

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. (See plate, figure 4.) Into the upper side of each of these logs a notch or mortise 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 appearances 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 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 de-

sired 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 el 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

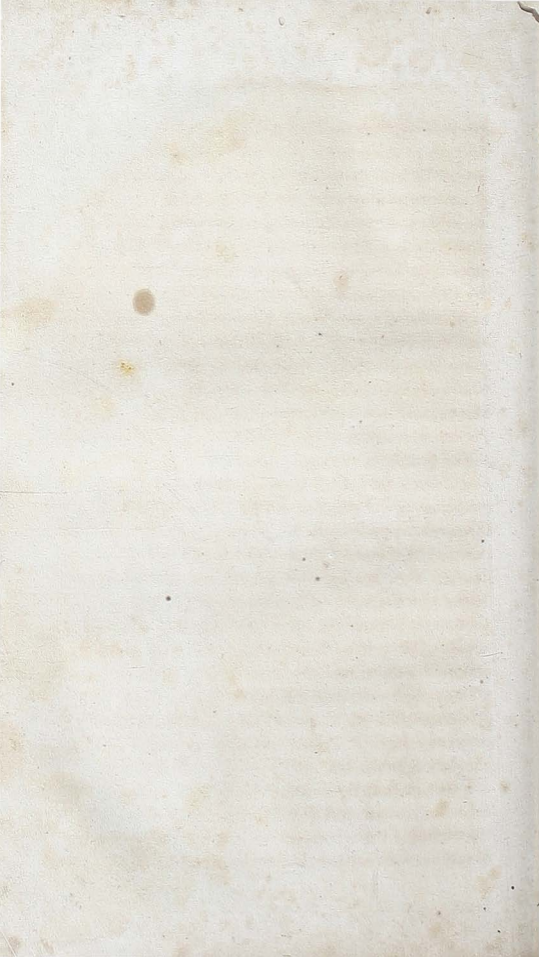
inveterate enemy from his youth, who lived among the mountains to the southward of his city, whose name was *Sheick Sulmin*. This Sheick, about twenty years ago, came down with a great host and invested the city of Omar, but Omar taking advantage of the darkness of the night, sallied out of his city 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

View of a Town or City in STISE (South Barbary) on the point of being Sack'd by the Arabs.





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 enclosures 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 enclosures, (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 enclosures 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 enclosure 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 de-

stroyed 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 afterward at the same rate, making together forty miles.

On the 30th of 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, *Wood 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 mountains, 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 streights 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 be-

sides 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 Ali* 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 further 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 to 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 Swearah, 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 further 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.

CHAP. 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 pret-

ty, 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 diarrhœa also continued with the most distressing hermorrhoides: 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 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 coos-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 Morocco, 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 forever.—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 Muly Ibrahim, and trying to gain his consent to let the slaves be carried off in the night by surprise, 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 enterprises, 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

desart 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 desart. 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 surprise 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 desarts; 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 of November, we were placed on five camels, which were saddled much better than any we had hitherto rode: 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 exhaust-

ed, 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 enclosure.

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 ap-

pearance 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 enclosures 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 inhabitants 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 further. 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; 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 tenaced 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 surprised 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 meantime 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 from 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.

CHAP. 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 steeps 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 this 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. She-

ick 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 precipice 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 previous, 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 spring-

ing 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 coos-coo-soo, 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 enclosed 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 castan 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; and 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 basons 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 enclosed 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 drank 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 further; 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 enclose 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 indiscrible, 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

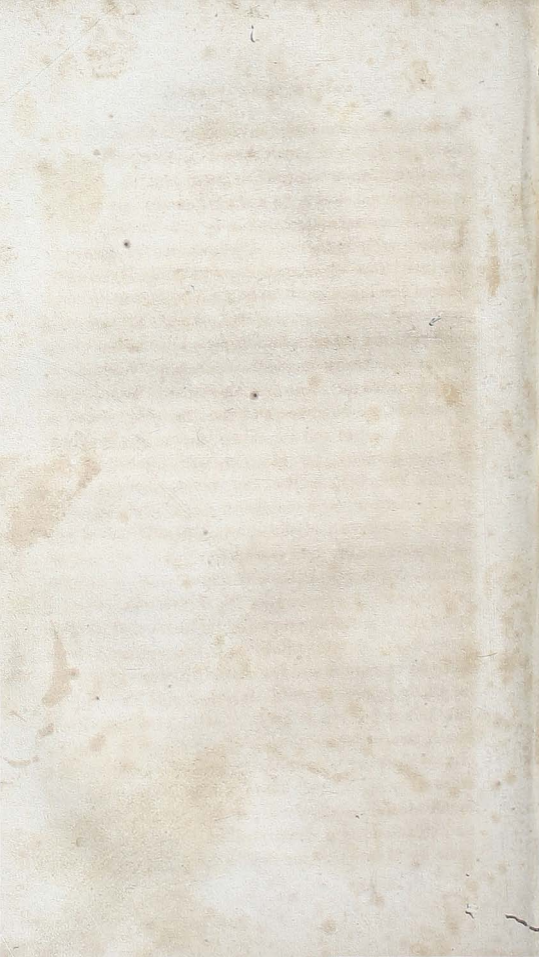
blessed and transporting sight, the little blood remaining in my veins, gushed through my glowing heart with wild impetuosity, and seemed to pour a flood of new life through every part of my exhausted frame. We were still seated on the green sward near the western wall, and the mules that brought us 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 surprise. 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



J. H. Smith del.

D. T. Sauer sculp.

The Author and his men's first interview with Mr. WELLS, SHREE, with a distant View of MOGADORE.



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 sunk to the ground.—We, on our part, could only look up towards heaven in silent adoration, while our hearts swelled with indispicable 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 controled 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 gate-keepers 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.

CHAP. 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, had 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 neither spared 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 foreknowledge 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 wrote 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 barrellled 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 despatched 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 elements. 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 & 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 pres-

sure 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 Swearah (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 or 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 steeps 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 Duquella, which

could only be purchased by the most wealthy: the others were provided with scanty portions of barley, of which they made their coos-coo-soo.

CHAP. 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 lime 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 com-

mand 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

desart." I then asked him how the face of the desart 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 desart 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 desart, 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 desart, 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 Mohammedans, 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 pro-

phet 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 XI.

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 thousand 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 camels' feet sunk 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 a 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 Hamel'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 moun-

tains, 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 gray-headed old blackman, 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 Moslem. 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, waiting 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 ankles, and go barefoot. I had bought a small snuff-box filled with snuff in Morocco, and showed it 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 ankles, 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 dyed 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 Moslemin 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 surprise 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 barefooted. 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 the company about two hundred Moslemin, but the master of the caravan would not permit us, Moslemin, 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 enclosure, 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 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 Moslemins, 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, ankles, 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 hippopotamus,) 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, Shelbar 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 Desart 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 Desart, 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 Tunissian 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, twen-

ty 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 ankles 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, surprised 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 desart, 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 swiftest 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 desart, 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 Tom-

buctoo 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