.

In this distressing dilemma, it was resolved to mix the

remaining water with camels' urine. The allowance of this mixture to each camel was only about a quart for the whole ten days : each man was allowed not more than about half a pint a day.

The Moors who had been in confinement at Tombuctoo becoming every day weaker, three of them in the four following days lay down, unable to proceed. They were then placed upon the camels : but continual exposure to the excessive heat of the sun, and the uneasy motion of the camels, soon rendered them unable to support themselves, and towards the end of the second day they made another attempt to pursue their journey on foot, but could not. The next morning at day break they were found dead on the sand, in the place where they had lain down at night, and were left behind without being buried. The next day another of them lay down ; and, like his late unfortunate companions, was left to perish : but on the following day one of the Moors determined to remain behind, in the hope that he who had dropped the day before might still come up, and be able to follow the party : some provisions were left with him. At this time it was expected, what proved to be the fact, that they were within a day's march of their town : but neither of the men ever afterwards made his appearance ; and Adams has no doubt that they perished.

*Vled Duleim** (the place at which they now arrived) was a village of tents inhabited entirely by Moors, who from their dress, manners, and general appearance, seemed to be of the same tribe as those of the encampment to which Adams was conveyed from El Gazie.⁽⁴²⁾ They had numerous flocks of sheep and goats, and two watering places, near one of which their tents were pitched ; but the other lay nearly five miles off.

The first fortnight after the arrival of the party, was devoted to their recovery from the fatigues of the journey ; but as soon as their strength was re-established, Adams and his companion were employed in taking care of goats and sheep. Having now begun to acquire a knowledge of the Moorish tongue, they frequently urged their masters to take them to Suerra ; which the latter promised they would do, provided they continued attentive to their duty.

Things, however, remained in this state for ten or eleven months, during which time they were continually occupied in tending the flocks of the Moors. They suffered severely from exposure to the scorching sun, in a state of almost utter nakedness ; and the miseries of their situation were aggravated by despair of ever being released from slavery.

The only food allowed to them was barley-flour, and

* *Woled D'leim.* D.

camels' and goats' milk ; but of the latter they had abundance. Sometimes they were treated with a few dates, which were a great rarity ; there being neither date-trees nor trees of any other kind in the whole country round. But as the flock of goats and sheep consisted of a great number (from one hundred and fifty to two hundred), and as they were at a distance from the town, Adams and his companion sometimes ventured to kill a kid for their own eating ; and to prevent discovery of the fire used in cooking it, they dug a cave, in which the fire was made, covering the ashes with grass and sand.

At length Adams, after much reflection on the miserable state in which he had been so long kept, and was likely to pass the remainder of his life, determined to remonstrate upon the subject. His master, whose name was *Hamet Laubed*, frankly replied to him, that as he had not been successful in procuring slaves, it was now his intention to keep him, and not, as he had before led him to expect, to take him to Suerra or Mogadore. Upon hearing this, Adams resolved not to attend any longer to the duty of watching the goats and sheep ; and in consequence, the next day, several of the young goats were found to have been killed by the foxes.

This led to an inquiry, whether Adams or the boy was

in fault; when it appearing that the missing goats were a part of Adams's flock, his master proceeded to beat him with a thick stick; which he resisted, and took away the stick; upon which a dozen Moors, principally women, attacked him, and gave him a severe beating.

As, notwithstanding what had occurred, Adams persisted in his determination not to resume his task of tending the goats and sheep, his master was advised to put him to death; ⁽⁴³⁾ but this he was not inclined to do, observing to his advisers, that he should thereby sustain a loss, and that if Adams would not work, it would be better to sell him. In the mean time he remained idle in the tent for about three days; when he was asked by his master's wife, if he would go to the distant well to fetch a couple of skins of water, that being of a better quality; to which he signified his consent, and went off the next morning on a camel with two skins to fetch the water.

On his arrival at the other well, instead of procuring water, he determined to make his escape; and understanding that the course to a place called Wadinoon, lay in a direction to the northward of west,* he passed the well,

* This account of the relative bearings of Woled D'leim and Wed Noon is rather at variance with the details of Adams's recollected course between those two places; but it accords very nearly with what is assumed in the map, on other grounds, to have been his real route.

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and pushing on in a northerly course, travelled the whole of that day; when the camel, which had been used to rest at night, and had not been well broke in, would not proceed any further; and in spite of all the efforts Adams could make, it lay down with fatigue, having gone upwards of twenty miles without stopping. Finding there was no remedy, Adams took off the rope with which his clothes were fastened round his body, and as the camel lay with his fore-knee bent, he tied the rope round it in a way to prevent its rising, and then lay down by the side of it. This rope, which Adams had brought from Tombuctoo, was made of grass, collected on the banks of the river. The saddles of camels are made of the same material, interwoven between a frame of sticks placed together in the form of a St. Andrew's cross, so as to fit the back of the animal.

The next morning at day light he mounted again, and pushed on till about nine o'clock, when he perceived a smoke a-head, which he approached. There was a small hillock between him and this place, ascending which, he discovered about forty or fifty tents pitched, and on looking back he saw two camels coming towards him, with a rider on each. Not knowing whether these were pursuers, or strangers going to the place in view, but being greatly

alarmed, he made the best of his way forwards. On drawing near to the town, a number of women came out, and he observed about a hundred Moors standing in a row in the act of prayer, having their faces towards the east, and at times kneeling down, and leaning their heads to the ground. On the women discovering Adams, they expressed great surprise at seeing a white man. He inquired of them the name of the place, and they told him it was Hilla Gibla. Soon afterwards the two camels, before spoken of, arriving, the rider of one of them proved to be the owner of the camel on which Adams had escaped, and the other his master. At this time Adams was sitting under a tent speaking to the Governor, whose name was *Mahomet*, telling him his story; they were soon joined by his two pursuers, accompanied by a crowd of people.

Upon his master claiming him, Adams protested that he would not go back; that his master had frequently promised to take him to Suerra, but had broken his promises; and that he had made up his mind either to obtain his liberty or die. Upon hearing both sides, the Governor determined in favour of Adams; and gave his master to understand, that if he was willing to exchange him for a bushel of dates and a camel, he should have them; but if not, he should have nothing. As Adams's master did not

approve of these conditions, a violent altercation arose ; but at length finding the Governor determined, and that better terms were not to be had, he accepted the first offer, and Adams became the slave of Mahomet. (44)

The natives of *Hilla Gibla** appeared to be better clothed, and a less savage race, than those of Vled Duleim, between whom there appeared to be great enmity ; the Governor therefore readily interfered in favour of Adams, and at one time threatened to take away the camel and to put Mahomet Laubed himself to death. Another consideration by which the Governor was probably influenced, was, a knowledge of the value of a Christian slave, as an object of ransom, of which Mahomet Laubed seemed to be wholly ignorant.

On entering the service of his new master, Adams was sent to tend camels, and had been so employed about a fortnight, when this duty was exchanged for that of taking care of goats. Mahomet had two wives who dwelt in separate tents, one of them an old woman, the other young : the goats which Adams was set to take care of, were of the property of the elder one.

Some days after he had been so employed, the younger wife, whose name was *Isha*,† proposed to him, that he

* *El Kabla. D.*

† *Aisha. D.*

should also take charge of her goats, for which she would pay him ; and as there was no more trouble in tending two flocks than one, he readily consented. Having had charge of the two flocks for several days, without receiving the promised additional reward, he at length remonstrated ; and after some negotiation on the subject of his claim, the matter was compromised, by the young woman's desiring him, when he returned from tending the goats at night, to go to rest in her tent. It was the custom of Mahomet to sleep two nights with the elder woman, and one with the other, and this was one of the nights devoted to the former. Adams accordingly kept the appointment ; and about nine o'clock Isha came and gave him supper, and he remained in her tent all night. This was an arrangement which was afterwards continued, on those nights which she did not pass with her husband.

Things continued in this state about six months, and as his work was light, and he experienced nothing but kind treatment, his time passed pleasantly enough. One night his master's son coming into the tent, discovered Adams with his mother-in-law, and informed his father, when a great disturbance took place : but upon the husband charging his wife with her misconduct, she protested that Adams had laid down in her tent without her knowledge or

consent ; and as she cried bitterly, the old man appeared to be convinced that she was not to blame.

The old lady, however, declared her belief that the young one was guilty, and expressed her conviction that she should be able to detect her at some future time.

For some days after, Adams kept away from the lady ; but at the end of that time, the former affair appearing to be forgotten, he resumed his visits. One night the old woman lifted up the corner of the tent and discovered Adams with Isha ; and having reported it to her husband, he came with a thick stick, threatening to put him to death : Adams being alarmed, made his escape ; and the affair having made a great deal of noise, an acquaintance proposed to Adams to conceal him in his tent, and to endeavour to buy him of the Governor. Some laughed at the adventure ; others, and they by far the greater part, treated the matter as an offence of the most atrocious nature, Adams being “ a Christian, who never prayed.” (45)

As his acquaintance promised, in the event of becoming his purchaser, to take him to Wadinoon, Adams adopted his advice and concealed himself in his tent. For several days the old Governor rejected every overture ; but at last he agreed to part with Adams for fifty dollars worth of goods, consisting of blankets and dates ; and thus he became

the property of *Boerick*, a trader, whose usual residence was at Hilla Gibbila.

The girl (*Isha*) ran away to her mother.

The next day, *Boerick* set out with a party of six men and four camels for a place called *Villa de Bousbach*,* (46) which they reached after travelling nine days at the rate of about eighteen miles a day ; their course was north-east. On the route they saw neither houses nor trees, but the ground was covered with grass and shrubs. At this place they found about forty or fifty tents inhabited by Moors, and remained five or six days ; when there arrived a Moor from a place called *Hieta Mouessa Ali*, named *Abdallah Houssa*, a friend of *Boerick*, who informed him that it was usual for the British Consul at Mogadore to send to *Wadinoon* (where this man resided), to purchase the Christians who were prisoners in that country ; and, that as he was about to proceed thither, he was willing to take charge of *Adams*, to sell him for account of *Boerick* ; at the same time he informed *Adams* that there were other Christians at *Wadinoon*. This being agreed to by *Boerick*, his friend set out in a few days after, for *Hieta Mouessa Ali*, taking *Adams* with him. Instead, however, of going

* *Woled Aboussebah*. D.

to that place, which lay due north,* they proceeded north-north-west, and as they had a camel each, and travelled very fast, the path being good, they went at the rate of twenty-five miles a day, and in six days reached a place called *Villa Adrialla*,† where there were about twenty tents. This place appeared to be inhabited entirely by traders, who had at least five hundred camels, a great number of goats and sheep, and a few horses. The cattle were tended by Negro slaves. Here they remained about three weeks, until Abdallah had finished his business; and then set out for *Hieta Mouessa Ali*, where they arrived in three days. Adams believes that the reason of their travelling so fast during the last stage was, that Abdallah was afraid of being robbed, of which he seemed to have no apprehension after he had arrived at *Villa Adrialla*, and therefore they travelled from that place to *Hieta Mouessa Ali* at the rate of only about sixteen or eighteen miles a day; their course being due north-west.

Hieta Mouessa Ali‡ was the largest place Adams had seen in which there were no houses, there being not less than a hundred tents. Here was a small brook issuing

* This bearing is not reconcileable with Adams's subsequent course.

† This should probably be *Woled Adrialla*; but I have no knowledge of the place. D.

‡ *Aiata Mouessa Ali*. D.

from a mountain, being the only one he had seen except that at Soudenny ; but the vegetation was not more abundant than at other places. They remained here about a month ; during which Adams was as usual employed in tending camels. As the time hung very heavy on his hands, and he saw no preparation for their departure for Wadinoon, and his anxiety to reach that place had been very much excited by the intelligence that there were other Christians there, he took every opportunity of making inquiry respecting the course and distance ; and being at length of opinion that he might find his way thither, he one evening determined to desert ; and accordingly he set out on foot alone, with a small supply of dried goats' flesh, relying upon getting a further supply at the villages, which he understood were on the road. He had travelled the whole of that night, and until about noon the next day without stopping ; when he was overtaken by a party of three or four men on camels, who had been sent in pursuit of him. It seems they expected that Adams had been persuaded to leave Hieta Mouessa Ali, by some persons who wished to take him to Wadinoon for sale ; and they were therefore greatly pleased to find him on foot, and alone. Instead of ill treating him as he apprehended they would do, they merely conducted him back to Hieta

Mouessa Ali; from whence, in three or four days afterwards, Abdallah and a small party departed, taking him with them. They travelled five days in a north-west direction at about sixteen miles a day, and at the end of the fifth day, reached Wadinoon; having seen no habitations on their route except a few scattered tents within a day's journey of the town.

CHAPTER IV.

Description of Wed-Noon—where Adams finds three of the crew of the “Charles.”—He is purchased by Bel-Cossim-Abdallah.—French Renegade.—Wreck of the Montezuma.—Gunpowder Manufacture.—Curious Relation of a Negro Slave from Kanno.—Severe labours and cruel treatment of the Christian Slaves at Wed-Noon.—Adams is required to plough on the Sabbath day; refuses; is cruelly beaten, and put in irons—his firmness;—Inhuman treatment and death of Dolbie.—Williams and Davison, worn out by their sufferings, renounce their Religion—Adams perseveres.—Letter from the British Vice-Consul at Mogadore, addressed to the Christian Slaves.—Ransom of Adams—Departure from Wed-Noon—Akkadia—Bled Cidi Heshem—Market of Cidi Hamet a Moussa—Agadeer, or Santa Cruz—Mogadore.—Adams is sent to the Moorish Emperor.—Fez—Mequinez—Tangier—Cadiz—Gibraltar—London.

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CHAPTER IV.

*WADINOOON** was the first place at which Adams had seen houses after he quitted Tudeney. It is a small town, consisting of about forty houses, and some tents. The former are built chiefly of clay, intermixed with stone in some parts; and several of them have a story above the ground floor. The soil in the neighbourhood of the town was better cultivated than any he had yet seen in Africa, and appeared to produce plenty of corn and tobacco. There were also date and fig-trees in the vicinity, as well as a few grapes, apples, pears, and pomegranates. Prickly pears flourished in great abundance.

The Christians whom Adams had heard of, whilst residing at Hieta Mouessa Ali, and whom he found at Wadinoon, proved to be, to his great satisfaction, his old companions *Stephen Dolbie*, the mate, and *James Davison* and *Thomas Williams*, two of the seamen of the *Charles*. They informed him that they had been in that town upwards of twelve months, and that they were the property of the sons of the Governor.(47)

* *Wed-Noon. D.*

Soon after Adams's arrival at Wadinoon, Abdallah offered him for sale to the Governor, or Shieck, called *Amedallah Salem*, who consented to take him upon trial; but after remaining about a week at the Governor's house, Adams was returned to his old master, as the parties could not agree about the price. He was at length, however, sold to *Belcassam Abdallah*,* for seventy dollars in trade, payable in blankets, gunpowder and dates.⁽⁴⁸⁾

The only other white resident at Wadinoon was a Frenchman, who informed Adams that he had been wrecked about twelve years before, on the neighbouring coast, and that the whole of the crew except himself, had been redeemed. He further stated, that a vessel called (as Adams understood him) the *Agezuma*† from Liverpool, commanded by Captain Harrison, had been wrecked about four years before, and that the Captain and nearly the whole of the crew had been murdered.⁽⁴⁹⁾ This man had turned Mohammedan, and was named *Absalom*; he had a wife and child and three slaves, and gained a good living by the manufacture of gunpowder. Adams has often seen him employed in making it, by pounding brimstone in a wooden mortar, and grinding charcoal by hand between two stones, in the manner of grinding grain. The final

* *Bel-Cossim-Abdallah. D.*

† *Montezuma.*

process of mixing he performed in a room by himself, not being willing to let any person see how it was done. He lived in the same house as the person who had been his master, who, upon his renouncing his religion, gave him his liberty. (50)

Among the Negro slaves at Wadinoon was a woman, who said she came from a place called *Kanno*, a long way across the Desert, and that she had seen in her own country, white men, as white as “bather,” meaning the wall; and in a large boat with two high sticks in it, with cloth upon them, and that they rowed this boat in a manner different from the custom of the Negroes, who use paddles: in stating this, she made the motion of rowing with oars, so as to leave no doubt that she had seen a vessel in the European fashion, manned by white people. (51)

The work in which Adams was employed at Wadinoon, was building walls, cutting down shrubs to make fences, and working in the corn lands or in the plantations of tobacco, of which great quantities are grown in the neighbourhood. It was in the month of August that he arrived there, as he was told by the Frenchman before spoken of; the grain had been gathered; but the tobacco was then getting in, at which he was required to assist. His labour at this place was extremely severe. On the Moorish sabbath,

which was also their market-day, the Christian slaves were not required to labour, unless on extraordinary occasions, when there was any particular work to do which could not be delayed. In these intervals of repose, they had opportunities of meeting and conversing together; and Adams had the melancholy consolation of finding that the lot of his companions had been even more severe than his own. It appeared that on their arrival, the Frenchman before mentioned, from some unexplained motive, had advised them to refuse to work; and the consequence was, that they had been cruelly beaten and punished, and had been made to work hard and live hard, their only scanty food being barley flour, and Indian-corn flour. However, on extraordinary occasions, and as a great indulgence, they sometimes obtained a few dates.

In this wretched manner Adams and his fellow captives lived until the June following; when a circumstance occurred which had nearly cost the former his life. His master's son, *Hameda Bel Cossim*, having, one sabbath day, ordered Adams to take the horse and go to plough, the latter refused to obey him, urging that it was not the custom of any slaves to work on the sabbath day, and that he was intitled to the same indulgence as the rest. Upon which Hameda went into the house and fetched a cutlass, and

then demanded of Adams, whether he would go to plough or not. Upon his reply that he would not, Hamedā struck him on the forehead with the cutlass, and gave him a severe wound over the right eye, and immediately Adams knocked him down with his fist. This was no sooner done than Adams was set upon by a number of Moors, who beat him with sticks in so violent a manner that the blood came out of his mouth, two of his double teeth were knocked out, and he was almost killed; and he thinks they would have entirely killed him had it not been for the interference of *Boadick*, the Shieck's son, who reproached them for their cruelty, declaring that they had no right to compel Adams to work on a market-day. The next morning Hamedā's mother, named *Moghtari*, came to him, and asked him how he dared to lift his hand against a Moor? to which Adams, being driven to desperation by the ill treatment he had received, replied that he would even take his life if it were in his power. *Moghtari* then said, that unless he would kiss Hamedā's hands and feet, he should be put in irons; which he peremptorily refused to do. Soon after Hamedā's father came to Adams and told him, unless he did kiss his son's feet and hands, he must be put in irons. Adams then stated to him, that he could not submit to do so; that it was "contrary to his religion"* to kiss the hands and

* Adams's expression.

fect of any person ; that in his own country he had never been required to do it ; and that whatever might be the consequence, he would not do it. Finding he would not submit, the old man ordered that he should be put in irons, and accordingly they fastened his feet together with iron chains, and did the same by his hands. After he had remained in this state about ten days, Moghtari came to him again, urging him to do as required, and declaring that if he did not, he should never see the Christian country again : Adams, however, persevered in turning a deaf ear to her entreaties and threats. Some time afterwards, finding that close confinement was destructive of his health, Hameda came to him, and took the irons from his hands. The following three weeks he remained with the irons on his legs, during which time, repeated and pressing entreaties, and the most dreadful threats, were used to induce him to submit ; but all to no purpose. He was also frequently advised by the mate and the other Christians (who used to be sent to him for the purpose of persuading him), to submit, as he must otherwise inevitably lose his life. At length, finding that neither threats nor entreaties would avail, and Adams having remained in irons from June till the beginning of August, and his sufferings having reduced him almost to a skeleton, his master was advised to sell

him, as if longer confined, he would certainly die, and thus prove a total loss. Influenced by this consideration, his master at last determined to release him from his confinement ; but though very weak, the moment he was liberated he was set to gathering in the corn. ⁽⁵²⁾

About a week afterwards, *Dolbie*, the mate, fell sick. Adams had called to see him, when *Dolbie's* master (named *Brahim*, a son of the *Shieck*) ordered him to get up and go to work ; and upon *Dolbie* declaring that he was unable, *Brahim* beat him with a stick to compel him to go ; but as he still did not obey, *Brahim* threatened that he would kill him ; and upon *Dolbie's* replying that he had better do so at once than kill him by inches, *Brahim* stabbed him in the side with a dagger, and he died in a few minutes. As soon he was dead, he was taken by some slaves a short distance from the town, where a hole was dug, into which he was thrown without ceremony. As the grave was not deep, and as it frequently happened that corpses after burial were dug out of the ground by the foxes, Adams and his two surviving companions went the next day and covered the grave with stones. ⁽⁵³⁾

As the Moors were constantly urging them to become Mohammedans, and they were unceasingly treated with the greatest brutality, the fortitude of *Williams* and *Davison*

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being exhausted, they at last unhappily consented to renounce their religion, and were circumcised; and thus obtained their liberty; after which they were presented with a horse, a musket, and a blanket each, and permitted to marry; no *Christian* being allowed at any of the places inhabited by Moors, to take a wife, or to cohabit with a Moorish woman.

As Adams was the only remaining Christian at Wadinoon, he became in a more especial manner an object of the derision and persecution of the Moors, who were constantly upbraiding and reviling him, and telling him that his soul would be lost unless he became a Mohammedan, insomuch that his life was becoming intolerable;⁽⁵⁴⁾ when, only three days after Williams and Davison had renounced their religion, a letter was received from *Mr. Joseph Dupuis*, British Consul at Mogadore, addressed to the Christian prisoners at Wadinoon, under cover to the Governor; in which the Consul, after exhorting them most earnestly not to give up their religion, whatever might befall them, assured them that within a month, he should be able to procure their liberty. Davison heard the letter read apparently without emotion, but Williams became so agitated, that he let it drop out of his hands, and burst into a flood of tears.⁽⁵⁵⁾

From this time Adams experienced no particular ill treatment ; but he was required to work as usual. About a month more elapsed, when the man who brought the letter, who was a servant of the British Consul, disguised as a trader, made known to Adams that he had succeeded in procuring his release ; and the next day they set out together for Mogadore.

On quitting Wadinoon, (where Adams is confident he stayed more than twelve months ; the second year's crop of tobacco having been completely got in before his departure) they proceeded in a northerly direction, travelling on mules at the rate of thirty miles a day, and in fifteen days* arrived at Mogadore. The first night they stopped at a village called *Akkadia*, situated at the foot of a high mountain. Here, for the first time, Adams saw olive trees, and palm trees from the nuts of which oil is extracted. The place consisted of about twenty houses ; some of them two stories high. Having slept there, they set out the next morning at four o'clock, and the following day about sun-set reached another village, the name of which he does not remember. Here were only a few houses, but a great many tents, and in the neighbourhood large fields of wheat,

* The detail of Adams's course from Wed-Noon to Mogadore, makes only *thirteen* days.

Indian-corn, and barley. Adams thinks this place was all the property of one man.

The place at which they next stopped, having travelled that day in a north-east direction, was the residence of a great warrior named *Cidi Heshem*, who had with him upwards of six hundred black men and Moors, most of them armed with muskets, which they kept in excellent order. Adams was informed that he admitted into his service any runaway Negroes or Moors; to whom he gave liberty on condition of their entering into his service. He appeared to be very rich: having numerous camels, goats, sheep, and horned cattle, and abundance of piece goods of various kinds, as also shoes and other manufactures which were exposed for sale in shops kept by Jews. The place was called after its owner, *Bled de Cidi Heshem*, in the district of Suz, and to the best of Adams's recollection, contained from twenty to thirty houses. Here he saw a great quantity of silver money, principally dollars. Cidi Heshem was at war with the Emperor of Morocco. ⁽⁵⁶⁾

After staying one night and part of the next day, Adams and his companion proceeded on their journey; and the following night slept at a place where there were only two huts. The next day they arrived at a place of a similar description, and then set out, expecting to arrive at a large

town, situate on a high hill by the sea side named in English *Santa Cruz*, (where he was told, formerly a British Consul resided), but called by the Moors *Agadeer*. They did not, however, get so far; but reached a place called *Cidi Mahomeda Moussa*,* situate in a wide sandy plain, where the harvest being just got in, the inhabitants were holding a market, at which there appeared to be assembled not less than four thousand persons from all quarters, who had goods of all descriptions for sale. This market, he was told, is held once a year, and lasts for five days. Here Adams's companion was met by several persons of his acquaintance, who seemed greatly delighted at his success in effecting his (Adams's) liberation: some of them spoke English.

After remaining there one day, they set out again on their journey, and by one o'clock reached *Agadeer*. As soon as they arrived, the Governor sent for Adams, and said to him in the Moorish language, "now, my lad, you may consider yourself safe." He afterwards made particular inquiry as to the treatment Adams had met with; and on being told with what inhumanity he had been used

* There is a sanctuary near Santa Cruz, called *Cidi Mohammed Monsoul*, but Adams appears to have confounded it, (probably from the similarity of the names) with *Cidi Hamet a Moussa*. See Note 56. D.

at Wadinoon, the Governor said he well knew their manner of treating Christians; but that they were savages, and not subjects of the Emperor: he added, that having the good fortune now to be in the dominions of the Emperor, Adams might rest satisfied that he was perfectly safe, and would meet with nothing but good treatment; an assurance that afforded him the greatest satisfaction, although ever since his departure from Wadinoon he had felt a confident belief that his complete deliverance was at hand. The next day they resumed their journey, and from this time travelled northerly for five days without meeting with any other habitation than occasional huts. About twelve o'clock on the fifth day, ascending a hill, they discovered the town of Mogadore beneath them, and square rigged vessels lying in the harbour; the sight of which, says Adams, "I can no otherwise describe than by saying, I felt as if a new life had been given to me." In about half an hour afterwards they entered the town, and immediatety went to the house of the Governor, who sent Adams to Mr. Dupuis, the British Consul; by whom he was received into his house, and treated with the utmost kindness. "Never," says Adams, "shall I forget the kindness of this good gentleman, who seemed to study how to make me comfortable and happy."

On the arrival of Adams at *Mogadore*, it appeared to be the wish of the Governor to send him to the Emperor; but to this Mr. Dupuis objected, and Adams remained with him the following eight months; in the course of which time, Mr. Dupuis frequently interrogated him upon the subject of the several places at which he had been in Africa, and sent for travellers for the purpose of comparing their statements with those given by him; (57) after which he expressed a strong desire that Adams should come to England for the purpose of giving an account of his travels, as he said many gentlemen would be glad to receive it. But as England and America were then at war, Adams was apprehensive lest he might be made a prisoner, and therefore declined the pressing offers and solicitations of the Consul that he should take his passage in an English vessel, bound to London. Finding Adams thus averse from going to England, and the only vessels which were lying at *Mogadore* being bound thither, Mr. Dupuis wrote to the Emperor of Morocco, and also to Mr. Simpson the British* Consul at Tangier with the view of procuring permission for Adams to go to Tangier, from whence he hoped he might get a passage by some Spanish vessel to Cadiz. This being at length agreed to, Adams took leave

* Mr. Simpson was *American* Consul. D.

of Mr. Dupuis in the month of April, 1814, who sent him under the protection of two Moorish soldiers, to *Fez*, the residence of the Emperor. ⁽⁵⁸⁾

They travelled on mules ; but as they stopped two days at *L'Arrache*,* and travelled but slowly, it was eighteen days before they arrived at *Fez*. On their arrival the Emperor was absent at *Mequinez*, and they accordingly proceeded thither the next day, and went to the house of Doctor Manuel, a Portuguese physician, who informed the Emperor of Adams's arrival. Adams was then ordered into the presence of the Emperor, who first asked him of what country he was ; he replied, " an Englishman." He then inquired into the treatment he had met with, and whether he liked the Moors as well as the Europeans, to which Adams answered, " No." The Emperor then ordered that Adams should be taken to the Governor ; who, the next day, sent him in the charge of two soldiers to *Tangier*, where, travelling on mules, they arrived in three days.

Immediately upon his arrival at *Tangier*, Adams was presented to the Governor, and then conveyed to the

* Adams has evidently forgotten the situation of *El Araische*. He could not have touched there on his journey from *Mogadore* to *Fez* ; though he might very probably pass through it on his way from *Mequinez* to *Tangier*. The place he alludes to must be either *Rhabatt* or *Sallee*. D.

Consul, Mr. Simpson ; who two days afterwards procured him a passage on board a Spanish schooner bound to Cadiz, ⁽⁵⁹⁾ where he arrived the next day, being the 17th of May, 1814, making *three years and seven months*, ⁽⁶⁰⁾ since he was wrecked in the Charles ; during which period, except from the effect of the severe beating he received at Wadinoon, and the weakness produced by his long confinement at that place in irons, he never was sick a single day.

After remaining about fourteen months at Cadiz as a servant or groom, in the service of Mr. Hall, an English merchant there ; peace having in the mean time been restored ; Adams was informed by the American Consul that he had now an opportunity of returning to his native country with a cartel, or transport of American seamen, which was on the point of sailing from Gibraltar. He accordingly proceeded thither ; but arrived two days after the vessel had sailed. Soon afterwards he engaged himself on board a Welsh brig lying at Gibraltar, in which he sailed to Bilboa, from whence the brig took a cargo of wool to Bristol ; and, after discharging it there, was proceeding in ballast to Liverpool. But having been driven into Holyhead by contrary winds, Adams there fell sick, and was put on shore. From this place he begged his way up to

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London, where he arrived about the middle of October, completely destitute ; and had slept two or three nights in the open streets, before he was accidentally met by a gentleman, who had seen him in Mr. Hall's service at Cadiz, and was acquainted with his history ; by whom he was directed to the office of the African Committee.

END OF THE NARRATIVE.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

ADAMS'S NARRATIVE.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Note 1, p. 6.

I do not recollect to have heard any suspicion stated either by Adams or others of the crew of the "Charles," that the Captain was really bound to any other place than the Isle of May, or some other of the Cape de Verd Islands; but the ship's name, the owners, captain, crew and cargo, agree precisely with the statements which were made to me at Mogadore. *D.*

Note 2, p. 8.

El Gazie (the *g* strongly guttural) has been described to me by Arabs who have occasionally visited that part of the

coast, chiefly for the purpose of sharing or purchasing the plunder of such vessels as may be cast on shore:—which misfortune but too frequently happens to those who do not use the precaution of keeping a good *offing*; for most parts of this desert coast are so low, and the weather is here in general so hazy, as to preclude a distant view of the shore.

The *Douar* (by which word I mean a village of tents, and which I shall accordingly so use hereafter, in speaking, of the encamped residences of the Arabs) is here scarcely deserving of the name; consisting, as I have been told, only of a few scattered tents, inhabited by a small community of poor and miserable Arabs, whose manner of living, dress and appearance, are doubtless such as Adams here describes; and who, residing chiefly, if not entirely, on the sea-coast, become the first possessors of the valuables and surviving crews of such vessels as here suffer shipwreck.

As soon as such an event is known in the Desert, their *Douar* becomes a mart, to which Arabs from all parts of the interior resort for trade; and it even not unfrequently happens, that when the news of such a catastrophe reaches the southern provinces of Barbary, the native traders of Santa Cruz, Mogadore, and their districts, make long journeys for the same purpose, and frequently bring back

valuable articles saved from the wreck, which they purchase from the ignorant natives as things of no value. In this manner, I have been informed of superfine cloths being bought at half-a-dollar the cubit measure. Occasionally also I have seen Bank of England notes, which I was assured cost a mere trifle; the purchaser only knowing their value. Watches, trinkets, wearing apparel, muslins, silks, linens, &c. are gladly disposed of for dates, horses, camels, their favourite blue linens (baftas) or any of the few articles which are felt by these poor people to be immediately serviceable in their wretched way of living. They are, however, more tenacious of the fire-arms, cutlasses, pikes, cordage, bits of old iron, spike nails, and copper, upon which they set great value, and therefore seldom part with them.

This is the common mode of transacting the *trade of a wreck*. However, it not unfrequently happens that when the crew and cargo fall into the possession of any tribe of insignificant note, the latter are invaded by one of their more powerful neighbours, who either strip them by force of all their collected plunder, or compel them, through fear, to barter it at rates far beneath its estimated value. In either case, whether obtained by purchase or by force, the Arabs load their camels with the spoil, and return to

their homes in the Desert, driving the unfortunate Christians before them. The latter, according to the interest of their new masters, are sold again or bartered to others; often to Arabs of a different tribe, and are thus conveyed in various directions across the Desert, suffering every degree of hardship and severity, which the cruelty, caprice or self-interest of their purchasers may dictate. *D.*

Note 3, p. 10.

At the very time that Adams was making this statement relative to the Frenchman who had escaped from the Canary Islands, Mr. John Barry, a merchant of Teneriffe, accidentally entered the room: and upon being asked whether he had ever heard of such a circumstance, he stated that between four and five years ago, some French prisoners did make their escape from Santa Cruz in a boat belonging to Canary, and that it was afterwards reported they had run their vessel on shore on the Coast of Africa, and had been seized and carried into captivity by the Moors.

It can hardly be doubted that the man of whom Adams speaks, was one of them.

Note 4, p. 11.

I perfectly recollect that the fact of the Captain's death, was mentioned to me by others of the Charles's crew who were ransomed at Mogadore, as well as by Adams; but I do not think that I was told he was murdered; only that he died from disease, want of nourishment, and severe treatment. *D.*

Note 5, p. 13.

Adams should have said *Agadeer Doma*. This proposition made by the mate to the Arabs, to convey the Christians to Senegal, was related to me, as well by Adams, as by others of the crew who were ransomed. The Arabs, I was told, had frequent consultations together; apparently to determine how they should dispose of their prisoners: after which, as if to raise the spirits of the sailors, they would point with their fingers to the north, or north-north-east; saying many words, which they (the sailors) did not understand, and frequently repeating the words *Suerra* and *Sultan*. *D.*

Note 6, p. 13.

In the spring of 1811, at which time, and until the breaking out of the war between Great Britain and the United States, I held the commission of Agent for the American Consulate at Mogadore, (under James Simpson

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Esq. Consul General of the United States at Tangier), three of the Charles's crew, named *Nicholas, Newsham,* and *Nelson*, were brought to me at Mogadore by an Arab of the tribe of *Woled Aboussebdh*, for the purpose of bargaining for their ransom; which, after some difficulties described in a subsequent Note, I effected. These men related to me the circumstances of their shipwreck, almost precisely in the same terms in which they were afterwards described to me by Adams, and as they are described in the Narrative. They also informed me that Adams (or *Rose*) and another of the crew had been purchased from the Arabs, who first made them prisoners, by a party who came from the eastward, and who had carried him into the Desert in that direction. *D.*

Note 7, p. 15.

Soudenny has been described to me as a Negro town or village bordering on the Desert: and I am credibly informed by traders, that it is a practice of the neighbouring Arabs to resort to the habitations of the Negroes on the confines of the Desert, for the purpose of stealing and carrying them away into slavery. This, however, is not the common method of procuring slaves; for it is attended with great personal risk, as Adams here relates. During

my residence in South Barbary, I have frequently inquired of different Negro slaves the manner of their falling into the hands of the Arabs; and many have assured me that they were stolen by them from their own country, and not regularly purchased at the slave marts. *D.*

According to Adams's statement of his route, Soudenny may be supposed to lie about the 6th degree of west longitude and the 16th of north latitude. This situation will fall very near the northern confines of Bambarra, where they approach, (if they do not actually touch) the Desert, on the eastern borders of Ludamar. It also approaches close to the line of Park's route in his first journey, when endeavouring to escape from the Moors of Benown: and we are consequently enabled to derive from Park's descriptions, materials for estimating in some degree, the probability of what Adams says respecting Soudenny.

Referring therefore to Park's account of this part of Africa, we find him drawing a melancholy picture of the sufferings of its Negro inhabitants from the plundering incursions of Moorish Banditti; on which excursions he says, (4to. Ed. p. 159), "they will seize upon the Negroes' cattle, and even on the inhabitants themselves." On arriving at *Sampaka*, in Ludamar, he says, p. 119, "the

“ towns-people informed us that a party of Moors had attempted to steal some cattle from the town in the morning, but had been repulsed.” He describes the Foulahs of *Wassiboo*, who are extensive cultivators of corn, as “ obliged for fear of the Moors to carry their arms with them to the fields.” See page 187. And in the next page he says, on approaching *Satilé*, “ the people, who were employed in the corn-fields, took us for Moors, and ran screaming away from us. When we arrived at the town, we found the gates shut, and the people all under arms.”

The places here mentioned are in the immediate vicinity of each other ; and occur in that part of the line of Park’s travels, which lies nearest to the presumed situation of Soudenny. The details, therefore, afford the nearest evidence which can at present be obtained, by which to estimate the probability of this part of Adams’s story ; and it is presumed that stronger circumstantial corroboration of it, will hardly be thought necessary.

Note 8, p. 21.

Woollo, which is a Negro, and not a Moorish appellative, occurs in a Note on Isaaco’s Journal (4to. p. 203) as the name of a former King of Bambarra, the father

of Mansong : but the probability of Adams's statement in this passage is more immediately corroborated by Mr. Jackson ; who assures his readers that there was a King Woollo, actually reigning at Tombuctoo in the year 1800. Mr. Jackson further states, that this same King of Tombuctoo was also sovereign of Bambarra ; in which respect, however, (as in many other instances where he relies on *African authority*) it is apparent that he was misinformed ; for the name of the sovereign of Bambarra from the year 1795 to 1805 inclusive, (the dates of Park's journeys) was certainly *Mansong*. Nevertheless it is very possible that Woollo, of whom Mr. Jackson heard in 1800, and whom Adams saw in 1811, as King of Tombuctoo, was one of the numerous tributaries of the sovereign of Bambarra ; and that this connection between the two states may have led to the report that they had jointly, but one King.

The name of *Fatima* affords, in itself, no proof that its possessor was a Moorish or even a Mohammedan woman : for Park, in speaking of another Negro sovereign, (the King of Bondou), says " this monarch was called Almami, " a Moorish name ; although I was told that he was not a " Mahomedan, but a Kafir or Pagan." 1st. Journey, 4to. p. 53.

Note 9, p. 22.

I have always understood the articles of dress at *Timbuctoo** to be much the same as Adams here describes. I have also been told, that the inhabitants occasionally wear the *alhaik* of Barbary (with which they are supplied by the Moorish and Arab traders), after the fashion of the inhabitants of the Barbary states; but that this mode of dress is not very prevalent. I have been assured that the cotton tree grows spontaneously in many parts of Soudan, and that the clothes of the natives generally, are of that material, manufactured by themselves. Judging from the specimens of their cottons which I have seen, they must be good spinners and weavers. Their shirts, which are of a fine texture, are imported by the caravans into the Barbary states, and are much valued by the Arabs and Moors on account of the regularity and strength of the thread. Many of them are interwoven in particular parts with silk. These shirts, which I have frequently seen, are much in the shape of a waggoner's frock, supposing it to be longer, fuller, and without sleeves: they are either white, or simply blue, or blue and white in various shades.

This I have always understood to be the principal dress

* This city was invariably called *Timbuctoo*, by all the traders and slaves with whom I have conversed respecting it. D.

of what may be termed the middle class of Negroes ; possibly of the Chiefs also : but the poor are represented to be clothed simply round the waist with a cotton wrapper, more or less coarse, according to the means of the wearer, which either hangs down loose, or is twisted between their legs and girt round their loins. D.

Note 10, p. 23.

With respect to the enclosure of the King's palace, into which Adams says the foreign merchandize is carried, for the payment (as he thinks) of duties, what I have heard from Moorish traders with reference to such a place, is briefly this ; that the palace of the King of Timbuctoo is situated in what they call the *kusba*, or citadel, in the centre of the town ; which being a place of security, the traders naturally deposit their effects therein, and even inhabit a part of it ; and that duties, (the nature and rate of which I do not recollect) are exacted by the King on all merchandize brought by strangers.

With respect to the King's palace, and the houses generally, I have been informed that they are only one story high. It has also been stated to me that there are shops in the city, which the Negroes frequent for the purchase of foreign and domestic commodities ; and that

natives of all parts of Soudan may be seen there, many of them entirely naked.

The country, without the gates of the enclosure or citadel noticed above, is represented to be thickly covered with the hovels or huts of the natives as far as the eye can reach; especially in the direction of the river, to the banks of which these habitations extend, deserving, in fact, the name of a town. *D.*

From Park's description (1st. Journey, 4to. p. 22) the palace of the King of Bondou appears to be a structure very much resembling that described by Adams at Timbuctoo.

“ All the houses,” he says, “ belonging to the King and his family, are surrounded by a lofty mud wall, which converts the whole into a kind of citadel. The interior is subdivided into different courts.”

Note 11, p. 23.

I perfectly recollect that Adams told me at Mogadore of these muskets which he had seen in the King's house at Timbuctoo; and at the same time that fire arms were not used by the inhabitants; which agrees with what I have heard from other quarters.

In the northern regions of the Desert, I have always understood that double-barrelled guns are in common use ; and Park mentions them even on the south and south-western confines of the Desert : but the arms of the Arabs bordering on the Negroes of Timbuctoo, have been described to me by the traders, to consist of javelins, swords and daggers. *D.*

Note 12, p. 25.

As far as I can recollect, the description, which I received from Adams in Barbary of the houses of Timbuctoo, was more detailed than that in the Narrative. There were, he said, two distinct sorts of habitations ; the houses of the Chiefs and wealthier Negroes, and the huts of the poor. The former (as well as the palace of the King,) he described as having walls of clay, or clay and sand, rammed into a wooden case or frame, and placed in layers one above another until they attained the height required ; the roof being composed of poles or rafters laid horizontally, and covered with a cement or plaister of clay and sand. The huts of the poorer people are constructed merely of the branches of trees stuck into the ground in circles, bent, and lashed together at the top. This frame is then covered with a sort of matting made of

a vegetable substance which he called grass, but which, from his description appeared to be the *palmeta* (called *dome* by the Arabs), and the hut, I think he told me, was afterwards covered with clay.

This description corresponds in all respects with those which I have received from the Arab and Moorish traders. *D.*

Note 13, p. 25.

I do not at all recollect either by what name Adams spoke of the river of Timbuctoo, when he mentioned it to me at Mogadore, or that I have ever heard it called *La Mar Zarah*, by any of the traders with whom I have conversed. If I were to hazard a conjecture on so uncertain a subject, I might suppose that Adams had made a slight mistake in repeating this name; and that he should have said, *El Bahar Sahara*, which in Arabic would mean the *Desert Sea*, or the *River of the Desert*. His pronunciation of Arabic was at all times indistinct, and often quite incorrect; and I remember other words in which he interchanged the sound of different consonants in the manner that I have here supposed. However, *La Mar Zarah* may very possibly be the name of the river in the language of the Negroes.

Another question here suggests itself, whether the river

mentioned by Adams is really the great river Niger; or whether it is only a branch of it flowing from the south-east parts of the Desert, and falling into the principal stream not far from Timbuctoo?

The river of Timbuctoo (which I have always supposed to be the Niger itself) is called by the traders of Barbary, indiscriminately by the several names of *Wed-Nile*, *Bahar-Nile*, or *Bahar-Abide*. The same people have described it to me in a situation corresponding with that in the Narrative; at a very short distance from the town, and as pursuing its course through fertile countries on the east and south-east borders of the Desert; after which it is generally supposed in Barbary to fall into the Nile of Egypt.

According to these statements of the Moorish traders, Adams would seem to have mistaken the *course of the stream* at Timbuctoo. In fact, I do not recollect that he told me at Mogadore, that it flowed in a westerly direction: but I think I am correct in saying, that he discovered some uncertainty in speaking upon this subject, (and almost upon this subject alone), observing, in answer to my inquiries, that he had not taken very particular notice, and that the river was steady, without any appearance of a strong current.

The mountains near Timbuctoo, between which, Adams describes the river to flow, have also been mentioned to me by the traders from Barbary. . *D.*

It is certain that Adams spoke with apparently less confidence of the direction of the stream of the *La Mar Zarah*, than of any other point of his Narrative. Nevertheless, although he was repeatedly questioned upon the subject, and might easily perceive that the fact of a stream flowing in that direction, in that place, was considered extremely improbable, he invariably stated his preponderating belief that it did flow to the south-west.

We shall reserve for our concluding Note, a few further remarks on this point of the Narrative; and shall only add in this place (to Mr. Dupuis' very probable conjecture on the subject) that the Spanish geographer *Marmol*, who describes himself to have spent twenty years of warfare and slavery in Africa, about the middle of the 16th century, mentions the river *Lahamar* as a branch of the Niger; having muddy and unpalatable waters. By the same authority the Niger itself is called *Yça* or *Issa* at Tombuctoo; a name which D'Anville has adopted in his maps of Africa.

Note 14, p. 25.

The description which Adams gives of the vessels or canoes at Timbuctoo, is, as far as it goes, consistent with what I recollect of his statement to me at Mogadore. But I think he described them to me as being more numerous ; adding, that he had seen them navigate the river in fleets of from ten to twenty canoes together ; that he had been informed that they were absent occasionally a month or more, and that frequently they returned to Timbuctoo, laden with slaves and merchandize. He also mentioned *Jinnie* to me, as a place to which, as he understood, the inhabitants of Timbuctoo resorted for trade ; and that the communication between the two cities was by water.

I ought to observe, moreover, that these particulars correspond in substance with the information which I have obtained from Arab and Moorish traders respecting Timbuctoo, and the *Nile-Abide*. The same persons have told me that *Jinnie* lay fifteen days journey to the south-west of Timbuctoo. D.

Note 15, p. 26.

I do not recollect to have heard *dates* or *pine apples* mentioned by any of the natives of Barbary who have visited Timbuctoo ; but I have heard that both *figs* and

cocoa-nuts grow there. The other vegetables enumerated by Adams in the Narrative, and which he also mentioned to me, are described by traders as being produced, generally speaking, throughout Soudan. D.

With respect to *dates*, Park in his first Journey, mentions two occasions on which he met with them in Soudan; first at Gangadi near the Senegal above Galam, where "he observed a number of date-trees," 4to. p. 71: and, secondly, dates were part of the food set before him by the Foulah shepherd on the northern confines of Bambarra, mentioned in p. 182.

Speaking generally of the vegetable productions of Soudan, Park says p. 250: "Although many species of "the edible roots which grow in the West India Islands are "found in Africa, yet I never saw in any part of my "journey, either the sugar-cane, the coffee, or the cacao- "tree; nor could I learn on inquiry, that they were known "to the natives. The pine-apple, and the thousand other "delicious fruits which the industry of civilized man has "brought to so great perfection in the tropical climates of "America, are here equally unknown."

The *pine-apple*, however, is well known upon the Gold Coast, and in the Bight of Benin; and there appears to be

no sufficient reason for doubting that it grows at Tombuctoo. We have not heard that Africa produces the *cacao-tree*; but the *sugar-cane* and the *coffee plant* are both amongst its products. The former is found upon the coasts just mentioned; and coffee has long been known to grow in abundance in Abyssinia.

With respect to the *cocoa-nut tree*, (not the cacao), which Adams names amongst the vegetable productions of Tombuctoo, some doubts of his accuracy in this respect have arisen; first, in consequence of the opinion that this tree flourishes only near the shores of the sea; and, secondly, because Adams was unable to describe its appearance. But as we are not disposed, on the one hand, to attach much value to the botanical recollections of a common sailor, neither do we think, on the other, that much stress ought to be laid either upon the fact of his having forgotten, or upon his inability to describe the appearance of any plants, which he may have seen. It would be by the *fruit* which it bore, that we should expect such a person to recollect any particular tree; and before we reject his assertion respecting the latter, we ought to consider that he mentions the former, incidentally, not less than three times in the course of his Narrative.

Although these circumstances entitle Adams's statement

to considerable attention, yet we shall not be much surprised if he should be found to have mistaken the shell of the *calabash* (which is known to be much in use amongst the Mandingoes to the westward) for that of the cocoa-nut, when he speaks of the latter as a common domestic utensil at Tombuctoo, and as employed by the natives in the composition of one of their musical instruments.

Note 16, p. 27.

In speaking of the quadrupeds at Timbuctoo, Adams says there are *no horses*. I do not recollect that he told me this at Mogadore, but I am disposed to give credit to the statement, from the corresponding accounts which I have received from traders. The same opinion prevails among the resident Moors of Barbary, who, in deriding and reviling their Negro slaves, frequently use a proverbial expression, implying, that “God who had blessed the Moors with horses, had cursed the Negroes with asses.” The other animals which Adams here mentions are, in general, the same as are described by the Arab and Moorish traders. D.

Note 17, p. 28.

The *Heiries*, of which Adams speaks, are doubtless the species of camel which is known by that name in the Desert. What I can learn with certainty respecting this extraordinary animal (one of which I have seen at Morocco, brought by the Arabs of Aboussebàh as a present to the Emperor) is, that though there is scarcely any visible difference between it and the common camel, its speed, patience, and abstinence, are much greater; and, that it is, on these accounts, highly prized by the Arabs. *D.*

There can be no doubt that Adams's *heirie* is the animal described by Leo Africanus in the following passage, which we quote from the Latin translation before us; "Tertium genus (camelorum) patriâ linguâ *ragnahil* " dictum, gracilibus exiguæque staturæ camelis, constat; " qui sarcinis gerendis inferiores, reliquos tanta sui per- " nicitate superant, ut diei unius spatio centum passuum " milia conficiant, iter modico viatico ad dies octo vel " decem perpetuantes." And Pennant's description of the animal accords still more minutely with the details given by Adams. (See Pennant's *Zool.* 4to. vol. i. p. 131.) " There are varieties among the camels; what is called the " dromedary, *Maihary*, and *raguahl* is very swift. The latter

“ has a less hunch, is much inferior in size, never carries
“ burdens, but is used to ride on.”

Note 18, p. 29.

I have been frequently informed that *elephant-hunting* is common at Timbuctoo as well as in most parts of Soudan : and it is certain that great numbers of their teeth are brought by the caravans into Barbary. The manner in which Adams describes the hunting in the Narrative, corresponds exactly with what he related to me at Mogadore ; as well as with the accounts which I had previously heard from traders, of the mode of hunting practised by the Negroes of Timbuctoo.

I do not recollect the exact dimensions of the elephant which Adams described to me ; and I am confident that no such phænomenon as the “*four tusks*” was mentioned to me at Mogadore. In fact, I do not think that I asked him any question whatever on the subject of the teeth, or that they were mentioned by him at all. *D.*

It must be admitted that Adams has attributed dimensions to his elephant, which considerably surpass the limits of any previous authorities respecting this most bulky of animals : but without attempting to maintain the possibility

of his accuracy, by quoting the authorities of Buffon and others, who have represented the breed of elephants in the *interior* and *eastern* parts of Africa, as greatly exceeding in size those of the western coast, and even as being larger than the elephants of the East Indies; all that we shall here contend for is, the probability that Adams, in this instance relates no more than he honestly *believes* he saw. He did not approach the animal nearer than three-quarters of a mile whilst it was alive; and it is not surprising that the sight for the first time of so huge a body, when lying dead on the ground, should impress him with an exaggerated idea of its dimensions.

However, we will not deny that the strange novelty of this stupendous creature seems to have disturbed Adams's usual accuracy of observation: we allude to his subsequent mistake about the animal's "four tusks."

It would be dealing rather unreasonably with a rude sailor cast upon the wilds of Africa, to expect that he should in that situation, whilst every thing was strange and new around him, minutely observe,—or could at a long interval afterwards, correctly describe,—the details of the plants* or animals which he had there an opportunity of seeing; and it would be unjust indeed, to make his accuracy on these points the standard of his veracity.

* See Note 15.

The same objects which would be full of interest to a tutored eye, and would be scanned in all their parts with eager and systematic curiosity, might pass almost unobserved before the vague and indifferent glance of an uncultivated individual like Adams ; and his recollection of them, if he recollected them at all, would only extend to a rude and indistinct idea of their general appearance. The details in the text leave no room to doubt that it was an elephant which Adams saw ; and with respect to the teeth it must not be forgotten, that he was questioned about them, apparently *for the first time*, more than four years after he saw the animal. If his observation of it might be expected to be vague and indistinct even at first, it would not be very extraordinary that his recollection of it, after so long an interval, should be far from accurate ; and we cannot feel much surprise that, though he remembered that the animal *had* teeth, he should not be very well able to recollect whether it had *two* or *four*.

Note 19, p. 30.

Alligators I have been informed are met with in the river near Timbuctoo ; but I never heard the *hippopotamus* mentioned. *D.*

Note 20, p. 30.

I never before heard of this extraordinary animal, either from Adams or any one else. D.

It would be unfair to Adams not to explain that when questioned as to his *personal knowledge* of the "courcoo," it appeared that he had never seen the animal nearer than at thirty or forty yards distance. It was from the Negroes he learnt that it had on its back "a hollow place like a "pouch, which they called 'coo,'" in which it pocketed its prey; and having once seen the creature carrying a branch of cocoa-nut with its fruit, "which as the courcoo "ran swiftly away, seemed to lie on its back," Adams concluded of course that the pocket *must* be there; and further, that the animal fed on cocoa-nuts, as well as goats and children.

In many respects Adams's description of the animal, (about which the Narrative shews that he was closely questioned), answers to the lynx.

Note 21, p. 30.

Lions, tigers, wolves, hyænas, foxes, and wild-cats, have been described to me as natives of most parts of Soudan; and are hunted by the Negroes on account of the ravages

which they frequently make amongst their flocks and domestic animals. *D.*

Note 22, p. 30.

The birds, both wild and tame, are, to the best of my recollection, the same as he previously described to me. The *ostriches* he told me were hunted both for their flesh and feathers, the latter not being used by the Negroes, except in trade with the Moors: who occasionally bring them to Barbary. *D.*

Note 23, p. 32.

The poisonous liquid prepared from “black lumps like opium,” into which the Negroes of Tombuctoo dip their arrows, appears to be the same as that which Park describes the Mandingoes to use, for a similar purpose.

“The poison, which is very deadly, is prepared from a shrub called *kooma*, (a species of *echites*); the leaves of which, when boiled in a small quantity of water, yield a thick, black juice.” 1st Journey, 4to. p. 281.

Note 24, p. 32

Park observed a similar custom of anointing their persons among the Negroes of Bondou. See 1st. Journey,

4to. p. 62. “ The cream (of cow’s milk) is converted into
“ butter by stirring it violently in a large calabash. This
“ butter forms a part of most of their dishes ; it serves
“ likewise to anoint their heads ; and is bestowed very
“ liberally on their faces and arms.”

Note 25, p. 33.

This account of the marks on the faces of the inhabitants of Timbuctoo, agrees with that which Adams gave at Mogadore.

I have occasionally seen Negroes with similar incisions on their faces, but I cannot state with any confidence that they came from Timbuctoo. However, I have certainly heard from some of the traders that these marks are a prevalent, if not universal, ornament of the male Negroes of that country.

Many of the Negro slaves brought up to Barbary by the Arabs, have the cartilage of the nose bored through, in which, it is said, they wear in their own countries, a large gold ring, in the manner described by Adams of the Negroes between Soudenny and Timbuctoo. I have frequently seen female slaves with perforations in the lobes of their ears, which had the appearance of having been distended by wearing heavy ornaments. *D.*

Note 26, p. 34.

Here again Adams, in his assertion of the existence of polygamy amongst the Negroes, and in his shrewd observation of the feuds which it excited amongst the ladies, may be illustrated and corroborated by a parallel passage from Park.

“ As the Kafirs (Pagan Negroes) are not restricted in
“ the number of their wives, every one marries as many as
“ he can conveniently maintain; and as it frequently
“ happens that the ladies disagree amongst themselves,
“ family quarrels sometimes rise to such a height that the
“ authority of the husband can no longer preserve peace in
“ his household.” 1st. Journey, 4to. pp. 39, 40.

Note 27, p. 36.

I cannot speak with any confidence of the religion of the Negroes of Timbuctoo.

However, I have certainly heard, and entertain little doubt, that many of the inhabitants are Mohammedans: it is also generally believed in Barbary, that there are mosques at Timbuctoo. But on the other hand, I am pretty confident that the King is neither an Arab nor a Moor; especially as the traders from whom I have collected these accounts have been either the one, or the

other; and I might consequently presume, that if they did give me erroneous information on any points, it would at least not be to the prejudice both of their national self-conceit, and of the credit and honour of their religion.

I think Adams told me that circumcision is not unfrequent there; and I have been informed by traders that it is common, though not universal, throughout Soudan; but without necessarily implying Mohammedanism in those who undergo the practice. *D.*

Park has stated circumcision to be common amongst the Negroes nearer the coast; and Barrow and other travellers describe the custom to be prevalent amongst the natives of some of the countries of southern Africa; but it does not appear in either of these cases to be practised exclusively as a Mohammedan rite.

With respect to the religious ceremonies in general, of the Pagan natives of Soudan, Park says, that on the first appearance of the new moon they say a short prayer, which is pronounced in a whisper, the party holding up his hands before his face; and that this “seems to be the only visible adoration which the Kafirs offer up to the Supreme Being.” (1st. Journey, 4to. p. 272.) Thus far Adams’s observation appears to have been perfectly accurate, that

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they have “no public religion, no house of worship, no priest, and never meet together to pray.” But it is difficult to suppose that there are not Mohammedan converts amongst the Negroes of Tombuctoo, who publicly exercise the ceremonies of their religion: and we apprehend that Adams will be suspected of careless observation on that subject, notwithstanding the confidence with which he speaks of it. Indeed we should have said, that he had himself borne testimony to some of the externals of Islamism, when he mentions the *turbans* which the Chiefs of Soudenny and Tombuctoo occasionally wore, did we not learn from Park, that the Kafirs are in the habit of adopting the customs, names, and even in some instances, the prayers* of the Mohammedans, without adopting their religious ceremonies or creed.

Note 28, p. 36.

Adams gave me a particular description of the wen or swelling on the back of his hand, and of its cure at Timbuctoo, in the manner here related.

I may take this opportunity of observing, that he recounted at Mogadore, (what I do not find in the Narrative,) several miraculous stories of the supernatural powers, or

* See Park's 1st. Journey, 4to. p. 37.

charms possessed by some of the Negroes, and which they practised both defensively to protect their own persons from harm, and offensively against their enemies. Of these details I do not distinctly remember more than the following circumstance, which I think he told me happened in his presence.

A Negro slave, the property of a Desert Arab, having been threatened by his master with severe punishment for some offence, defied his power to hurt him, in consequence of a charm by which he was protected. Upon this the Arab seized a gun, which he loaded with ball, and fired at only a few paces distance from the Negro's breast: but the Negro, instead of being injured by the shot, stooped to the ground, and picked up the ball which had fallen inoffensive at his feet!

It seems strange that Adams should have omitted these extraordinary stories (and almost these alone) in his Narrative; for he frequently expressed to me, a firm belief that the Negroes were capable of injuring their enemies by witchcraft; and he once pointed out to me a slave at Mogadore, of whom, on that account he stood peculiarly in awe. He doubtless imbibed this belief, and learnt the other absurd stories which he related, from the Arabs; some of whom profess to be acquainted with the art

themselves, and all of whom, I believe, are firmly persuaded of its existence, and of the peculiar proficiency of the Negroes in it. *D.*

Is it unreasonable to suppose, that having found his miraculous stories, and his belief in witchcraft, discredited and laughed at, both at Mogadore and Cadiz, Adams should at length have grown ashamed of repeating them, or even have outlived his superstitious credulity? This solitary instance of suppression (the particular stories suppressed being of so absurd a nature), may rather be considered as a proof of his good sense, and as the exercise of a very allowable discretion, than as evidence of an artfulness, of which not a trace has been detected in any other part of his conduct.

Note 29, p. 38.

The dancing of the people of Timbuctoo has been frequently described to me by Adams; and on one occasion particularly, when some Negro slaves were enjoying this their favourite amusement, at Mogadore, he brought me to the spot, telling me that their dance was similar to those in Soudan which he had described to me. The following was the nature of the dance:—six or seven men, joining hands, surrounded one in the centre of the ring,

who was dressed in a ludicrous manner, wearing a large black wig stuck full of cowries. This man at intervals repeated verses which, from the astonishment and admiration expressed at them by those in the ring, appeared to be extempore. Two performers were playing on the outside of the ring; one on a large drum, the other on a sort of guitar. They did not interrupt the singer in the ring during his recitations; but at the end of every verse the instruments stuck up, and the whole party joined in loud chorus, dancing round the man in the circle, stooping to the ground and throwing up their legs alternately. Towards the end of the dance, the man in the middle of the ring was released from his enclosure, and danced alone, occasionally reciting verses; whilst the other dancers begged money from the by-standers.

I do not recollect to have seen any of the female slaves join in these dances; but I have observed them very much interested whilst attending the diversion; sometimes appearing extravagantly delighted, and at others exhibiting signs of mourning and sorrow.

These dances were prohibited soon after the accession of the present Emperor; but they have been occasionally permitted of late years. Whether the prohibition arose from some connection either real or supposed, which the

dances had with any of the religious ceremonies of the Negroes, offensive to the Mohammedans, I was never able to ascertain. *D.*

The dancing of the Negroes at Joag in Kajaaga, as described by Mr. Park, corresponds very remarkably with Adams's description of the same amusement at Tombuctoo.

“I found,” he says, 1st Journey 4to. p. 68, “a great
“crowd surrounding a party who were dancing by the
“light of some large fires, to the music of four drums,
“which were beaten with great exactness and uniformity.
“The dances, however, consisted more in wanton gestures
“than in muscular exertion or graceful attitudes. The
“ladies vied with each other in displaying the most
“voluptuous movements imaginable. They continued to
“dance until midnight.”

Note 30, p. 38.

This statement, which is in opposition to the usual opinion that Tombuctoo is a dependency of Bambara, receives some corroboration from a passage in Isaaco's Journal (4to. p. 205) where a “Prince of Tombuctoo” is accused by the King of Segou, of having, either personally

or by his people, plundered two Bambarra caravans, and taken both merchandize and slaves. This was in September 1810, some months previous to the date of the expeditions mentioned in the Narrative.

Note 31, p. 39.

The Negro slaves brought to Barbary from Timbuctoo appear to be of various nations ; many of them distinguishable by the make of their persons and features, as well as by their language. I have seen slaves, who were described as coming from the remote country of *Wangara* ; but the greater part of them are brought from *Bambarra* ; the Negroes of that nation being most sought after, and fetching the highest prices in Barbary.

I recollect an unusually tall, stout Negress at Mogadore, whose master assured me that she belonged to a populous nation of cannibals. I do not know whether the fact was sufficiently authenticated ; but it is certain that the woman herself declared it, adding some revolting accounts of her own feasts on human flesh.

Being in the habit of inquiring from Negroes at Mogadore the manner of their falling into slavery, I received, on one such occasion, from a Bambarreen Negro, a long account of his capture, (on a plundering expedition), his

sale, escape, and re-capture, amongst different Negro nations before he was finally sold, at Timbuctoo, to the Arabs. His account was chiefly curious from his description of a nation which he called *Gollo*, or *Quallo*, which conveyed to me an idea of a people more advanced in the arts, and wealthier than any that I had previously heard of. The King's palace and the houses in general were described as superior structures to those of the Moors: and he even spoke of domesticated elephants trained to war, of which the King had a large force.

To this nation he was conveyed by a party of its natives, a stout race of people; who, happening to be in a town on the *Wed-Nile*, in which he and half of the plundering party to which he belonged, had been made prisoners, bought him from his captors, and carried him away to their own country. They arrived at *Gollo* after nearly a month's journey inland from the river; during which they crossed a large chain of mountains; and as far as I could judge from his account, the country lay south-east of Bambarra. Within three days journey of the capital was a large lake or river which communicated with the *Wed-Nile*, by which he eventually escaped.

Notwithstanding the reserve with which the stories of Negroes must be received, there was a circumstantiality in

this man's account, which seemed very like the truth ; and he bore about him ocular evidence in corroboration of one part of his story ; namely, that the right ears of himself and his plundering companions were cut off, as a punishment, by the people who sold him to the Negroes of *Gollo*. *D.*

Note 32, p. 40.

It was already evident from Park's accounts, and the fact receives a more extended confirmation from Adams, that the Negroes in the interior of Soudan are in general harmless and compassionate in their personal characters, and humane in their laws ; in which respects they are remarkably distinguished from many of their neighbours to the south, who, besides the ordinary implacability of savages towards their external and public enemies, are not sparing of the blood of their own countrymen, in their quarrels, punishments, or superstitious sacrifices.

Adams's account of the punishment assigned by the laws of Tombuctoo to the principal criminal offences, is substantially the same as that given by Park, in speaking of the laws of the Mandingoes ; amongst whom, he informs us, that murder, adultery, and witchcraft (which, in other words, is the administering of poison) are punished with slavery. It appears, however, that in cases of murder, the

relations of the deceased have, in the first instance, power over the life of the offender.

The infrequency of the punishment of death, in a community which counts human life amongst its most valuable objects of trade, is not, however, very surprising; and considerable influence must be conceded to the operation of self-interest, as well as to the feelings of humanity, in accounting for this merciful feature (if it be indeed merciful) in the criminal code of the Negroes of Soudan.

Note 33, p. 40.

I do not at present recollect whether Adams told me, that there were, or that there were not, shops at Timbuctoo; but, as I have stated in Note 10, I have been informed by some of the traders, and am disposed to believe, that there *are* shops, in which foreign merchandize, and the domestic commodities of the inhabitants, are exposed for sale. Others, however, have contradicted this account.

The articles of trade which Adams enumerates in the succeeding lines, appear to me to correspond with tolerable accuracy with those which the caravans from the Barbary states carry to Soudan, and bring from thence.

This trade from the states of Morocco, which appears to have been carried on to a considerable and uniform

extent since the reign of *Mulai Ismael* (at whose death the dominion previously exercised by the Moors over the natives of Timbuctoo is reported to have been shaken off by the latter), has begun to decline of late years, in consequence of the establishment of the market of *Hamet a Mousa*, in the territory of the *Cid Heshem*, described in a subsequent note : and I do not suppose that more than a hundred of the Emperor's subjects now annually cross the Desert.

With respect to the caravans themselves, their manner of assembling and travelling, the dangers which they incur in the Desert from the *Shume* wind, from want of water, and from the marauding disposition of the Desert Arabs, have been so fully described in other places, that any further detail here would be unnecessary. *D.*

Note 34, p. 41.

In quoting the price in cowries of a full grown slave, Adams must certainly have committed a great mistake. I remember he told me that the Arabs gave a considerable value in tobacco or other merchandize for a slave ; and that he thought them cheaper in the Desert than at Timbuctoo. *D.*

At Sansanding Park gives forty thousand cowries, as the current price of a male slave: it is not possible that the value either of cowries or slaves can be so utterly disproportionate in two countries so near to each other. Adams must have been quite in the dark with respect to the real terms of the bargain.

Note 35, p. 42.

That the people of Timbuctoo should feel some jealousy of the tribes of *Arabs* immediately in their neighbourhood, is extremely probable, considering the general marauding characters of the latter; but I do not know what particular measures of exclusion are enforced against them. With respect to the traders from Barbary, I have always been told that they are permitted to reside at Timbuctoo as long as they think proper. On the other hand, I believe, that camel-drivers, Arab guides, and those attached to the caravans, who are either not able, or not willing, to make the King a present, are excluded. *D.*

Adams's assertion, that he saw no Moors during his stay at Tombuctoo, except the aforesaid two parties, is not so improbable as it may at first sight appear.

Tombuctoo, although it is become, in consequence of its

frontier situation, the *port*, as it were, of the caravans from the north (which could not return across the Desert the same season if they were to penetrate deeper into Soudan) is yet, with respect to the trade itself, probably only the point from whence it diverges to Haoussa, Tuarick, &c. on the east, and to Walet, Jinnie, and Segou, in the west and south, and not the mart where the merchandize of the caravans is sold in detail. Park was informed, that Haoussa and Walet were, both of them, larger cities than Tombuctoo. Such Moors therefore as did not return to Barbary with the returning caravan, but remained in Soudan until the following season, might be expected to follow their trade to the larger marts of the interior, and to return to Tombuctoo, only to meet the next winter's caravans. Adams, arriving at Tombuctoo in February, and departing in June, might therefore miss both the caravans themselves and the traders who remained behind in Soudan: and, in like manner, Park might find Moors carrying on an active trade in the summer at Sansanding, and yet there might not be one at Tombuctoo.

With respect to the trade actually carried on at Tombuctoo (which makes but an insignificant figure in Adams's account,) we can only regret that a person placed in his extraordinary situation, was not better qualified to collect

or communicate more satisfactory information on this and many other interesting subjects. However his lists of the articles of trade, show that he was not wholly unobservant in this respect; and we cannot but think it probable that the “armed parties of a hundred men or more,” which he describes at page 39, as going out once a month for slaves, and returning sometimes in a week and sometimes after a longer absence, were in reality traders.

Note 36, p. 42.

I was frequently told by Adams, who appeared to take pleasure in speaking of the circumstance, that the Negroes behaved to him on all occasions with great humanity, never insulting or ill treating him on account of his religion, as the Arabs did. He was never confined at Timbuctoo, but could go where he pleased. Upon these grounds I entertain little doubt (and I was confirmed in my opinion by Timbuctoo traders with whom I conversed on the subject) that had Adams explained his story to the Negroes, and expressed any unwillingness to accompany the Arabs on their return, he would have been rescued out of their hands, and left at liberty. I do not recollect whether he told me, that the idea had ever occurred to him; but, if it did, it is probable that when he came to consider, his hopeless

prospect of reaching the sea coast, if left to himself, and that the Arabs had promised to take him to Suerra after their expedition to Soudenny ; he would prefer the chance of ultimate liberation afforded him by accompanying the Arabs, of whose severe treatment he had then had but a short experience. *D.*

Note 37, p. 42.

I do not imagine that the curiosity of the Negroes can have been excited so much on account of Adams's colour, as because he was a Christian, and a *Christian slave*, which would naturally be to them a source of great astonishment. The Negroes must have seen, in the caravans from the Barbary states which annually visit the countries of Soudan, and Timbuctoo in particular, many Moors, especially those from Fez, of a complexion quite as light as that of Adams. *D.*

Note 38, p. 43.

September and October are the months in which the caravans from Barbary to Timbuctoo assemble on the northern confines of the Desert. They commence their journey as soon as the first rains have cooled the ground, and arrive again from the Desert about the month of March. *D.*

Whilst Adams states in the text, on the one hand, that the Desert can be crossed only in winter during the rainy season, it appears on the other, that he himself must have crossed it in July. (See Note 60.) Yet upon examination, the circumstances of the Narrative will be found not only to reconcile this apparent contradiction, but even to add to the internal evidence of the truth of Adams's story. The winter is, admittedly, the only proper time for crossing the Desert, and (as Mr. Dupuis states in the preceding part of this Note), the trading caravans from Barbary never attempt the journey at any other season. But the solitary troop of Arabs from the Woled D'leim do not appear to have come to Tombuctoo for the ordinary purposes of trade. Their only object seems to have been to ransom their imprisoned comrades: and having this alone in view, they would naturally come as soon as they had ascertained the captivity of the latter and prepared the means of redeeming them; without regarding the inconveniences of travelling at an unusual season. Their extraordinary sufferings, and loss of lives, from heat and thirst in returning across the Desert, may be hence accounted for.

This explanation moreover confirms, and is corroborated by, Adams's subsequent remark, in page 59, that the Arabs of Woled D'leim (which was the home of his ransomers)

to be of the same tribe as those of the douar whither he was first conveyed from the coast, and consequently, as those who were taken prisoners with him at Soudenny.

Note 39, p. 43.

This apparently unimportant passage affords, on examination, a strong presumption in favour of the truth and simplicity of this part of Adams's Narrative.

In the course of his examinations, almost every new inquirer eagerly questioned him respecting the *Joliba*; and he could not fail to observe, that, because he had been at Tombuctoo, he was expected, as a matter of course, either to have seen, or at least frequently to have heard of, this celebrated river. Adams, however, fairly admits that he knows nothing about it: and, notwithstanding the surprise of many of his examiners, he cannot be brought to acknowledge that he had heard the name even once mentioned at Tombuctoo. All that he does recollect is, that a river *Joliba* had been spoken of at Tudenny, where it was described as lying in the direction of Bambarra.

Those who recollect Major Rennell's remarks respecting the Niger in his "Geographical Illustrations," will not be much surprised that Adams should not hear of the "*Joliba*" from the natives of Tombuctoo. At that point of its course,

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the river is doubtless known by another name : and if the Joliba were spoken of at all, it would probably be accompanied (as Adams states in the text) with some mention of Bambarra, which may be presumed to be the last country eastward in which the Niger retains its Mandingo name.

Note 40, p. 43.

Some of the words mentioned in this short specimen of the Negro language are Arabic ; for instance,—*killeb*, a dog ; *feel*, an elephant ; *dar*, a house : also the names which he has given for “ date ” and “ fig ” ; but the word *carna*, which he has prefixed to the latter, signifying “ tree,” is not Arabic. Whether Adams, in consequence of the short opportunity which he had of hearing the language of the Negroes, and his subsequent long residence amongst the Arabs, has confounded the two languages in the above instances ; or whether there may not really be some mixture of the languages at Timbuctoo (as not unfrequently happens in the frontier places of adjoining countries), I cannot pretend to determine.

It is at least certain, that Adams did know something of the Negro language, for I have frequently heard him hold conversations with the slaves at Mogadore ; especially with a young Negro who used to visit my house on purpose

to see Adams, and (as he has himself told me) to converse with him about his own country, where, he has often assured me, Adams had been. *D.*

Note 41, p. 49.

Taudeny has been frequently described to me by traders in a manner which corresponds with Adams's account; it being reported to have four wells of good water, and a number of date and fig trees: the inhabitants are represented as quite black, but without the Negro features. The salt pits consist of large beds of rock salt, in the manner that Adams describes, and of very considerable extent. Their produce is in much request at Timbuctoo, and in all Soudan, whither it is sent in large quantities; the people of *Taudeny* receiving in return slaves and merchandize, which they again exchange with the Arabs of *Woled D'leim*, and *Woled Aboussebàh*, for camels, horses, or tobacco; so that I should imagine *Taudeny* to be a place of importance, and highly interesting. *D.*

Note 42, p. 53.

Woled D'leim is the douar of a tribe of Arabs inhabiting the eastern parts of the Desert from the latitude of about twenty degrees north to the tropic. I have been informed

by travellers who have visited these parts, that they are a tribe of great extent and power ; that they inhabit detached fertile spots of land where they find water, and pasturage for their flocks, but do not at all practise agriculture. I have occasionally seen Arabs of this tribe during my residence at Mogadore. They appear to be an extremely fine race of men. Their complexion is very dark, almost as black as that of the Negroes ; but they have straight hair, which they wear in large quantities, aquiline noses, and large eyes. Their behaviour was haughty and insolent : they spoke with fluency and energy, appeared to have great powers of rhetoric ; and I was told that many of them possessed the talent of making extempore compositions in verse, on any object that attracted their notice. Their arms were javelins and swords. *D.*

Note 43, p. 55.

The circumstances of Adams's neglect of his employment, and of the punishment which he received in consequence, appear to have made a strong impression on him ; for he frequently mentioned them to me ; always adding, that he had firmly determined to persevere in his resistance, though it had cost him his life. *D.*

Note 44, p. 58.

Adams described the circumstances of his escape from the *Woled D'leim* to *El Kabla*, precisely as they are here related: but he observed to me that, with respect to masters, he had scarcely bettered his condition; and at all times he shewed an inveterate animosity against any of the Arabs of the Desert whom he saw at Mogadore.

El Kabla means the *eastern* Arabs, so distinguished from those of West Barbary and the coast. In the pronunciation of a Desert Arab, the name might sound very like *El Gibla*, or *Hilla Gibla*.

These people inhabit large tracts of the Desert on the northern limits of the *Woled D'leim*. They are looked upon as a tribe of considerable importance, and are frequently employed by the traders in crossing the Desert, serving as guides or escorts as far as Taudeny. They have been represented to me as a haughty and ferocious race, yet scrupulously observant of the rites of hospitality. In persons they are said to resemble their *Woled D'leim* neighbours, being extremely dark, straight haired, and of the true Arabian feature. They are reported to be descendants from the race of *Woled Aboussebah*; from whom they probably separated themselves, in consequence of some of the disputes which frequently involve the Desert

tribes in domestic wars Their large flocks of sheep and goats supply them with outer raiment as well as food ; but the blue shirts of Soudan, are almost universally worn by them as under garments. *D.*

Note 45, p. 60.

These details of Adams's amour with *Aisha* are the same as he gave to me at Mogadore. Of the fact itself I can entertain no doubt ; from the following circumstances.

After the loss of the " Charles " it had been my constant practice, when traders went to the Desert, to commission them to make inquiries respecting the remainder of the crew, who were in the possession of the Arabs ; and, in particular, respecting those who had been reported to me to be carried eastward. On the return of one of these men from El Kabla, he told me that there was a Christian slave at that place, in possession of an Arab, who would doubtless be very glad to dispose of him, in consequence of the slave having been detected in an affair with his wife. He then briefly related to me the same story, in substance, as I afterwards heard from Adams.

I also heard of it from a trader from Wed-Noon, who told me of Adams being there, some time before I effected his ransom : I was informed at the same time,

that this trait of his character and history was much talked of at Wed-Noon. D.

Note 46, p. 61.

Villa de Bousbach should be *Woled Aboussebàh*; *Woled* signifying *sons* or *children*, and being commonly applied to all the tribes of Arabs.

The Woled Aboussebàh is a considerable tribe of Arabs distinct from the Woled D'leim, inhabiting large tracts of the northern and western parts of the Desert. They report themselves to be descendants from the line of *sheriffes*, or race of the Prophet. Their country is described as a Desert interspersed with spots of fertile land, where they fix their douars, and pasture their flocks of goats, sheep, and camels. Their diet is occasionally the flesh of their flocks, but chiefly the milk of the *niag*, or female camel. They trade with their northern neighbours for dates and tobacco; being immoderately fond of the latter for their own consumption in snuff and smoking, and employing it also in their trade with Soudan for slaves and blue cottons.

As this tribe is reported to reach quite down to the sea coast, and to be spread over a very extensive tract of country, there are various branches of it, who consider

themselves wholly independent of each other, yet all calling themselves the “Woled Aboussebàh.” Those who inhabit the sea coast are supplied with double-barrelled guns, and various implements of iron, by trading vessels from the Canary Islands, for which they give cattle in exchange. They are represented to be very expert in the management of their horses, and in the use of fire-arms, being excellent marksmen at the full speed of the horse, or of the Desert camel (*heirie*). They have frequent wars with their southern and eastern neighbours, though without any important results; the sterility of the soil throughout the whole of this region of sand affording little temptation to its inhabitants to dispossess each other of their territorial possessions.

The inhabitants of Wed-Noon are descended from this tribe, and owe their independence to its support: for the Arabs of Aboussebàh being most numerous on the northern confines of the Desert, present a barrier to the extension of the Emperor of Morocco's dominion in that direction.

During the discords and civil wars which raged in Barbary previous to the present Emperor's tranquil occupation of the throne of Morocco, a horde of these Arabs, amounting to about seven thousand armed men, seizing that opportunity of exchanging their barren Deserts for more fertile regions, over-ran the southern parts of the

Empire. Mounted on horses and camels, and bearing their tents and families with them, they pursued their course, with little or no opposition, until they reached the provinces of *Abda* and *Shiedma*, which lie between Saffy and Mogadore, where they were opposed by the Arabs of those provinces, united with a powerful tribe called *Woled-el-Haje*, who inhabit a fertile country north of the river Tensift. The *Woled Aboussebàh* were, however, victorious, and a dreadful slaughter of their enemies ensued; who, after being driven down to the sea were cut to pieces without mercy, neither women nor children escaping the massacre. The victors then took possession of the country, where they settled, and maintained themselves against all opposition; and they now form a part of the subjects of the Emperor of Morocco. *D.*

Note 47, p. 67.

The mate and the seamen of the “*Charles*,” whom Adams described to have found at *Wed-Noon*, were, to my knowledge, in that town a considerable time previous to his arrival.

Some explanation may not be out of place here, of the reasons why these men did not reach the Emperor’s dominions at the period when the three of the *Charles*’s crew, whom I have before named, were ransomed.

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Upon the arrival of the Arab of Aboussebah (whom I have mentioned in Note 6.) at Santa Cruz on his way to Mogadore, with *Nicholas, Newsham, and Nelson*, the Governor of that city and district wished to take possession of the Christians in order to send them to the Emperor: but the Arab refused to part with them, not considering himself a subject of the Emperor, or under the controul of any of the rulers of Barbary; and he accordingly escaped out of the city with his property by night; but before he reached Mogadore he was overtaken by two soldiers whom the Governor had dispatched after him, and who accompanied him and the Christians to me.

The Arab then declared to me that it never was his intention to take his slaves to the Emperor, that he had bought them in the Desert in the hopes of making some profit by their ransom, and that, if he succeeded in this object, he would return, and endeavour to bring the others up to Mogadore. Upon this I bargained with him for the purchase of them; but refusing to accept the highest sum which it was in my power to offer him, he left me, pretending that he had resolved to take his slaves to Fez, where the Emperor then was. Fearful of trusting the men again in his power, I objected to his taking them from under my protection, unless they were entrusted to the

Notes 47, 48.] Seamen at Wed-Noon.—Bel-Cossim-Abdallah. 139

care of a Moorish soldier ; but the Governor of Mogadore refused to grant him a soldier for that purpose. Thus circumstanced, he was at length compelled to accept the proffered ransom.

The dissatisfaction which the Arab felt at the result of his journey, and at the interference of the Governors of Santa Cruz and Mogadore, was, I fear, the cause why the rest of the Charles's crew were not subsequently brought up to be ransomed ; but it could not be helped. *D.*

Note 48, p. 68.

The sale of Adams at Wed-Noon to *Bel-Cossim-Abdallah* was mentioned to me by him at Mogadore ; Adams observing that he had been bought by Bel-Cossim very cheap, the latter having paid no more for him than the value of seventy dollars in barter.

This part of the Narrative was further confirmed by Bel-Cossim himself ; who having arrived at Mogadore some time after Adams had been ransomed, called upon me, and requested permission to see him. Bel-Cossim then shewed a great regard for him, and told me that he had been unwilling to part with him, when he was ransomed. *D.*

Note 49, p. 68.

The following is an extract of a letter from P. W. Brancker, Esq. of Liverpool, in reply to an inquiry into the truth of this part of Adams's story.

Liverpool, Nov. 28, 1815.

“ The American seaman is correct as to the loss of a
“ vessel from this port, but makes a small mistake in the
“ name ; for it appears that the ship *Montezuma*, belonging
“ to Messrs. Theodore Koster and Co., and bound from
“ hence to the Brazils, was wrecked on the 2d November,
“ 1810, between the Capes de Noon and Bajedore on the
“ coast of Barbary ; that the master and crew were made
“ prisoners by a party of Arabs, and that he (the master)
“ was taken off without the knowledge of the persons in
“ whose service he then was, and might therefore be
“ *supposed* to be murdered ; for being left in charge of a
“ drove of camels, he was found by a party of the
“ Emperor's cavalry and carried off to Morocco, from
“ whence he was sent to Gibraltar.

“ It is also said that the crew have obtained their
“ liberty, except one boy.”

Note 50, p. 69.

I have often heard of this French renegade, and of his manufacture of gun-powder ; he is said to have died about two years ago. *D.*

Note 51, p. 69.

It has already been stated (see Note 31.) that many of the slaves purchased at Tombuctoo, and brought by the Arabs across the Desert, come from countries even as far east of that city as Wangara ; it is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that *Kanno*, mentioned in the text, may be the kingdom of *Ghana*, or *Cano*, which D'Anville places on the Niger, between the tenth and fifteenth degrees of eastern longitude. Assuming this to be the fact, the curious relation of the Negro slave at Wed-Noon might afford ground to conjecture that Park had made further progress down the Niger than Amadi Fatouma's story seems to carry him ; further, we mean, than the frontier of Haoussa.

In fact, the time which intervened between Park's departure from Sansanding, and his asserted death, would abundantly admit of his having reached a much more distant country even than *Ghana* : for according to Isaaco and Amadi Fatouma (see Park's Second Mission, 4to. p. 218), he had been *four months* on his voyage down the Niger before he lost his life ; having never been on shore

during all that time. This long period is evidently quite unnecessary for the completion of an uninterrupted voyage from Sansanding to the frontiers of Haoussa : for Park was informed by Amadi Fatouma himself, that the voyage even to *Kashna* (probably more than twice the distance, according to Major Rennell's positions of these places), did not require a longer period than *two months* for its performance.

The mention of *Kashna*, reminds us of another remarkable circumstance in Amadi Fatouma's statements. In the instance just quoted, he appears to be inconsistent with himself; but in the passages to which we allude, we find him at issue with Park.

In his last letter to Sir Joseph Banks, announcing the completion of his preparations, and written apparently only three days before he commenced his voyage from Sansanding, Park, speaking of Amadi Fatouma, says, " I have hired a *guide to go with me to Kashna ;*" and again, in the same letter, " I mean to write *from Kashna by my guide.*" But Amadi Fatouma, in accounting for his separation from Park before the fatal catastrophe, tells quite another story. He asserts that he was only engaged to go to *Haoussa* : and an apparently forced prominence is given to this assertion by his manner of making it. His words are these (p. 212) : " Entered the country of Haoussa,

“ and came to an anchor. Mr. Park said to me, ‘ Now,
“ ‘ Amadi, you are at the end of your journey. *I engaged*
“ ‘ *you to conduct me here ; you are going to leave me.*’ ”
Almost the same words are repeated a few lines afterwards ;
with this difference, however, that Amadi Fatouma now
quotes the remark as his own. “ I said to him (Mr. Park)
“ *I have agreed to carry you to Haoussa ; we are now in*
“ *Haoussa. I have fulfilled my engagements with you ; I am*
“ *therefore going to leave you, and return.*”

The Reader will not need to be informed, that Amadi Fatouma’s account goes on to state, that Park and his party lost their lives the day after he (Amadi) had thus parted from them ; and that they had previously thrown into the river “ every thing they had in the canoe ;” a proceeding for which no sufficient reason is afforded by the details in the Journal.

We are quite disposed to make all due allowances for the evidence of an African, conveyed to us through an uncertain translation ; but, we really think, that the discordances which we have quoted, (joined to other improbabilities in the Narrative) warrant a suspicion that, either with respect to the circumstances of Park’s death, or to the appropriation of his effects, Amadi Fatouma had something to conceal. We are not, however, very

confident that the further prosecution of this inquiry could lead to any satisfactory conclusion ; for whatever suspicion it might tend to throw on Amadi Fatouma's statement of the *time, place, and circumstances* of Park's lamented death, it could not, we fear, justify a reasonable doubt, at this distant period, of the actual occurrence, in some mode or other, of the melancholy event itself.

Note 52, p. 73.

I heard from several other persons of the ill-treatment which Adams received from *Hameda-Bel-Cossim*, his master's son ; and the Moors who visited Wed-Noon corroborated the account of his unshaken resolution, and of the punishment which he suffered in consequence of it, having been put in irons and in prison. *D.*

Note 53, p. 73.

I have no reason to doubt the truth of the circumstances here related by Adams respecting Stephen Dolbie, except as to the fact of his dying *in consequence* of a wound given by Brahim. Other accounts stated that he died at Wed-Noon of a fever only, the effects of a cold contracted by gathering in the harvest during heavy rain : and this, as far as I can recollect, was the account which Adams gave

me at Mogadore. I remember that he told me he had assisted at Dolbie's interment, and that he had afterwards covered the grave with stones. D.

Note 54, p. 74.

I can easily believe Adams's statement of the brutal treatment he experienced at *Wed-Noon*. It is consistent with the accounts I have always heard of the people of that country, who I believe to be more bigotted and cruel than even the remoter inhabitants of the Desert. The three men of the Charles's crew already mentioned, complained vehemently of the miseries they had suffered, though they had been but a comparatively short time in slavery; and one of them shewed me a scar upon his breast, which he told me was the mark of a wound given him by one of the Arabs.

In the frequent instances which have come under my observation, the general effect of the treatment of the Arabs on the minds of the Christian captives has been most deplorable. On the first arrival of these unfortunate men at Mogadore, if they have been any considerable time in slavery, they appear lost to reason and feeling, their spirits broken, and their faculties sunk in a species of stupor which I am unable adequately to describe. Habited like

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the meanest Arabs of the Desert they appear degraded even below the Negro slave. The succession of hardships which they endure from the caprice and tyranny of their purchasers, without any protecting law to which they can appeal for alleviation or redress, seems to destroy every spring of exertion or hope in their minds; they appear indifferent to every thing around them,—abject, servile, and brutified.

Adams alone was in some respects an exception from this description. I do not recollect any ransomed Christian slave who discovered a greater elasticity of spirit, or who sooner recovered from the indifference and stupor here described.

It is to be remarked that the Christian captives are invariably worse treated than the idolatrous or Pagan slaves whom the Arabs, either by theft or purchase, bring from the interior of Africa; and that religious bigotry is the chief cause of this distinction. The zealous disciples of Mohammed consider the Negroes merely as ignorant unconverted beings, upon whom, by the act of enslaving them they are conferring a benefit, by placing them within reach of instruction in the “true belief;” and the Negroes having no hopes of ransom, and being often enslaved when children, are in general, soon converted to the Moham-

medan faith. The Christians, on the contrary, are looked upon as hardened infidels, and as deliberate despisers of the Prophet's call; and as they in general stedfastly reject the Mohammedan creed, and at least never embrace it whilst they have hopes of ransom, the Mooslim, consistently with the spirit of many passages in the Koran, views them with the bitterest hatred, and treats them with every insult and cruelty which a merciless bigotry can suggest.

It is not to be understood, however, that the Christian slaves, though generally ill treated and inhumanly worked by their Arab owners, are persecuted by them ostensibly on account of their religion. They, on the contrary, often encourage the Christians to resist the importunities of those who wish to convert them: for, by embracing Islamism the Christian slave obtains his freedom; and however ardent may be the zeal of the Arab to make proselytes, it seldom blinds him to the calculations of self-interest.

A curious instance of the struggle thus excited between Mohammedan zeal and worldly interest, was related to me to have occurred at Wed-Noon, in the case of a boy belonging to an English vessel which had been wrecked on the neighbouring coast a short time previous to the "Charles."

This boy had been persuaded to embrace the Moham-

medan faith ; but after a little while, repenting of what he had done, he publicly declared that he had renounced the doctrines of the Koran, and was again a Christian. To punish so atrocious an outrage, the Arabs of Wed-Noon resolved to burn him ; and they would no doubt have punctually performed the ceremony, but for the interference of the man from whose service the boy had emancipated himself by his first conversion. This man contended, that by abjuring the Mohammedan faith, the boy had returned into his former condition of slavery, and was again his property ; and in spite of the most opprobrious epithets which were heaped upon him (including even the term “ infidel,” the horror and abomination of all true Moo-selmin) the man insisted that if they would burn the boy, they should first reimburse him for the value of a slave. Reluctant to lose their sacrifice, the Arabs now attempted to raise money by subscription to purchase the boy ; and contributions were begged about the town *to burn the Christian.* But in the end, as they made slow progress towards obtaining by these means a sufficient sum to purchase the boy, they relinquished their project ; the owner, however was shortly afterwards obliged to remove his slave to another part of the country, to secure him from private assassination. *D.*

Note 55, p. 74.

Adams describes correctly the tenor of my Letter addressed to the survivors of the crew of the “ Charles ” at Wed-Noon. His account, also, of the behaviour of Williams, is confirmed by the testimony of the man whom I employed to purchase Adams, who was a Moor,—and not, as Adams supposes, an European in disguise. He informed me that he found that Adams’s two companions had embraced the Mohammedan faith ; but that the younger, in particular, interested him so deeply by his tears, and by his earnest supplications that he would take him to Mogadore, that he could not himself refrain from tears ; and was half inclined to steal him away let the consequence be what it would. He also assured me that he gave him some money at parting, and a few rags for clothing.

Just previous to my quitting Mogadore in October, 1814, these two men contrived to make their escape as Mohammedans, from Wed-Noon, and reaching Mogadore in safety, they staid there only a few hours and then departed for Tangier. I learnt shortly afterwards that upon their arrival at the latter city, they claimed the protection of their respective Consuls there, (one of the men being an Englishman and the other an American) disclaiming the Mohammedan faith ; but it was not without much difficulty

and negotiation, during which time the men were placed in confinement, that they were ultimately liberated and restored to the Christian world. *D.*

Note 56, p. 76.

I was informed by the man who brought Adams to Mogadore, that he had passed through the country called *Bled Cidi Heshem*, on his return; having gone for the purpose of purchasing another of the Charles's crew, (*Martin Clark*, a black man,) who was in slavery there, in which he could not then succeed.

The country is just on the southern confines of the Emperor's dominions. It is a small independent state of *Shilluh*, and (as described by Adams) lies in lower Suse. The Chief here mentioned, the *Cid Heshem*, who has successfully resisted the endeavours of his neighbours to subvert his government, is the descendant of *Cidi Hamet a Moussa*, a reputed modern Saint, who during his life was highly venerated for his justice and piety, and whose tomb, since his death, has been resorted to by religious Mooselmin from many parts of South Barbary and the Desert. This chief has lately opened an extensive trade with Soudan, for gums, cottons, and ostrich feathers, ivory, gold-dust, and slaves, which are sold by his agents at the great annual

market of *Hamet a Moussa*. The traders from Southern Barbary resort to this market in great numbers; and I have heard it asserted that they can there purchase, for money, the produce of Soudan, to more advantage than they can themselves import it, without taking into account the risks and fatigues of the journey; insomuch that but for the important object of disposing of their own commodities in barter, in the Douars of the Desert and the markets of Soudan, I apprehend that very few of the native traders of Barbary would continue to cross the Desert.

It appears by the account which Adams subsequently gives of this market, that he must have been there; and the time of his journey corresponds with the season when it is held: but I think he must have committed an error in placing it more than a day's journey from the residence of the *Cid Heshem*; as the sanctuary and market of *Cidi Hamet a Moussa* are within the small territory of this Chief, who himself presides during the market days, to preserve order and tranquillity.

The inhabitants of this district, as I have stated before, are *Shilluh*; who are a distinct race from the Arabs, and have different dress, customs, and language. They live in houses built of stone, which are generally situated on

eminences and fortified, for security in their domestic wars. They are possessed of a fertile country, producing abundance of barley and some wheat. The fruits and vegetables common in South Barbary are also grown here. Their sheep and goats are of the finest breed, and are frequently brought to Mogadore as presents: and their camels are much esteemed for their patience and great power of enduring fatigue.* D.

Note 57, p. 79.

I *did* frequently interrogate Adams, when at Mogadore, respecting his travels in Africa; and frequently sent for persons who had been at the places he described, in order to confront their accounts with his, and especially to ascertain the probability of his having been at Timbuctoo. Amongst these individuals was a Shieck of Wed-Noon, a man of great consideration in that country, who had been several times at Timbuctoo in company with trading parties; and who, after questioning Adams very closely respecting that city and its neighbourhood, assured me that he had no doubt that he had been there. Another Moorish trader who was in the habit of frequenting Timbuctoo gave me the same account. In short, it was their

* For a more detailed description of the *Shilluh*, see the Appendix, No. II.

universal opinion that he must have been at the places he described, and that his account could not be a fabrication. *D.*

Note 58, p. 79.

I did, about the time stated by Adams, send him to Fez to the Emperor, under the protection of one soldier and a muleteer. *D.*

Note 59, p. 81.

Having visited Tangier myself a few months afterwards, I there learnt from Mr. Simpson, that he had sent Adams to Cadiz a few days after his arrival. *D.*

Note 60, p. 81.

Upon a minute examination of Adams's Narrative, a considerable difference will be found to exist between his collective estimates of the time he remained in Africa, and the actual interval between the dates of his shipwreck and return; the aggregate of the former amounting to about four years and three months, whilst the real time does not appear to have exceeded *three years and seven months*. It is not difficult to conceive that the tedium of so long a period of slavery and wretchedness would easily betray Adams into an error of this nature; especially in a situa-

tion where he possessed no means of keeping a minute account of the lapse of time ; and it is reasonable to presume, that when he speaks of having resided six months at one place, eight at another, and ten at a third, he has, in each of these estimates, somewhat over-rated the real duration of these tedious and wretched portions of his existence.

When this discrepancy in his statements was pointed out to him, and he was led to reconsider in what part of his Narrative the error lay, it did not appear to change his persuasion of the accuracy of any detached portion of his estimates. He did however express his *peculiar* conviction that he was at least accurate in the number of days occupied in his journeys from place to place. On this occasion, as on many others in the course of his numerous examinations, it was impossible not to derive from the indisposition which he evinced to conform to the opinion of others, upon points on which he had once given an opposite deliberate opinion of his own, a strong impression of his general veracity and sincerity.

It was at Wed-Noon that the first opportunity occurred to him after his shipwreck, of correcting his reckoning of time ; his arrival at which place, (as he was informed by the French renegade whom he found there) having occurred

about the middle of August, 1812, or about eight months earlier than his own computation would have made it. Assuming therefore the Frenchman's account to have been correct, and deducting Adams's excess of time in relative proportions from his stationary periods at Tombuctoo, Woled D'leim, and other places, the following will be the probable dates of the several stages of his travels.

1810, October 11.—Shipwrecked at El Gazie.

December 13.—Set out on the expedition to
Soudenny.

1811, February 5.—Arrived at Tombuctoo.

June 9.—Departed from Ditto.*

August 11.—Arrived at Woled D'leim.

1812, March 7.—Departed from Ditto.

June 20.—Departed from El Kabla.

August 23.—Arrived at Wed-Noon.

1813, September 23.—Departed from Ditto.

October 6.—Arrived at Mogadore.

1814, April 22.—Departed from Ditto.

May 17.—Arrived at Cadiz.

To this statement with respect to *time*, we may add the

* He says they had a few drops of *rain* before his departure, which in some degree confirms the accuracy of this date; since the tropical rains in the latitude of Tombuctoo, may be supposed to commence early in June.

following summary of the *distances* of his respective journeys, collected from the Narrative at his highest estimates.

JOURNIES.	Days.	Course.	Rate in Miles.	Distance.
From <i>El Gazie</i> to the Douar in the Desert - - - -	30	E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.	15	450
On the Journey to <i>Soudenny</i> -	13	S. S. E.	20	260
Ditto Ditto - - - -	4	S. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.	20	80
To the Village where the Moors were put to death - - - -	10	E.	20	200
To <i>Tombuctoo</i> - - - -	15	E. by N.	20	300
Distance in British Miles from the Coast to <i>Tombuctoo</i> - - - -	- -	- - -	- -	1290
To the point of departure from <i>La Mar Zarah</i> - - - -	10	E. N. E.	18	180
- <i>Taudeny</i> - - - -	13	N.	18	234
- the border of the Sandy Desert	1	N. W.	20	20
In the Sandy Desert - - - -	14	-	18	252
Ditto - - - -	15	-	12	180
From the edge of the Sandy Desert to <i>Woled D'leim</i> - - - -	1	-	12	12
To <i>El Kabla</i> - - - -	2	N. by W.	-	30
- <i>Woled Aboussebah</i> - - - -	9	N. E.	18	162
- <i>Woled Adrialla</i> - - - -	6	N. N. W.	25	150
- <i>Aiata Mouessa Ali</i> - - - -	3	N. W.	18	54
- <i>Wed-Noon</i> - - - -	5	-	16	80
- <i>Akkadia</i> - - - -	1	N.	30	30
- <i>Bled Cidi Heshem,</i> - - - -	2	N. E.	30	60
- <i>Agadeer or Santa Cruz,</i> - - - -	4	N. by W.	-	90
- <i>Suerra or Mogadore</i> - - - - {	4	N.	20	80
	1	-	10	10
Distance in British Miles from <i>Tombuctoo</i> to <i>Mogadore</i> - - - -	- -	- - -	- -	1624

These distances, as well as the courses of his journies, will be found accurately represented by the ruled line in.

the Map: and it is impossible to observe how nearly they approach to what may be presumed to be the truth, without being astonished at Adams's memory, and at the precision with which he estimated his course with no other compass than the rising and setting of a vertical sun.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

WE shall close our remarks on Adams's Narrative with a brief review, of the extent to which it has hitherto been confirmed, and of the credibility of those parts of it which still rest on his own unsupported testimony. The first part of this examination may be disposed of in a very few words.

The preceding notes will be found to contain an uninterrupted chain of evidence by which his course may be traced backwards from London, through Cadiz, Tangier, Mequinez, Fez, Mogadore, and Wed-Noon, to the Douar of El Kabla in the depths of the Desert. His adventure with Aisha at El Kabla—the fame of which preceded him to Mogadore, and adhered to him during his residence at Wed-Noon—sufficiently establishes the identity of the individual whom Mr. Dupuis received from the Desert. From Mogadore, he is delivered into the hands of the American Consul at Tangier, who, in his turn, transmits him to Cadiz, where he is traced into the service of Mr. Hall. The Cadiz gentleman who first discovered him in the streets of London, supplies the last link to this chain of identity ; and completes the proof (strengthened by other circumstances) that the

gallant of Aisha at El Kabla, and the *Tombuctoo-traveller* in London, whether known by the name of *Adams*, or *Rose*, is one and the same individual.

Passing now to the earlier part of his adventures, we find the time and circumstances of his shipwreck, and his conveyance eastward into the Desert, confirmed by three of the Charles's crew who were first ransomed; whilst, on the other hand, the fact of the individual in question being actually one of the seamen of the Charles, is fully established by the testimony of *Davison* and *Williams*, his comrades at Wed-
Noon, who may be said to have delivered him, as such, into the hands of Mr. Dupuis' agent,—and who confirmed the fact upon their subsequent arrival at Mogadore.*

Thus far Adams's story is supported and confirmed by direct external evidence. We have seen it accompany him far into the Desert; and there find him again, at a greater distance from the coast than any other Christian, we believe, has ever been traced in these inhospitable regions. But between these two points of his advance and return, a wide interval occurs, during which we entirely lose sight of

* It ought to be mentioned in this place, because it affords an additional proof of Adams's accuracy on such points as he ought to be well acquainted with, that *ten* of the eleven individuals composing the crew of the Charles at the time of her wreck, were either ransomed by Mr. Dupuis, or accounted for to him through other channels than Adams, by the *same names*, (his own excepted),

him : and we must therefore be content to receive this part of his story on his own credit alone, illustrated by such indirect corroborations as we may be enabled to glean from other sources.

This unsupported part of Adams's story extends, it will be seen, from the Douar to which he was first conveyed from the coast, until his arrival at El Kabla ; occupying a period of fifteen or sixteen months ;—a period which the Narrative fills up with the expedition to Soudenny,—the journey to, and residence at, Tombuctoo,—and the return through Taudenny across the Desert to Woled D'leim and

which the latter has given in the first page of this Narrative. The following is Mr. Dupuis' memorandum on the subject.

Harrison, Capt. died immediately after the wreck.

Nicholas, Seaman.

Newsham, ditto, }
Nelson, ditto, } Ransomed three months after the wreck.

Dolbie, Mate, died at Wed-Noon in 1813.

Rose, (alias Adams), ransomed ditto

Clark, black seaman, ditto, - 1814.

Davison, seaman, }
Williams, boy, } Renagades at Wed-Noon, but liberated in 1814.

Matthews, an old man, reported to have died in the Desert.

Recapitulation, 7 liberated,
3 dead,
1 unaccounted for,

11 Total number stated by Adams ; of whom Stephens alone, (whom he says he left at Woled D'leim,) was never heard of by Mr. Dupuis.

El Kabla. We do not deem it necessary to extend our examination to the whole of these journeys, because if we shall be fortunate enough to satisfy the Reader that Adams is entitled to credit as far as Tombuctoo, we conceive that no doubt can be raised respecting his journey from thence to El Kabla.

We have already entered so fully into the question of the probability of the expedition to Soudenny, in Note 7, p. 91, that the reader would hardly excuse as for repeating in this place the arguments which were there adduced in support of it. We shall therefore confine our remarks to the journey from thence to Tombuctoo.

But before we enter upon this examination, we are anxious to caution our readers against suspecting us of setting up any pretensions to *minute* accuracy, either in the situation which we have assigned to Soudenny in the Note in question, or in any positions of places in the map adjusted from data necessarily so vague as those afforded by Adams: neither must it be forgotten on the other hand, that the precise situations of the places which we have used as the standards of his accuracy, are rather assumed than proved. There may be errors in both cases: and in the latter, it is at least as probable that such errors may contribute to increase the apparent inaccuracy of Adams's positions, as

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that they lend to those positions any undue degree of probability. Without, therefore, pretending to determine whether the Negro *dominion* does actually reach to the 16th degree of north latitude under the assumed meridian of Soudenny, (that the Negro *population* extends so far we presume no one will doubt), or whether Adams's real course lay further to the south than his Narrative warrants us in placing it, we must at least contend that the approximation of Adams's evidence on this part of his journey, to the best standards by which it can be tried, is astonishingly near;—so near indeed, that if we had not been assured, upon the undoubted authority of Mr. Dupuis, that the first account of his courses and distances which he gave when fresh from the Desert, afforded, with respect to Tombuctoo, *the same results as those which we are now remarking*, we should have been rather tempted to suspect that this degree of coincidence was the result of contrivance, than to have derived from the degree of his discordance with other authorities any doubts of the reality of his journies. Those who are most conversant with questions of this nature will best appreciate the extreme difficulty which an unscientific individual must find in even approaching to the truth in his computations of the direction and extent of a long succession of journies: even the evidence of so practised an observer as Park was

not sufficiently precise to secure the eminent compiler of the Map of his first Journey from very considerable inaccuracies, which Park on his second mission, by the aid of his instruments of observation, was enabled to correct.

On the whole, since the circumstances stated by Mr. Dupuis entirely preclude all suspicion of contrivance in Adams's account of his route in Africa, (a contrivance which he was too ignorant to invent himself, and in which, when he arrived from the Desert, he had had no opportunity of being instructed by others) we do not conceive how it is possible to resist the circumstantial corroboration of his story which the application of his route to the Map affords; unless, indeed, by resorting to the preposterous supposition that so uniform an approach to the truth, throughout a journey of nearly three thousand miles, could be purely accidental. But to return to the particular question before us.

In addition to the grounds already adduced for placing Soudenny within the Bambarran territories, Adams may fairly claim the advantage of another circumstance mentioned by Park; we mean *the fluctuating state of the line of boundary itself*. Considerable changes in that respect had occurred within a few months of the period when Park crossed the frontier in question:—the seeds of further

changes were perceptible, both in the restless and marauding disposition of the Moors, and in the preponderating strength of the King of Bambarra: and it would by no means follow (if the question were really of importance to Adams's story) that the northern frontiers of the state must, in 1811, be the same as they were supposed to be in 1796.*

Placing Soudenny, therefore, within the frontiers of Bambarra, in the sixteenth or possibly the fifteenth degree of North latitude, and about the fifth or sixth of West longitude, we shall find Adams's account of his course and distance from thence to Tombuctoo, approach with extraordinary accuracy to the *line* of journey required. We possess too little knowledge of the countries through which this route would lie, to pronounce with any confidence upon the probability of the *circumstances* of his journey. What we can at present know upon the subject must be learnt from Park;—who informs us, that to the eastward of Bambarra, between that kingdom and Tombuctoo, lies the Foulah kingdom of Masina. It is not known to what

* In one direction at least, (to the West) the King of Bambarra's frontiers appear to have been much extended in 1810; for according to Isaaco's Journal, 4to. p. 194, they cannot be placed more than three or four short days journey from *Giocha (Joko)*; although according to Park's first map, the distance from *Joko* to the nearest frontiers of Bambarra is at least ten day's journey. There had been a war in 1801, in these parts; being the second war in six years.

latitude the northern frontiers of the latter kingdom extend ; but we are told that it is bounded on that side by the Moorish kingdom of Beeroo ; and there is great reason to suppose, with Major Rennell,* that the Moorish population which to the westward touches the Senegal, does from that point incline in a oblique line to the northward of east, as it advances from the west along the limits of Soudan. Admitting this retrocession of the Moors towards the Desert, the Negroes of Soudenny would find a secure route, through *Negro countries*, along the extreme frontiers † of Bambarra and Masina to the borders of Tombuctoo, generally in the direction described by Adams.

Why the Negroes, if they were actually Bambarrans, should convey their prisoners to Tombuctoo rather than to Segou, may not perhaps be quite so apparent as some of Adams's readers may require : but it would be pushing the caution of incredulity to an unreasonable extreme to disbelieve the asserted fact on that account alone. Desirous

* See Park's First Mission, Appendix, 4to. p. lxxxix.

† Adams states his route to have lain through barren and uninhabited districts ; and Park speaking of Soudan generally, says, first Mission, 4to. p. 261, "the *borders* of the different kingdoms were either very thinly peopled, or entirely deserted." See also his Account of the country, east of Benowm, near the frontiers of Bambarra, p. 116,— "a sandy country."—p. 121, "a hot sandy country covered with small stunted shrubs."

as we may be supposed to be, to obviate the doubts of the most sceptical, we can hardly venture to suggest any motives for this journey which are not supplied by the Narrative itself, or by some collateral testimony. Yet, we will hazard this brief remark, that if it were the object of the Negroes to place their prisoners in a situation where they would be at once secure from rescue, yet accessible to the interference of their fellows for the purpose of ransom, (for it must be remembered that the imprisoned Arabs did not belong to a neighbouring state, but were a troop of marauders from a distant tribe of the Desert) we can hardly conceive a more probable course than that of conveying them to Tombuctoo.

We are aware that it may be objected to these remarks that they take for granted, that Tombuctoo is a *Negro* state, and at least in amity with, if not a dependency of, the King of Bambarra: and we shall probably be told that Tombuctoo is under the dominion of the Moors, and that Adams's account of it must consequently be untrue.

In reply to such an objection we would by no means deny that Adams's *entire* liberation of Tombuctoo from the tyranny of the Moors or Arabs, does present a difficulty,—especially with reference to Park's information on the same subject. But let us fairly examine how the question

stands with respect to Adams's testimony on the one hand, and the evidence to which it is opposed on the other.

In Adams we find an individual relating travels and adventures, which are indeed singular and extraordinary, but are told with the utmost simplicity and bear strong internal marks of truth. Placed in a wide and untravelled region, where a mere narrator of fables might easily persuade himself that no one would trace or detect him, we find Adams resisting the temptation (no slight one for an ignorant sailor) of exciting the wonder of the credulous, or the sympathy of the compassionate, by filling his story with miraculous adventures, or overcharged pictures of suffering. In speaking of himself he assumes no undue degree of importance. He is rather subordinate to the circumstances of the story, than himself the prominent feature of it; and almost every part of his Narrative is strictly in nature, and unpretending.

Unexpectedly to this individual, and in his absence, an opportunity occurs of putting his veracity and his memory to the test, on many of the important points of his story: and the result of the experiment is, that all the facts to which the test will reach are, in substance, confirmed,—that none are disproved. Again, we are enabled by the same opportunity to try his consistency with himself at

different periods: and we find him, after an interval of more than two years, adhering in every material point to the story which he told on arriving from the Desert.

But a difficulty arises in the course of his Narrative: he states a fact which his hearers did not expect, and respecting which they had previously received evidence of a contrary tendency. Nevertheless this unexpected fact contains nothing marvellous in itself, nothing even extraordinary; nothing which can be conceived to afford the slightest temptation to such an individual to invent it: but it occurs simply, and in some measure even indirectly, in the chain of his evidence.

If this is admitted to be a fair statement of the circumstances under which Adams informs us that Tombuctoo is a *Negro* state: and if there is nothing suspicious in the internal character of this part of his evidence, we are not at liberty lightly to disbelieve it, because we think it improbable, or because it happens to want those collateral proofs by which other parts of his story have accidentally been confirmed: but, a manifest preponderance of unexceptionable evidence to the contrary, can alone justify us in rejecting it.

For this evidence we must again have recourse to Park's first Travels (for the Journal of his Second Mission contains

only one incidental notice on the subject) and we shall therein find a general description of Tombuctoo as a *Moorish* state, which he prefaces in these words (p. 213).

“ Having thus brought my mind, after much doubt and
“ perplexity, to a determination to return westward, I
“ thought it incumbent on me, *before I left Silla*, to collect
“ from the Moorish and Negro traders, all the information
“ I could, concerning the further course of the Niger
“ eastward, and the situation and extent of the kingdoms
“ in its vicinage;”—and the following account of Tom-
buctoo is part of the information which he says he thus
collected at Silla (p. 215).

“ To the north-east of Masina is situated the kingdom of
“ Tombuctoo, the great object of European research; the
“ capital of this kingdom being one of the principal marts
“ for that extensive commerce which the Moors carry on
“ with the Negroes. The hopes of acquiring wealth in this
“ pursuit, and zeal for propagating their religion, have filled
“ this extensive city with Moors and Mahomedan converts;
“ and they are said to be more severe and intolerant in
“ their principles than any other of the Moorish tribes in
“ this part of Africa. I was informed by a venerable old
“ Negro, that when he first visited Tombuctoo he took up
“ his lodging at a sort of public inn, the landlord of which,

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“ when he conducted him into his hut, spread a mat upon
 “ the floor, and laid a rope upon it, saying, ‘ if you are a
 “ ‘ Mussulman you are my friend,—sit down ; but if you
 “ ‘ are a Kafir you are my slave ; and with this rope I will
 “ ‘ lead you to market.’ The present King of Tombuctoo
 “ is named Abu Abraham ; he is reported to possess
 “ immense riches. His wives and concubines are said to
 “ be clothed in silk, and the chief officers of state live in
 “ considerable splendour. The whole expence of his go-
 “ vernment is defrayed, as I was told, by a tax upon mer-
 “ chandize, which is collected at the gates of the city.”

To this account Major Rennell adds (doubtless on the verbal authority of Park), that the *greatest proportion* of the inhabitants were, nevertheless, *Negroes*. (Appendix, p. xc.)

We are now to examine under what circumstances the information contained in this description was procured. Of his arrival and residence at Silla, Park gives us very minute details. His journey thither from Segou had been hurried, and his situation extremely distressing during its whole course ; until, on the 29th July, at four o’clock in the afternoon, he arrived at Moorzan, a fishing town on the northern bank of the Niger, “ from whence,” he says, “ I was
 “ conveyed across the river to Silla, a large town, where I

“ remained until it was quite dark under a tree surrounded
“ by hundreds of people. Their language was very dif-
“ ferent from [that of] the other parts of Bambarra. With
“ a great deal of entreaty the Dooty allowed me to come
“ into his balloon to avoid the rain; but the place was
“ very damp, and I had a smart paroxysm of fever during
“ the night. Worn down by sickness and exhausted with
“ hunger and fatigue, I was convinced by painful experi-
“ ence that the obstacles to my further progress were
“ insurmountable.” Happily for himself, and for that
science whose limits his return was so widely to extend,—
this determination was no sooner adopted than executed;
and at *eight o'clock the next morning* he stepped into a
canoe, and commenced his painful return to the westward;
having only spent at Silla one wretched night in sickness
and despondency.

It is impossible for any of our readers to view the un-
quenchable zeal and intrepidity of Park with higher admi-
ration than we do; and merely to express our belief that
before he thus resolved to return he “ had made,” as he
states, “ every effort to proceed which prudence could
“ justify,” would be to render, in our opinion, very imper-
fect justice to his unparalleled ardour of enterprise and
enduring perseverance. Joining to these higher qualifica-

tions, admirable prudence in his intercourse with the natives, and a temper not to be ruffled by the most trying provocations, he exhibited on his first journey an union of qualities often thought incompatible ; an union which in our days we fear we cannot expect to see again, directed to the same pursuits. We will further add, that to our feelings scarcely an individual of the age can be named, who has sunk, under circumstances of deeper interest than this lamented traveller : whether we consider the loss which geographical science has suffered in his death, or whether we confine our views to the blasted hopes of the individual, snatched away from his hard-earned, but unfinished, triumph ; and leaving to others that splendid consummation which he so ardently sought to achieve. True it is, that the future discoverer of the termination of the Niger must erect the structure of his fame on the wide foundation with which his great predecessor has already occupied the ground : but though the edifice will owe its very existence to the labours of Park, yet another name than his will be recorded on the finished pile :

“ *Hos ego—feci, tulit alter honores.*”

Feeling, as we do, this unaffected interest in the fate and fame of Park, it is hardly necessary to preface our further remarks with the declaration, that there is not a tittle of the

evidence given upon the authority of his own observation, which we should not feel it a species of sacrilege to dispute. But the case is different with respect to those details which he gives on *hear-say* evidence only,—which we may fairly, and which we ought, to try by the circumstances by which Park himself enables us to estimate their pretensions to accuracy.

Availing ourselves of this undeniable, and as we hope, not invidious, privilege, we shall find that a situation can hardly be imagined less favourable to the acquisition of authentic information, than that which Park describes during the single melancholy night which he passed at Silla. He had before told us (p. 181.), that he was not well acquainted with the Foulah language spoken in Bambarra; and he informs us that he found the language of Silla “very different” even from that of the more western parts of the kingdom: but the extent of his difficulty in that respect may be gathered from what he relates of his arrival even at Sansanding, where he found the people “speaking a variety of different dialects all equally unintelligible” to him, and where he was obliged to have recourse to the interpretation of his Segó guide; who, however, did *not* accompany him in his further progress to Silla.

Obtaining therefore, his information from Negroes at

more than two hundred miles distance from Tombuctoo, and probably through the medium of Negro interpreters, we cannot be surprised either that it should not be accurate in itself, or that, such as it was, it should not be very accurately understood. We believe there is no person, who can speak from his own experience on the subject, who will not bear testimony to the extreme uncertainty, not to say general inaccuracy, of the information to be obtained from the natives of Africa, whether Mohammedans or Pagans. Jealousy and suspicion of the objects of such inquiries on the one hand, and unobserving ignorance on the other, render both Negro and Moor alike unwilling, or unable, to disclose the secrets of the interior to any European. The whole of Park's communications leave not the smallest doubt respecting the temper of the trading *Moors* towards him. He also remarks, page 214, how little information is to be expected from a *Negro* trader of the countries through which he passes in search of gain, —of which he affords us the following striking instance in the commencement of his Journey. “ I was referred,” he says, p. 8, “ to certain traders called Slatees. These “ were free black merchants of great consideration in those “ parts of Africa, who come down from the interior “ countries. But I soon discovered that very little depend-

“ence could be placed on the accounts which they gave :
“for *they contradicted each other in the most important*
“*particulars.*” To what degree the natives of Silla would have contradicted each other in their accounts of Tombuctoo, Park’s short stay there could not have allowed him time to ascertain ; even if his knowledge of their language had enabled him to understand their accounts as well as he did those of the Slatees on the Gambia.

This appears to be the state of the evidence which places the government of Tombuctoo in the hands of the Moors : and it really does appear to us, that it is at least neutralized by other evidence which may fairly be opposed to it ; we mean, the uniform testimony of the natives of Barbary, who have traded to Tombuctoo. The reader will not have forgotten that all the accounts which Mr. Dupuis collected from such individuals, some of them men of high authority and credit amongst their countrymen, spoke of Tombuctoo as being now in all respects a Negro state. The hear-say evidence of Mr. Jackson goes decidedly to the same point ; and although that gentleman may have given an injudicious importance to such testimony in his book, it ought not on that account alone to be entirely disregarded. The fact then being undeniable that the most creditable of the Barbary traders who cross the Desert do *not* assign the

dominion of Tombuctoo to the Moors ; and their testimony being apparently free from suspicion, because, in opposition to that which would most gratify their vanity, we cannot but think that it is at least as likely to be accurate as the reports of the Negroes whom Park consulted at Silla ; taking, as we ought, into account, the disadvantages both of language and situation under which he consulted them, and not forgetting the reserve with which he himself teaches us to receive their testimony.*

Having, as we trust, said sufficient to satisfy the Reader, that there is nothing in the character of Adams's general evidence which can warrant the arbitrary rejection of his authority on points which are merely improbable ; and having shewn that the evidence of others on the particular point at issue, is at least of doubtful preponderance, we will just say one word on the probability that the story of the " old Negro," at Silla, may be strictly true, with

* Several instances of the contradictory testimony of the Negroes occur in Park's Travels. *Jinnie*, for instance, is stated in his first Mission to be situated on the Niger ; but on his second Journey he renounces that opinion on the apparently good authority of an old *Somonie* (canoe-man) " who had " been seven times at Tombuctoo." This informant places it on the *Ba Nimma* in the sketch which is copied into Park's Journal ; and the latter accordingly says, p. 166, " we shall not see *Jinnie* in going to Tombuctoo." But *Amadi Fatouma* confirms the first account which Park received, and says, in describing their voyage down the Niger from Silla, " we went in two days to *Jinnie*."

reference to the early period of which he may be supposed to speak, and yet that Adams's account may be equally true, of a very different state of things *now*.

It is well known that the vernacular histories, both traditional and written, of the wars of the Moorish empire, agree in stating, that from the middle of the seventeenth century, Tombuctoo was occupied by the troops of the Emperors of Morocco; in whose name a considerable annual tribute was levied upon the inhabitants: but that the Negroes, in the early part of the last century, taking advantage of one of those periods of civil dissension and bloodshed which generally follow the demise of any of the Rulers of Barbary, did at length shake off the yoke of their northern masters,—to which the latter were never afterwards able again to reduce them. Nevertheless, although the Emperors of Morocco (whose power even to the north of the Desert has been long on the decline) might be unable, at the immense distance which separates them from Soudan, to resume an authority which had once escaped from their hands; it is reasonable to suppose that the nearer tribes of Arabs would not neglect the opportunity thus afforded to them, of returning to their old habits of spoliation, and of exercising their arrogated supe-

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riority over their Negro neighbours ;* and that this frontier state would thus become the theatre of continual contests, terminating alternately in the temporary occupation of Tombuctoo by the Arabs, and in their re-expulsion by the Negroes.†

We have seen this state of things existing in Ludamar to the west of Tombuctoo, where a Negro population is subjected to the tyranny of the Arab chieftain *Ali* ; between whom and his southern neighbours of Bambarra and Kaarta we find a continual struggle of aggression and self-defence : and the well-known character of the Arabs would lead us to expect a similar state of things along the whole frontier of the Negro population. In the pauses of such a

* Mr. Jackson was informed, (See his " Account of Marocco," 4to. p. 250) that previous to the Moorish occupation of Timbuctoo (noticed in the text) the inhabitants had been subject to continual depredations from the Arabs of the adjacent countries.

† To elucidate the state of things which we have here supposed, we need not go further than to the history of Europe in our own days. How often, during the successful ravages of the great *Arab chieftain* of Christendom, might we not have drawn from the experience of Madrid, or Berlin, or Vienna, or Moscow, the aptest illustration of these conjectures respecting Tombuctoo ? And an African traveller (if so improbable a personage may be imagined) who should have visited Europe in these conjunctures, might very naturally have reported to his countrymen at home, that Russia, Germany, and Spain were but provinces of France ; and that the common sovereign of all these countries resided sometimes in the *Escorial* and sometimes in the *Kremlin* !

warfare we should expect to find no intermission of the animosity or precautions of the antagonist parties. The Arab, victorious, would be ferocious and intolerant even beyond his usual violence; and the *Koran* or the *halter*, as described by the old Negro of Silla, would probably be the alternatives which he would offer to his Negro guest: whilst the milder nature of the Negro would be content with such measures of precaution and self-defence as might appear sufficient to secure him from the return of the enemy whom he had expelled,—without excluding the peaceful trader; and under the re-established power of the latter, we might expect to find at Tombuctoo, precisely the same state of things as Adams describes to have existed in 1811.*

The reserve with which we have seen grounds for receiving the testimony of the natives of Africa, may reasonably accompany us in our further comparative examination of their accounts, and those of Adams, respecting the

* In the second volume of the Proceedings of the African Association, it is stated on the authority of *l'Hagi Mohammed Sheriffe*, that the King of Bambarra, at the head of a numerous army actually did take the government of Tombuctoo out of the hands of "the Moors," in the year 1800. There is, however, a disagreement between this Sheriffe and Park, respecting the name of the said King of Bambarra, whom the former calls *Woollo*. See Note 8, p. 92, respecting *Woollo* and *Mansong*.

population and external appearance of the city of Tombuctoo. Notwithstanding, therefore, the alleged splendour of its court, polish of its inhabitants, and other symptoms of refinement which some modern accounts (or speculations), founded on native reports, have taught us to look for, we are disposed to receive the humbler descriptions of Adams as approaching with much greater probability to the truth. Let us not, however, be understood, as rating too highly the value of a Sailor's reports. They must of necessity be defective in a variety of ways. Many of the subjects upon which Adams was questioned are evidently beyond the competency of such an individual fully to comprehend or satisfactorily to describe; and we must be content to reserve our final estimates of the morals, religion, civil polity, and learning (if they now have any) of the Negroes of Tombuctoo, until we obtain more conclusive information than we can possibly derive from our present informant. Sufficient, however, may be gathered from his story, to prepare us for a disappointment of many of the extravagant expectations which have been indulged respecting this boasted city.

And here, we may remark, that the relative rank of Tombuctoo amongst the cities of central Africa, and its present importance with reference to European objects,

appear to us, to be considerably over-rated. The descriptions of Leo in the *sixteenth* century, may indeed lend a colour to the brilliant anticipations in which some sanguine minds have indulged on the same subjects in the *nineteenth*; but with reference to the commercial pursuits of Europeans, it seems to have been forgotten, that the very circumstance which has been the foundation of the importance of Tombuctoo to the traders of Barbary, and consequently, of much of its fame amongst us,—its frontier situation on the verge of the Desert, at the extreme northern limits of the Negro population,—will of necessity have a contrary operation now; since a shorter and securer channel for European enterprise into the central regions of Africa, has been opened by the intrepidity and perseverance of Park, from the south-western shores of the Atlantic.

Independently of this consideration, there is great reason to believe that Tombuctoo has in reality declined of late, from the wealth and consequence which it appears formerly to have enjoyed. The existence of such a state of things as we have described in the preceding pages, the oppressions of the Moors, the resistance of the Negroes, the frequent change of masters, and the insecurity of property consequent upon these intestine struggles, would all lead directly and inevitably to this result. That they *have*

led to it, may be collected from other sources than Adams. Even Park, to whom so brilliant a description of the city was given by some of his informants, was told by others, that it was surpassed in opulence and size, by *Haoussa*, *Walet*, and probably by *Jinnie*. Several instances also occur in both his Missions, which prove that a considerable trade from Barbary is carried on direct from the Desert, to Sego and the neighbouring countries, without ever touching at Tombuctoo; and this most powerful of the states of Africa in the sixteenth century, according to Leo, is now, in the nineteenth, to all appearance, a mere tributary dependency of a kingdom which does not appear to have been known to Leo, even by name.

Such a decline of the power and commercial importance of Tombuctoo, would naturally be accompanied by a corresponding decay of the city itself: and we cannot suppose that Adams's description of its external appearance will be rejected on account of its improbability, by those who recollect that Leo describes the habitations of the natives *in his time*, almost in the very words of the Narrative *now*;* and that the flourishing cities of Sego and

* One of the numerous discordances between the different translations of Leo occurs in the passage here alluded to. The meaning of the *Italian* version is simply this,—that “the dwellings of the people of Tombuctoo are cabins or

Sansanding appear, from Park's accounts, to be built of mud, precisely in the same manner as Adams describes the houses of Tombuctoo.

But whatever may be the degree of Adams's coincidence

“ huts constructed with stakes covered with chalk (or clay) and thatched with straw.”—“ le cui case sono capanne fatte di pali coperte di creta co i cortivi di paglia.” But the expression in the *Latin* translation, (which is closely followed by the old English translator, Pory), implies a state of previous splendour and decay,—“ cujus domus omnes in tuguriola cretacea, stramineis tectis, *sunt mutatae.*”

As we shall have occasion hereafter to point out another disagreement between the different versions of *Leo*, it may be expedient to inform some of our readers that the Italian translation here quoted, is described to have been made by *Leo* himself, from the original Arabic in which he composed his work; and he appears, by the following extract from the Preface of his Italian Editor, to have learnt that language, late in life, for this especial purpose. See the first volume of Ramusio's *Raccolto delle Navigazione e Viaggi. Venetia, 1588.*

“ Così habitò poi in Roma il rimanente della vita sua, dove imparò la lingua Italiana e leggere e scrivere, e tradusse questo suo libro meglio ch' egli seppe di Arabo : il qual libro scritto da lui medesimo, dopo molti accidente pervenne nelle nostre mani ; e noi con quella maggior diligenza che habbiamo potuto, ci siamo ingegnati con ogni fedeltà di farlo venir in luce nel modo che hora si legge.”—“ Thus he dwelt in Rome the remainder of his life, where he learnt to read and write the Italian language, and translated his Book from the Arabic in the best manner that he was able,” &c. &c. Supposing the Latin version to be a translation direct from the Arabic, that circumstance, and the preceding explanation, may afford a clue to the discordances to which we have alluded; but a reference to the Arabic original (which we believe is not to be found in any of our public libraries) could alone enable us to ascertain, whether the fault lay solely in the Latin translator's ignorance of Arabic, or in *Leo's* probable imperfect acquaintance with the Italian. We will only add, that in the passages which we have compared, the Italian and French, and the Latin and English translations, respectively agree with each other.

with other authorities, in his descriptions of the population and local circumstances of Tombuctoo, there is at least one asserted fact in this part of his Narrative, which appears to be peculiarly his own; the existence, we mean, of a *considerable navigable river close to the city*. To the truth of this fact Adams's credit is completely pledged. On many other subjects, it is *possible* that his Narrative might be considerably at variance with the truth, by a mere defect of memory or observation, and without justifying any imputations on his veracity; but it is evident that no such latitude can be allowed to him on the present occasion; and that his statement respecting the *La Mar Zarah*, if not in substance true, must be knowingly and wilfully false.

Those of our readers who have attended to the progress of African discovery, will recollect that Tombuctoo, although it is placed by the concurring testimony of several authorities, in the immediate vicinity of the Niger, is nevertheless represented to lie at a certain distance from the river, not greater than a day's journey according to the highest statement, nor less according to the lowest, than twelve miles. To these statements, which may be presumed to approach very nearly to the truth, may be added, on pretty much the same authorities, that the town of *Kabra* on the

Niger is the shipping port of Tombuctoo, lying at the aforesaid distance of twelve miles, or of a day's journey, from the city. And neither Park, nor any other written authority (including the *English* translation of Leo, of which we shall say more hereafter) make any express mention of a communication by water with the city of Tombuctoo itself.

Adams, however, as has been already observed, cannot have been mistaken in so important a fact as that which he has here stated. He never discovered the least hesitation in his repeated assertions of the proximity of the river to the town, or of his subsequent journey, for ten days, along its banks; and we cannot entertain the smallest doubt that the river exists precisely as he has described it. We shall presently shew to what extent the probability of this fact is countenanced by other considerations: and in the mean time, the two following alternatives present themselves, respecting the probable course of the river beyond the south-western point, to which Adams's observation of it extended;—either, that it turns immediately, at a considerable angle, to the southward, and falls into the Niger in the neighbourhood of *Kabra*;—or, that continuing its south-westerly course from Tombuctoo, it empties itself into the lake *Dibbie*, possibly at the northern inlet which

with other authorities, in his descriptions of the population and local circumstances of Tombuctoo, there is at least one asserted fact in this part of his Narrative, which appears to be peculiarly his own; the existence, we mean, of a *considerable navigable river close to the city*. To the truth of this fact Adams's credit is completely pledged. On many other subjects, it is *possible* that his Narrative might be considerably at variance with the truth, by a mere defect of memory or observation, and without justifying any imputations on his veracity; but it is evident that no such latitude can be allowed to him on the present occasion; and that his statement respecting the *La Mar Zarah*, if not in substance true, must be knowingly and wilfully false.

Those of our readers who have attended to the progress of African discovery, will recollect that Tombuctoo, although it is placed by the concurring testimony of several authorities, in the immediate vicinity of the Niger, is nevertheless represented to lie at a certain distance from the river, not greater than a day's journey according to the highest statement, nor less according to the lowest, than twelve miles. To these statements, which may be presumed to approach very nearly to the truth, may be added, on pretty much the same authorities, that the town of *Kabra* on the

Niger is the shipping port of Tombuctoo, lying at the aforesaid distance of twelve miles, or of a day's journey, from the city. And neither Park, nor any other written authority (including the *English* translation of Leo, of which we shall say more hereafter) make any express mention of a communication by water with the city of Tombuctoo itself.

Adams, however, as has been already observed, cannot have been mistaken in so important a fact as that which he has here stated. He never discovered the least hesitation in his repeated assertions of the proximity of the river to the town, or of his subsequent journey, for ten days, along its banks; and we cannot entertain the smallest doubt that the river exists precisely as he has described it. We shall presently shew to what extent the probability of this fact is countenanced by other considerations: and in the mean time, the two following alternatives present themselves, respecting the probable course of the river beyond the south-western point, to which Adams's observation of it extended;—either, that it turns immediately, at a considerable angle, to the southward, and falls into the Niger in the neighbourhood of *Kabra*;—or, that continuing its south-westerly course from Tombuctoo, it empties itself into the lake *Dibbie*, possibly at the northern inlet which

Park's informants described to him as one of the two channels* by which that lake discharges the waters of the Joliba. Neither of these suppositions are inconsistent with the existence, or the importance to Tombuctoo, of the port of *Kabra*: for if, on the one hand, the communication of Adams's river with the Niger, lies through the lake *Dibbie*, it will be seen by a glance at the Map, what a circuitous water-conveyance would be cut off by transporting from Tombuctoo across to *Kabra*, and shipping *there* such merchandize as should be destined for the *eastward*; and even if *Kabra* should be situated at the confluence of the *La Mar Zarah* and the Niger, its importance as the rendezvous, or point of contact with Tombuctoo, for all the canoes coming either up or down the stream,—from the west or from the east,—needs no explanation.

We will now endeavour to shew what degree of countenance or corroboration other authorities afford to the general fact, that there *is* a water communication between

* The fact of a large lake like the *Dibbie* discharging its waters by *two streams flowing from distant parts of the lake*, and re-uniting after a separate course of a hundred miles in length, has always appeared to us extremely apocryphal: at least we believe, that the geography of the world does not afford a parallel case. The separation of rivers into various branches, in alluvial tracts on the sea coast, is a well known geological fact; but the case is essentially different with reference to a lake at so great a distance inland.

the Niger, at some point of its course, and the city of Tombuctoo.

In the first place, notwithstanding the distinct notice of *Kabra* both by Leo and Park, as the great resort of the trade of the Niger, and as the port of Tombuctoo, both these writers, especially Park in his last journey, speak indirectly on several occasions of sailing to and from Tombuctoo, in such a manner as fairly to imply that they or their informants, meant, not the distant port of *Kabra*, but the city of Tombuctoo itself. The Barbary traders, also, whose reports are quoted by Mr. Dupuis, mention a river (which they, however, consider to be the Niger) as running close past the city; and we are inclined to pay the greater attention to these reports, because we have always considered it extremely improbable, that the greatest trading depôt in the interior of Africa (and such undoubtedly *has been* the city of Tombuctoo) lying so near to all the advantages of an extensive water communication like the Niger, should yet have no point of immediate contact with the river itself, or with any of its tributary branches.

But there is, in the second place, strong reason to believe that Leo Africanus, the only writer who professes to describe Tombuctoo from personal observation, will really be found to have noticed such a river as Adams has made us

acquainted with. A comparison of the original Arabic in which Leo wrote, with the translations, could alone enable us to speak with perfect confidence on this subject ; but we trust that we shall be able, by a brief examination of the latter, to shew that our opinion is not a gratuitous speculation.

There are two passages in which Leo speaks of the relative situations of Tombuctoo and the Niger ; the one in his chapter on Tombuctoo, and the other in that on Kabra ; and our opinion of his meaning, on a joint consideration of both these passages, and of the ambiguity or contradiction of his translators, is this ; *that Tombuctoo is situated upon a branch or arm of the Niger twelve miles distant from the principal stream.* We are aware that this construction is not warranted by the English translation,* which (following the Latin) states, that “ it is situate within twelve miles “ of a certain branch of Niger ;” but there is a peculiarity in the expression of the Latin translation, an ambiguity in that of the Italian version, and an inconsistency in both, between the passage in question and the context, which are open to much observation. The Italian translation (subject, always, to the explanation given in the Preface†)

* “ A Geographical Historie of Africa, written in Arabicke and Italian by “ John Leo, a More. Translated and collected by John Pory, lately of Gonville “ and Caius College.” London 1600.

† See Note, pp. 182-3.

must be considered as the best authority ; its words are these : “ vicina a un ramo del Niger circa a dodici miglia ;” the ambiguity of which has been faithfully preserved by the French translator, who with a total disregard of idiom, and apparently little solicitude about meaning, thus copies it, word for word :* “ prochain d’un bras du Niger environ “ douze mile.” The Latin Editor, however, takes more pains to explain his conception of the passage, which he conveys in the following words : “ in duodecimo miliario “ *a quodam fluvio* situm fuit quod è Nigro flumine “ effluebat.”

Conjointly with this passage, thus translated, we must take into our consideration the other passage in the Chapter on Kabra, to which we before alluded ; wherein Leo states (without any variation between his translators) that Tombuctoo is distant *twelve miles from the Niger*.

Now, supposing, on the one hand, that the literal meaning of the translations of the former passage implies, that Tombuctoo is situated twelve miles from a smaller river communicating with the Niger ; and being certain, on the other, that the latter passage really means that Tombuctoo lies exactly the same distance from the Niger itself ; admitting, we say, that there may be two distinct streams, each

* Lyons Ed. folio 1556.

precisely twelve miles distant from the city ; is it probable that Leo, wishing to designate to his readers, in the former passage, the exact position of Tombuctoo, by its distance from some given point, should select for that purpose, not the far-famed Niger itself, but an equally remote, a smaller, and a nameless stream ? Surely not. There can hardly be a doubt, that it is to the Niger, and to the same point of the Niger, that he refers in both passages ; that the translators, by a very trifling mistake in the Arabic idiom, or by a want of precision in their own, have given a different colour to his meaning ; and that the smaller stream, the “ ramo del Niger,” and the “ fluviolum,” is really the *La Mar Zarah* seen by Adams.

We have been led into a more detailed examination of this part of the Narrative than we had at first anticipated ; but the question is of considerable interest, not merely with reference to the verification of Adams's story, but as containing in itself a probable solution of the mistakes and doubts by which the real course of the Niger (from west to east) was for so many ages obscured. If the *La Mar Zarah* really communicates with the Niger, either at Kabra, or through the Lake Dibble, by a south-westerly course from Tombuctoo, we have at once a probable explanation of the origin of Leo's mistake, (so ably exposed and corrected by

Major Rennell), in placing Ginea (Gana) to the westward of Tombuctoo. That Leo was never on the Niger itself is sufficiently evident, for he states it to flow from east to west; but knowing that the traders who embarked at Tombuctoo for Ginea* proceeded, in the beginning of their course, to the west or south-west with the stream, (which would be the case on Adams's river) he was probably thus misled into a belief that the whole of the course, as well as the general stream of the Niger, lay in that direction.

We shall here close these imperfect Remarks; in which we have endeavoured to bring before the Reader such illustrations as are to be collected from collateral sources, of the most original, or most objectionable, of those points of Adams's story which are unsupported by direct external evidence. We might have greatly multiplied our examples of the indirect coincidences between Adams's statements,

* Leo says, that the merchants of Tombuctoo sailed to Ginea during the inundations of the Niger in the months of July, August, and September; which seems to imply, that at other seasons there was *not* a continuous passage by water. He also says in another place, that when the Niger rises, the waters flow through certain canals to the city (Tombuctoo). As these passages when considered together, seem to infer that the navigation of the river of Tombuctoo (the *La Mar Zarah*) is obstructed by shallows during the dry season, they afford grounds for believing that Adams, when he saw that river (which was in the dry season) may have had good reasons for doubting which way the stream really ran.

and other authorities, respecting the habits, customs, and circumstances of the inhabitants of central Africa ; which would have added to the other incontestible evidences of the genuineness and accuracy of his relations. But the detail will have been already anticipated by most of Adams's readers, and would, we hope, be superfluous to all. We shall therefore conclude, by noticing only two important circumstances, respectively propitious and adverse to the progress of discovery and civilization, which the present Narrative decidedly confirms ; viz. *the mild and tractable natures of the Pagan Negroes of Soudan, and their friendly deportment towards strangers, on the one hand, —and, on the other, the extended and baneful range of that great original feature of African society—Slavery.*

APPENDIX. No. I.

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APPENDIX. No. I.

AT a time when the civilization and improvement of Africa, and the extension of our intercourse with the natives of that long-neglected country, seem to be among the leading objects of the British government and nation,—and when, with these views, great exertions are making to procure information respecting the interior of that vast and unknown continent; the following account of Tombuctoo, and the trade and navigation of the Niger, may perhaps prove not altogether uninteresting. It was procured on a journey to *Galam* in about the year 1764, for a gentleman who was then Governor of *Senegal*, by a person who acted as his Arabic interpreter.

* “Après bien des difficultés, j’ai enfin trouvé un homme qui est revenu de *Tombuctoo* depuis peu, qui m’a mieux

* It may seem superfluous in the present enlightened age, to give a translation of a *French* paper; but there may still be some of our readers to whom the following, if not necessary, may be convenient.

“After many difficulties, I have at length found a man lately returned from *Tombuctoo*, from whom I have obtained better information of the country than from any other person. I have spoken to several merchants, who have reported some things to me, but I confide most in this last, who is lately returned, who has assured me that the vessels which navigate in the river of *Tombuctoo* do

instruit du pays que personne. J'ai parlé à plusieurs marchands, qui m'en ont compté quelque chose, mais je m'en rapporte mieux au dernier, qui en vient depuis peu ; qui m'a assuré que les bâtimens, qui naviguent dans la rivière de Tombuctoo, ne viennent point de la grande mer ; que ce sont des bâtimens construits à Tombuctoo, qui sont

not come from the sea ; that they are vessels constructed at Tombuctoo, which are sewed either with cordage or with the bark of the cocoa tree, he does not exactly know which ; that these vessels only go by tracking and by oars (or paddles).

“ He says, that the inhabitants of the city of Tombuctoo are Arabs, that it is a large city, and that the houses have three or four stories. He says, that the caravans which come to Tombuctoo, come from the side of Medina, and bring stuffs, white linens, and all sorts of merchandise. That these caravans are composed only of camels, that they stop at the distance of half a league from Tombuctoo, and that the people of Tombuctoo go there to buy the goods, and take them into the city ; afterwards, that they equip their vessels to send them to *Genné*, which is another city under the dominion of Tombuctoo, and that the inhabitants of Tombuctoo have correspondents there. The people of *Genné* in their turn equip their vessels, and put into them the merchandise which they have received from the people of Tombuctoo, with which they ascend the river. It is to be remarked that the separation of the two rivers is at half a league from *Genné*, and *Genné* is situated between the two rivers like an island. One of these rivers runs into *Bambarra* and the other goes to *Betoo*, which is a country inhabited by a people of a reddish colour, who are always at war with the *Bambarras*. When they go out to war against the *Bambarras*, they are always five months absent. After the barks of *Genné* have gone a great distance up the river, they arrive at the fall of *Sootasoo*, where they stop and can proceed no further. There they unload their salt and other merchandise, and carry them upon the backs of asses, and upon their heads to the other side of the fall, where they find the large boats of the *Negroes*, which they freight ; and ascend the river to the country of the *Mandingoes*, who are called *Matins*, and who are near to the rock *Gouzina*.

cousûs soit avec du cordage, soit avec de l'écorce de coco, il ne le sait pas au juste ; que ces bâtimens ne vont qu'au traite et à l'aviron.

“ Il dit que ce sont des Arabes qui habitent la ville de Tombuctoo, que c'est une grande ville, que les maisons ont trois ou quatre étages. Il dit, que les caravanes qui viennent à Tombuctoo, viennent du côté de Medine,* et apportent toutes sortes de marchandises, des étoffes, et des toiles blanches ; que ces caravanes ne sont composées que de chameaux ; qu'elles s'arrêtent à une demi lieue de Tombuctoo, et que de là, les gens de Tombuctoo vont acheter les marchandises, et les apportent dans la ville ; ensuite, qu'ils arment leurs bâtimens pour les envoyer à *Genné*, qui est une autre ville sous la domination de Tombuctoo, et que les habitans de Tombuctoo y ont des correspondans. Ceux de *Genné* arment à leur tour leurs bâtimens, et y mettent les marchandises qu'ils ont reçus des bâtimens de Tombuctoo, et font monter leurs bâtimens à leur tour, et leur font monter la rivière. Il est à remarquer, que la séparation des deux rivières est à une demi lieue de *Genné*, et *Genné* se trouve entre les deux rivières, comme une isle. Une de ces rivières court dans la *Bambarra*, et l'autre va a *Betoo*, qui est un pays habité par un peuple rougeâtre, qui fait sans cesse la guerre aux *Bambarras*. Lorsqu'ils vont à la guerre contre les *Bambarras*, ils sont toujours cinq mois dehors. Après

* It appears from Mr. Ledyard's and Mr. Lucas's communications to the African Association, that the caravans from Mecca, Medina, and all Egypt, arrive at Tombuctoo, by the same route as those from Mesurata, going round by Mourzouk. Proceedings of the African Association, 4to. 1790, pp. 38, 87.

que les barques de Genné ont monté la rivière bien avant, ils trouvent la chute de *Sootasoo* ; où ils s'arrêtent, et ne peuvent plus passer. Là ils déchargent leur sel et leurs marchandises, et les portent à l'autre côté de la chute à dos d'ânes, et sur leurs têtes. Là ils trouvent les grandes pirogues des Negres, qu'ils fraient, et montent la rivière avec ces pirogues jusqu'à chez les *Mandings*, qui s'appellent *Malins*, qui sont proche du roche *Gouvina*."

The gentleman, for whom these particulars were collected, states, that he has always had the greatest confidence in their correctness ; not only on account of the character and talents of the person employed, but also from the means which he had, during a residence of three or four years at Senegal, to verify all the most material points in them, upon the information of others ; which he lost no opportunity of obtaining. In his account of the position of Genné, the junction of the two rivers near to it, the course of one of these rivers from Betoo or Badoo, and *the course of the Niger itself, at that time (1764) generally supposed to be from east to west* ; the Arabic interpreter has been proved, by the information obtained through Mr. Park, to be correct ; and his representation of the trade upon the Niger is accurately confirmed by Mr. Park, in his conversation with the ambassadors of the King of Bambarra ;* except that he carries it beyond Mr. Park's report.

* " We sell them (the articles brought by the Moors) to the Moors ; the Moors bring them to Tombuctoo, where they sell them at a higher rate. The people of Tombuctoo sell them to the people of Jinnie at a still higher price ; and the people of Jinnie sell them to you." Park's Last Mission, 4to. p. 268.

If the interpreter's report be correct, it would seem that the Niger is navigable to a much greater distance westward, than it is represented to be in any of the existing maps of that part of Africa; nor does there appear to be any authority to oppose to this theory, except the information which Major Rennell states Mr. Park to have received, when at Kamalia, on his return from his first journey; that the source of the Niger was at a bearing of south, a very little west, seven journies distant, for which Mr. Park calculated one hundred and eight geographical miles.* The name of the place was said to be *Sankari*, which the Major supposes to correspond with the *Song* of D'Anville. But this account is too vague to be implicitly relied upon, in a country, where men travel, as Mr. Park observes,† only for the acquirement of wealth; and pay but little attention to the course of rivers, or the geography of countries. In other respects, the idea that the Niger is navigable to a considerable distance above Bammakoo, instead of being contradicted, is much supported by all the information which is to be collected from Mr. Park's Journeys, and particularly his Last Mission; though to a person looking only at the Map attached to his Notes, the fact would appear to be otherwise.

The Arabic interpreter speaks of a trade and extensive navigation above the falls of *Sootasoo*, which must be to the westward; as he states it to extend into the country of a Mandingo nation called *Malins*,‡ whose territories approach

* Appendix, First Journey, page xliv.

† Idem, page 214.

‡ We have no account of the people here spoken of under the name of

near to the rock *Gouvina*. His account is supported by the fact, that *Bammakoo* is at the commencement of the *Mandingo Nations*; but the representation of the river above it, according to our maps, gives no idea of the further voyage which he speaks of. Mr. Park does not notice the existence of the falls of *Sootasoo*, but from his description of the rapids at *Bammakoo*, there is every reason to believe that they are the same.* He tells us, that at that† season (21st August) the river was navigable over the rapids. We are consequently to understand, that at other seasons it is not navigable over them even downwards; and that, although he avoided the principal falls, where, as he says, the water breaks with considerable noise in the middle of the river, and paddled down one of the branches near the shore; still the velocity was such, as to make him sigh.‡

Major *Rennell*, who appears to have obtained from Mr. Park information upon geographical matters, far beyond

Malins, and have ascertained by Mr. Park's discoveries, that the river does not actually approach the rock *Gouvina*; but it should be observed that the rock was the only point in that part of Africa to which the interpreter could refer as known to the person to whom his communication was addressed. The *Mandingo nations* commence to the eastward at about *Bammakoo*, and extend some distance to the north-west, and to the west almost to the sea coast. From this circumstance therefore, as well as from the mention of the rock *Gouvina*, it is evident that the country spoken of must be to the west of *Bammakoo*.

* The country in which *Bammakoo* is situated, and a very extensive tract to the westward, is stated by *D'Anville* to be inhabited by a people called *Soosas*.

† *Last Mission*, page 257.

‡ *Idem*, page 258.

that which is to be collected by the mere perusal of his first Journey, states, that* the Niger first becomes navigable at Bammakoo, or perhaps, that it is only navigable upwards to that point in a continuous course from Tombuctoo. His latter supposition is most probably correct, as it does not militate against the existence of a navigation, not continuous, beyond Bammakoo, nor against the fact proved by Mr. Park in his second mission, that at particular seasons the rapids may be passed downwards. It is also clear from Park, that there is, at least to a certain distance, above Bammakoo, a populous and trading country; as it was at Kancaba (called in the maps Kaniaba)† that Karfa Taura bought his slaves before proceeding to the coast. It is called a large town on the banks of the Niger, and a great slave market; and is placed by Major Rennell, (doubtless on the authority of Park) above Bammakoo.‡ Most of the slaves, Mr. Park says, who are sold at Kancaba, come from Bambarra: for Mansong, to avoid the expense and danger of keeping all his prisoners at Segó, commonly sends them in small parties to be sold at the different trading towns; and as Kancaba is much resorted to by merchants, it is always well supplied with slaves, which are sent thither up the Niger in canoes. It cannot be supposed that this resort of merchants, is from places down the river; that they leave the great markets of Segó and Sansanding, to labour over the rapids to Kancaba; or that the slaves would be sent there to be bought by merchants who could

* First Journey, Appendix, xliv.

† Idem. p. 275.

‡ Idem, Major Rennell's Maps.

receive them at places so much nearer. It must be for a trade down the river from populous countries situated *above* Kancaba, that they are sent there. Nor is it easy to believe, that a river, which Mr. Park states to be at Bammakoo, a mile across, and to be interrupted in its navigation only by a local cause, should not be navigable above that cause: or that a stream, which he states to be larger even there (at Bammakoo) than either the Gambia or the Senegal, should be distant from its source only 108 geographical miles, and draw its supplies from a country, which, by the map attached to Park's last mission, appears to be only 40 or 50 G. miles in breadth; when the Senegal has a course of not less than 600 G. miles, measured by the same map, across to the rock Gouvina, and from that to its mouth, without making any further allowance for its windings; and drains for its support, a country extending, according to the same authority, in breadth, not less than 300 G. miles. It will of course occur to any person, looking at the maps attached to Park's Journeys, that the places marked out as the sources of the Senegal and Gambia, preclude the possibility of the Niger's extending farther to the westward than is there represented; but upon a careful perusal of Park's Last Mission, there seems strong ground to believe, that the framers of his map, proceeding upon the old idea that the Senegal and Gambia take their rise in the Kong mountains, have here fallen into an error. It would appear that there are two distinct ranges of mountains, commencing at the *Foota Jalla* hills. The *Kong* mountains running to the east, but in a line curved considerably to the

south, and supposed to be the greatest mountains in Africa ; the other proceeding in a more direct line and increasing in its elevation, as it extends towards the east, seems to approach nearly to its full height at the Konkodoo mountains, and bending or returning to the North and N. W. beyond Toniba, where Mr. Park crossed it, to give birth to all the streams, which, united, form the Senegal.

Of the sources of the Gambia, we have no particular account, but it seems probable that these two ranges of mountains are united at their western extremity, and that the Gambia does not extend beyond this union ; an idea in which there is ground to believe that Mr. Park would have concurred from expressions in two of his letters to Sir Joseph Banks, the first dated from Kayee, River Gambia, 26 April, 1805.* “ The course of the Gambia is certainly not so long as is laid down in the charts.” The second letter is dated Badoo, near Tambacunda, May 28th, 1805.† “ The course of the Gambia is laid down on my chart too much to the south ; I have ascertained nearly its whole course.” The removal of the river more to the north by leaving a larger space for its course from the mountains, renders it more probable that it should be terminated at the point herein supposed ; and if its sources were as distant as they are represented to be in our maps, it is difficult to imagine that Mr. Park could, as he states, have ascertained nearly its whole course.

The position of the northern range of hills is described by

* The Last Mission, p. 62.

† Idem, page 69.

Mr. Park with considerable accuracy at Dindikoo,* where he speaks of the inhabitants looking from their tremendous precipices over that wild and woody plain, which extends from the Falemé to the Black River. This plain, he says, is, in extent from north to south, about forty miles; the range of hills to the south seems to run in the same direction as those of Konkodoo, viz. from east to west. The framers of his map have made them run north and south, because they could not otherwise carry the sources of the rivers beyond them. Dindikoo was on the northern range of hills, and supposing the southern range to be, as he states, distant about forty miles, it will be found sufficient to account for the size assigned to all the rivers passed by Mr. Park in his route from the Gambia.

The first of these is the *Falemé* river, which he had already crossed at Madina.† No particular account is given of the size of this river, or of the manner of passing it; but in his former journey, when he crossed it about the same place, he says,‡ that it was easily forded, being only about two feet deep. In his last mission,§ he says, its course is from the south-east, the distance to its source six ordinary days' travel. Assigning to it this course, its source will not be beyond the hills, but the compilers of the map attached to his Journal have given it a course much more nearly south, and have placed its source, even in this direction, far beyond six days' journey by their own scale; and without making any allowance for the time, and the distance

* Last Mission, page 176.

† First Journey, page 346.

‡ Idem, page 167.

§ Last Mission, page 167.

in an horizontal line, lost in travelling over a mountainous country. The next river is the *Ba Lec*, too insignificant to be noticed. The next the *Ba Fing*, the greatest of the rivers which form the Senegal. This was passed at Konkromo by canoes. He gives us no account of the course of this river or the distance to its sources, but merely says,* “ it is “ here a large river quite navigable ; it is swelled at this “ time about two feet, and flows at the rate of three knots “ per hour.” When fully flooded, its course must be much more rapid, as in his first journey,† he crossed it by a bridge, formed of two trees, tied together by the tops ; and adds, that this bridge is carried away every year by the swelling of the river. Running, as we collect, from both Mr. Park’s journies, but particularly the first, as this river does, at the foot of a high ridge of mountains,‡ and through a country, which he calls every where “ hilly, and rugged, “ and grand beyond any thing he had seen ;”§ and allowing for its necessary sinuosity in such a country, and its receipt of numerous smaller streams in passing through it, there can be no difficulty in accounting for it, such as described by Mr. Park at Konkromo, by placing its sources in the hills already described ; for neither his descriptions of a river, which being flooded two feet is quite navigable, nor of one, which could be crossed by so simple a bridge, impress us with the idea of a mighty stream, or of one far distant from its source. It is also fair to presume, that this

* Last Mission, pages 193, 194, 195.

† First Journey, page 338.

‡ First Journey, page 346.

§ Second Mission, page 192, and First Journey, page 337, et-passim.

and the other rivers, forming the Senegal, have a part of their course at, or parallel with, the foot of these hills, collecting the waters which descend from them. The next river is crossed near to Madina, and is represented in the map as formed by the confluence of the *Furkomah* and *Boki* rivers, and not very greatly inferior either in magnitude or in the length of its course even to the Ba Fing. All that Mr. Park says of this great river, is, “ at eleven o’clock, crossed a stream, like a mill-stream, running “ north” !* The last river we come to, is the *Ba Woolima*, with its various streams, the *Wonda*, *Ba Lee*, *Kokoro*, &c. ; which, after what has been said of the Ba Fing, scarcely require to be noticed ; except, that by their windings and the numerous streams crossed in each day’s journey, they serve to shew the small distance, in which a considerable river may be formed in such a country. They are all clearly bounded by the chain of mountains herein described, which, a little further eastward, bends or returns (as already observed) to the north and north-west to the kingdom of Kasson,† and forms the eastern angle of the triangle, described by Major Rennell, in his Appendix to Park’s first Journey ; a description corresponding very accurately with that here supposed ; though the Major, in his Map, still carries the sources of the Senegal (the Ba Fing, &c.) across to the Kong mountains, and represents the mountains in that part of the country as running north and south, and extending southward to the same chain of mountains ; and it is in this point only, that there appears

* Second Mission, page 197.

† First Journey, Appendix, page xix.

to be reason for doubting his correctness. In Konkodoo, we have this northern range clearly described as running east and west at a distance of about forty miles. By the necessity for avoiding the difficulties of the Jalonka wilderness, we there lose sight of them for a time; but when we find them again at Toniba, they are there also running east and west, for Mr. Park crossed them in a course nearly from north to south,* and we have endeavoured to shew, that the magnitude of the rivers passed in the intermediate space, is not such as necessarily to induce a belief, that the mountains do not there preserve the same direction; especially as the course of the greatest of these rivers is not given, whether from the south, or rather from the eastward of south, which seems the most probable; as the Major represents (and we believe with correctness), that the eastern level of the country is here the highest.

It is in the plain left between the Kong mountains and this ridge, which, according to Park, separates the Niger from the remote branches of the Senegal;† that the Niger has its course, “rolling its immense stream along the “plain,”‡ and washing the southern base of these mountains.§ The extent of this plain to the west, and the distance to which the Niger is navigable through it, are points not yet known, and which, although of the very utmost importance to the prosecution of our discoveries or the extension of our trade in the interior, it does not appear that any attempt has yet been made to ascertain. From its

* Second Mission, pages 253, 254, 255.

† Idem, page 256.

‡ Idem, p. 256.

§ Idem, page 231.

situation between two such ranges of mountains, it may be presumed, that the plain is of great elevation; and from the report of the Arabic interpreter, supported by Mr. Park's account of Kaniaba or Kancaba, there is reason to believe, that the Niger is navigable through it, to a considerable distance westward. The information received by Mr. Park at Kamalia may still have been correct: one of the principal streams, forming the Niger, may have its source at the place described to him; another may flow down this plain from the westward, collecting in its course all the streams that run from the south side of the mountains which give birth to the Senegal, and from the northern declivity of the Kong mountains. In this way we have no difficulty in accounting for the magnitude of the Niger at Bammakoo; which we have already observed that it is impossible to do, by the course hitherto assigned to it; especially when it is considered that that course is nearly at a right angle with the Kong mountains, and consequently a great part of it through the plain, where it is not likely to receive much additional supply.

If these conjectures be well founded, it would seem that our pursuit should be, instead of endeavouring to perform the difficult, dangerous, and expensive operation of transporting a caravan to the remote station of Bammakoo; to search for the nearest point to the westward, at which the Niger is navigable; that we may commence our discoveries and trade by navigation as near as possible to the Western Ocean. With this view, the Gambia should be immediately occupied by this country; and indeed this, under any

circumstances, would seem to be a wise measure, that we may not, at the moment that our discoveries begin to lead to results of value, find, that the right of navigating that river is disputed with us by the prior establishment of some rival and more active European nation.

An establishment should then be formed as high up that river as its navigation, and the state of the country will permit; and from this point, there could be no great difficulty or expense in sending a mission into the interior, to the south-east, to seek for the sources of the Niger, and the extent of its navigation to the westward. Nor can there be any question upon the possibility of establishing a settlement high up in the Gambia, from whence to commence our discoveries, after the example of the French Fort of St. Joseph at Galam on the Senegal. Galam is 150 leagues in a direct line from the mouth of the Senegal, or by the course of the river 350 leagues.* The fort was many years in the possession of the French; and at the time its garrison was removed after the capture of Senegal by this country in the year 1763, the officer in charge of it had been stationed there twenty-four years, the next in command sixteen, and others very long periods: the natives were so far from shewing any hostile disposition to the French trade upon the river, that they gave to it every

* These distances are given according to a most beautiful and correct Chart of the River Senegal, drawn from an actual survey, which was in the possession of the gentleman here alluded to as having been in the government of Senegal, and was taken from him by the French, by whom he was captured on a voyage to England.

possible protection and encouragement ; as they were fully sensible that it was for their interest to support it : the navigation of the river was secure, and the officers at the fort upon the most friendly footing with the inland powers.

By commencing our operations from the Gambia in the manner proposed, we should have the important advantage of experiencing the least possible opposition from our rivals and inveterate enemies, the Moors ; whose influence naturally diminishes in proportion as we recede from the Desert : and if we were once established on the Niger, our superior advantages in trade, would render nugatory any attempts which they might make to resist our further progress.

P. S. The writer of this Memoir thinks it right to disclaim all pretensions to any superior or exclusive knowledge of African geography. There appeared to him to be something inconsistent in the magnitude of the Niger as represented by Mr. Park at Bammakoo, and its sources according to our maps ; and being in possession of a paper which seemed to throw some little light upon the subject, he has ventured to give it to the public, accompanied with a few remarks ; and will feel highly gratified, if they should have the effect of engaging the attention of some person capable of doing justice to an inquiry which is certainly interesting and important.

APPENDIX. No. II.*

THE whole of the population of Western Barbary may be divided into three great classes (exclusive of the Jews) viz. BERREBBERS, ARABS, and MOORS. The two former of these are in every respect distinct races of people, and are each again subdivided into various tribes or communities; the third are chiefly composed of the other two classes, or of their descendants, occasionally mixed with the European or Negro races.

In the class of BERREBBERS, of which I shall first treat, I include all those who appear to be descendants of the original inhabitants of the country before the Arabian conquest; and who speak several languages, or dialects of the

* This original and interesting Sketch of the *Population of Western Barbary* grew out of some observations made by the Editor to Mr. Dupuis, upon the frequent indiscriminate use of the names of *Arab* and *Moor*, in speaking apparently of the same people: and the explanation of these terms (as well as of the term *Shilluh*, see p. 150, Note 56) having led Mr. Dupuis into a longer detail than could be conveniently comprised in a Note on the Narrative, he kindly consented, at the Editor's request, to extend his Remarks to *all* the classes of the inhabitants of the Empire of Morocco; and the Editor is happy to have permission to present these Remarks, in their present entire form, to the reader.

same language, totally different from the Arabic. The subdivisions of this class are—1st. the *Errifi*, who inhabit the extensive mountainous province of that name on the shores of the Mediterranean; 2dly. the *Berrebbers of the Interior*, who commence on the southern confines of Errif, and extend to the vicinity of Fez and Mequinez, occupying all the mountains and high lands in the neighbourhood of those cities; 3dly. the *Berrebbers of Middle Atlas*; and, 4thly. the *Shilluh* of Suse and Hahà, who extend from Mogadore southward to the extreme boundaries of the dominions of the Cid Heshem, and from the sea coast to the eastern limits of the mountains of Atlas.

The *Errifi* are a strong and athletic race of people, hardy and enterprising; their features are generally good, and might in many cases be considered handsome, were it not for the malignant and ferocious expression which marks them in common with the Berrebber tribes in general, but which is peculiarly striking in the *eye* of an Errif. They also possess that marked feature of the Berrebber tribes, a scantiness of beard; many of the race, particularly in the south, having only a few straggling hairs on the upper lip, and a small tuft on the chin. They are incessantly bent on robbing and plundering; in which they employ either open violence or cunning and treachery, as the occasion requires; and they are restrained by no checks either of religion, morals, or humanity. However, to impute to *them in particular*, as distinct from other inhabitants of Barbary, the crimes of theft, treachery, and murder, would certainly be doing them great injustice; but I believe I may truly

describe them as more ferocious and faithless than any other tribe of Berrebbers.

The *Berrebbers of the districts* of Fez, Mequinez, and the mountains of Middle Atlas, strongly resemble the Errifi in person, but are said to be not quite so savage in disposition. They are a warlike people, extremely tenacious of the independence which their mountainous country gives them opportunities of asserting, omit no occasion of shaking off the controul of government, and are frequently engaged in open hostilities with their neighbours the Arabs, or the Emperor's black troops. They are, as I am informed, the only tribes in Barbary who use the bayonet. The districts which they inhabit are peculiarly interesting and romantic; being a succession of hills and vallies well watered and wooded, and producing abundance of grain and pasturage.

The *Shilluh*, or Berrebbers of the south of Barbary, differ in several respects from their brethren in the north. They are rather diminutive in person; and besides the want of beard already noticed, have in general an effeminate tone of voice. They are, however, active and enterprising. They possess rather more of the social qualities than the other tribes, appear to be susceptible of strong attachments and friendships, and are given to hospitality. They are remarkable for their attachment to their petty chieftains; and the engagements or friendships of the latter are held so sacred that I never heard of an instance of depredation being committed on travellers furnished with their protection, (which it is usual to purchase with a present) or on any of the valuable caravans which are continually passing to and fro

through their territory, between Barbary and Soudan. However, the predominant feature of their character is self-interest; and although in their dealings amongst strangers, or in the towns, they assume a great appearance of fairness and sincerity, yet they are not scrupulous when they have the power in their own hands: and like the other Berrebbers, they are occasionally guilty of the most atrocious acts of treachery and murder, not merely against Christians (for that is almost a matter of course with all the people of their nation) but even against Mohammedan travellers, who have the imprudence to pass through their country without having previously secured the protection of one of their chiefs.

As the Shilluh have been said to be sincere and faithful in their friendships, so are they on the other hand, perfectly implacable in their enmities and insatiable in their revenge.*

* The following anecdote, to the catastrophe of which I was an eye-witness, will exemplify in some degree these traits of their character. A Shilluh having murdered one of his countrymen in a quarrel, fled to the Arabs from the vengeance of the relations of his antagonist; but not thinking himself secure even there, he joined a party of pilgrims and went to Mecca. From this expiatory journey he returned at the end of eight or nine years to Barbary; and proceeding to his native district, he there sought (under the sanctified name of *El Haje*, the *Pilgrim*,—a title of reverence amongst the Mohammedans) to effect a reconciliation with the friends of the deceased. They, however, upon hearing of his return, attempted to seize him; but owing to the fleetness of his horse he escaped and fled to Mogadore, having been severely wounded by a musket ball in his flight. His pursuers followed him thither; but the Governor of Mogadore hearing the circumstances of the case, strongly interested himself in behalf of the fugitive, and endeavoured, but in vain, to effect a reconciliation. The

Their country produces grain in abundance, cattle, wax, almonds, and various valuable articles of trade.

I have already said, that the languages of all the *Berrebber* tribes are totally different from the Arabic; but whether they are corrupted dialects of the ancient Punic, Numidian, or Mauritanian, I must leave to others to determine. That of the Errifi, I am told, is peculiar to themselves. It has also been asserted that the language of the Berrebbers of the interior, and of the Shilluh, are totally distinct from each other; but I have been assured by those who are conversant with them, that although differing in many respects, they are really dialects of the same tongue.

Like the Arabs, the *Berrebbers* are divided into numerous petty tribes or clans, each tribe or family distinguishing

man was imprisoned; and his persecutors then hastened to Morocco to seek justice of the Emperor. That prince, it is said, endeavoured to save the prisoner; and to add weight to his recommendation, offered a pecuniary compensation in lieu of the offender's life; which the parties, although persons of mean condition, rejected. They returned triumphant to Mogadore, with the Emperor's order for the delivery of the prisoner into their hands: and having taken him out of prison, they immediately conveyed him without the walls of the town, where one of the party, loading his musket before the face of their victim, placed the muzzle to his breast and shot him through the body; but as the man did not immediately fall, he drew his dagger and by repeated stabbing put an end to his existence. The calm intrepidity with which this unfortunate Shilluh stood to meet his fate, could not be witnessed without the highest admiration; and, however much we must detest the blood-thirstiness of his executioners, we must still acknowledge that there is something closely allied to nobleness of sentiment in the inflexible perseverance with which they pursued the murderer of their friend to punishment, without being diverted from their purpose by the strong inducements of self-interest.

itself by the name of its patriarch or founder. The authority of the chiefs is usually founded upon their descent from some sanctified ancestor, or upon a peculiar eminence of the individual himself in Mohammedan zeal or some other religious qualification.

With the exception already noticed, (that the *Berrebbbers of the North* are of a more robust and stouter make than the *Shilluh*) a strong family likeness runs through all their tribes. Their customs, dispositions, and national character are nearly the same; they are all equally tenacious of the independence which their local positions enable them to assume; and all are animated with the same inveterate and hereditary hatred against their common enemy, the Arab. They invariably reside in houses, or hovels, built of stone and timber, which are generally situated on some commanding eminence, and are fortified and loop-holed for self-defence. Their usual mode of warfare is to surprise their enemy, rather than overcome him by an open attack; they are reckoned the best marksmen, and possess the best fire-arms in Barbary, which renders them a very destructive enemy wherever the country affords shelter and concealment; but although they are always an over-match for the Arabs when attacked in their own rugged territory, they are obliged, on the other hand, to relinquish the plains to the Arab cavalry, against which the Berrebbbers are unable to stand on open ground.

The ARABS of Barbary, are the direct descendants of the invaders of the country, who about the year 400 of the

Hegira, according to their own histories, completed the conquest of the whole of the North of Africa, dispersing or exterminating the nations which either attempted to oppose their progress, or refused the Mohammedan creed. During the dreadful ravages of this invasion, the surviving inhabitants, unable to resist their ferocious enemy (whose cavalry doubtless contributed to give them their decided superiority) fled to the mountains; where they have since continued to live under the names of Berrebber, Shilluh, &c. a distinct people, retaining their hereditary animosity against their invaders.

The Arabs, who now form so considerable a portion of the population of Barbary, and whose race (in the Sheriffe line) has given Emperors to Morocco ever since the conquest, occupy all the level country of the Empire; and many of the tribes penetrating into the Desert have extended themselves even to the confines of Soudan. In person they are generally tall and robust, with fine features and intelligent countenances. Their hair is black and strait, their eyes large, black and piercing, their noses gently arched, their beards full and bushy, and they have invariably good teeth. The colour of those who reside in Barbary is a deep but bright brunette, essentially unlike the sallow tinge of the Mulatto. The Arabs of the Desert are more or less swarthy according to their proximity to the Negro states; until, in some tribes, they are found entirely black, but without the woolly hair, wide nostril, and thick lip which peculiarly belong to the African Negro.

The Arabs are universally cultivators of the earth or

breeders of cattle, depending on agricultural pursuits alone for subsistence. To use a common proverb of their own, "the earth is the Arab's portion." They are divided into small tribes or families, as I have already stated with respect to the Berrebbers;—each separate tribe having a particular Patriarch or Head by whose name they distinguish themselves, and each occupying its own separate portion of territory. They are scarcely ever engaged in external commerce; dislike the restraints and despise the security of residence in towns; and dwell invariably in tents made of a stuff woven from goats' hair and the fibrous root of the *palmeta*. In some of the provinces their residences form large circular encampments, consisting of from twenty to a hundred tents, where they are governed by a *shieck* or magistrate of their own body. This officer is again subordinate to a *bashaw* or governor appointed by the Emperor, who resides in some neighbouring town. In these encampments there is always a tent set apart for religious worship, and appropriated to the use of the weary or benighted traveller, who is supplied with food and refreshment at the expense of the community.

Something has already been said in the preceding Notes of the character of the Arab. In a general view, it is decidedly more noble and magnanimous than that of the Berrebber. His vices are of a more daring, and (if I may use the expression) of a more generous cast. He accomplishes his designs rather by open violence than by treachery; he has less duplicity and concealment than the Berrebber; and to the people of his own nation or religion

he is much more hospitable and benevolent. Beyond this, I fear it is impossible to say anything in his favour. But it is in those periods of civil discord which have been so frequent in Barbary, that the Arab character completely develops itself. On these occasions they will be seen linked together in small tribes, the firm friends of each other but the sworn enemies of all the world besides. Their ravages are not confined merely to the Berber and Bukharie tribes to whom they are at all times hostile, and whom they take all opportunities of attacking, but every individual is their enemy who is richer than themselves. Whilst these dreadful tempests last, the Arabs carry devastation and destruction wherever they go, sparing neither age nor sex, and even ripping open the dead bodies of their victims, to discover whether they have not swallowed their riches for the purposes of concealment.

Their barbarity towards Christians ought not to be tried by the same rules as the rest of their conduct; for although it has no bounds but those which self-interest may prescribe, it must almost be considered as a part of their religion; so deep is the detestation which they are taught to feel for the "unclean and idolatrous infidel." A Christian, therefore, who falls into the hands of the Arabs, has no reason to expect any mercy. If it is his lot to be possessed by the Arabs of the Desert, his value as a slave will probably save his life; but if he happens to be wrecked on the coast of the Emperor's dominions, where Europeans are not allowed to be retained in slavery, his fate would in most cases be immediate death, before the Government could have time to interfere for his protection.

The next great division of the people of Western Barbary are the inhabitants of the cities and towns, who may be collectively classed under the general denomination of **MOORS** ; although this name is only known to them through the language of Europeans. They depend chiefly on trade and manufactures for subsistence, and confine their pursuits in general to occupations in the towns. Occasionally, however, but very rarely, they may be found to join agricultural operations with the Arabs.

The *Moors* may be subdivided into the four following classes—1st. the tribes descended from *Arab* families ; 2d. those of *Berrebber* descent ; 3d. the *Bukharie* ; 4th. the *Andalusie*.

The *Arab* families are the brethren of the conquerors of the country ; and they form the largest portion of the population of the southern towns, especially of those which border on Arab districts.

The *Berrebber* families are in like manner more or less numerous in the towns, according the proximity of the latter to the Berrebber districts.

The *Bukharie*, or black tribe, are the descendants of the Negroes brought by the Emperor Mulai Ismael from Soudan. They have been endowed with gifts of land, and otherwise encouraged by the subsequent Emperors ; and the tribe, although inconsiderable in point of numbers, has been raised to importance in the state, by the circumstance of its forming the standing army of the Emperor, and of its being employed invariably as the instruments of government. Their chief residence is in the city of Mequinez, about the Emperor's person. They are also

found, but in smaller numbers, in the different towns of the Empire.

The *Andalusie*, who form the fourth class of Moors, are the reputed descendants of the Arab conquerors of Spain; the remnant of whom, on being expelled from that kingdom, appear to have retained the name of its nearest province. These people form a large class of the population of the towns in the north of Barbary, particularly of Tetuan, Mequinez, Fez, and Rhabatt or Sallee. They are scarcely, if at all, found residing to the south of the river Azamoor; being confined chiefly to that province of Barbary known by the name of El Gharb.

The two last named classes of *Bukharie*, and *Andalusie*, are entire in themselves, and are not divisible into smaller communities like the Moors descended from the Arab and Berrebber tribes, the latter imitating in that respect their brethren in the country, and retaining the names of the petty tribes from which their ancestors originally sprung; for instance, the *Antrie*, *Rehamni*, &c. which are Arab tribes, and the *Edoutanan*, the *Ait Amoor*, &c. amongst the Berrebbers. All these smaller tribes are very solicitous to maintain a close family alliance with their brethren, who still pursue their agricultural employment in the country, which they find of great advantage in the event of intestine commotions.

The length of time since the settlement of these tribes in the towns cannot be accurately ascertained; but the manner in which they were first separated from their kindred in the country, may probably be exemplified by

the following modern occurrence. When the father of the present Emperor had built the town of Mogadore, he caused a certain number of individuals to be selected, or drafted, from Arab and Berrebber (or Shilluh) tribes, and also from some of the towns; whom he compelled to settle in the new town. The young colony was afterwards encouraged and enriched by the removal of the foreign trade of the empire from Santa Cruz to Mogadore, which led to the settlement of other adventurers there. The probability that other towns were peopled by a similar compulsory proceeding, is confirmed by the known repugnance of the Arabs to quit their tents for houses, and by the aversion and even contempt which they feel for the restraints of a fixed residence in towns.

These are the component parts of that mixed population which now inhabits the towns of Barbary, and which is known to Europeans by the name of *Moors*. In feature and appearance the greater part of them may be traced to the Arab or Berrebber tribes from which they are respectively derived; for marriages between individuals of different tribes are generally considered discreditable. Such marriages however do occasionally take place, either in consequence of domestic troubles, or irregularity of conduct in the parties; and they are of course attended with a corresponding mixture of feature. Intermarriages of the other tribes with the *Bukharie* are almost universally reprobated, and are attributed, when they occur, to interested motives on the part of the tribe which sanctions them, or to the overbearing influence and power possessed by the

Bukharie. These matches entail on their offspring the Negro feature and a mulatto-like complexion, but darker. In all cases of intermarriage between different tribes or classes, the woman is considered to pass over to the tribe of her husband.

Besides the Moors, the population of the towns is considerably increased by the Negro slaves, who are in general prolific, and whose numbers are continually increasing by fresh arrivals from the countries of Soudan.

In conclusion, the following may be stated as a brief leading distinction between the habits and circumstances of the three great classes of the inhabitants of Western Barbary.

The **BERREBBERS**, (including the Shilluh) are cultivators of the soil and breeders of cattle; they occupy the mountainous districts, and reside in houses or hovels built of stone and timber.

The **ARABS**, occupying the plains, follow the same pursuits as the Berrebbers, and live in tents.

The **MOORS** are traders, and reside in the towns.

It will, perhaps, be observed, that this distinction will not apply to the tribe described by Mr. Park on the southern confines of the Desert, whom he calls *Moors*, and distinguishes by that name from the *Arabs* of the Desert. It is evidently quite impracticable to assign precise denominations to the many possible mixtures of races which in process of time naturally occur: but a roving people, living

in tents, as these are described to be, certainly cannot be entitled to the appellation of *Moors*. Neither can the people in question, whom Park describes to have short bushy hair, be a pure *Arab* tribe; though their leader, Ali, appears to have been an Arab. But by whatever name they ought to be distinguished, it seems very probable that they are descended from the ancient invaders of Soudan, who having been left to garrison the conquered places, remained on the southern borders of the Desert after the authority which originally brought them there, became extinct; and who by occasional intermarriages with the Negroes have gradually lost many of the distinguishing features of their Arab ancestors.

Viewing the term *Moor* as a translation or corruption of the Latin word *Mauri*, by which the Romans designated a particular nation, it is evident, that it cannot with strict propriety be used even in the limited sense to which I have here confined it; for, the people who now occupy the towns of Western Barbary, (with the exception, perhaps, of that small portion of them allied to the Berrebber tribes) are certainly not descendants of the ancient Mauritians. The name, as I have said before, is not used amongst the people themselves, as the names of *Arab*, *Berrebber*, &c. are: but the *class* is quite distinguished from the other inhabitants of Barbary by the modes of life and pursuits of those who compose it. And as Europeans in their loose acceptation of the name *Moor*, have successively designated by it all the different races who have from time to time, occupied this part of Africa; applying it even to the Arab

invaders of Spain, who proceeded from hence ; they may very naturally appropriate it to those *stationary* residents of the Empire of Morocco with whom, almost exclusively, they carry on any intercourse. The only distinguishing term which the Arabs occasionally give to the Moors is that of *Medainien*, towns-people ; which is a depreciating appellation in the estimation of an Arab. If you ask a Moor ; what he calls himself ? he will naturally answer you that he is a *Mooslim*, or believer ;—his country ? *Bled Mooselmin*, the land of believers. If you press him for further particulars, he will then perhaps tell you the tribe to which he belongs, or the district or city in which he was born. Neither have they a general name for their country ; in other Mohammedan states it is distinguished by the name of *El Ghârb*, the West ; but the natives themselves only apply this name to a province in the northern part of the Empire beyond the River Azamoor.

The term *Moor*, therefore, seems to stand, with respect to the people to whom we apply it, exactly in the same predicament as their term *Romi* with respect to us ; which having survived the times when the extended power of the *Romans* rendered it not an improper appellation for all the inhabitants of Europe known to the Mauritians, continues, in the dialects of Barbary, to be the general name for *Europeans of every nation* at this day. *D.*

G g

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